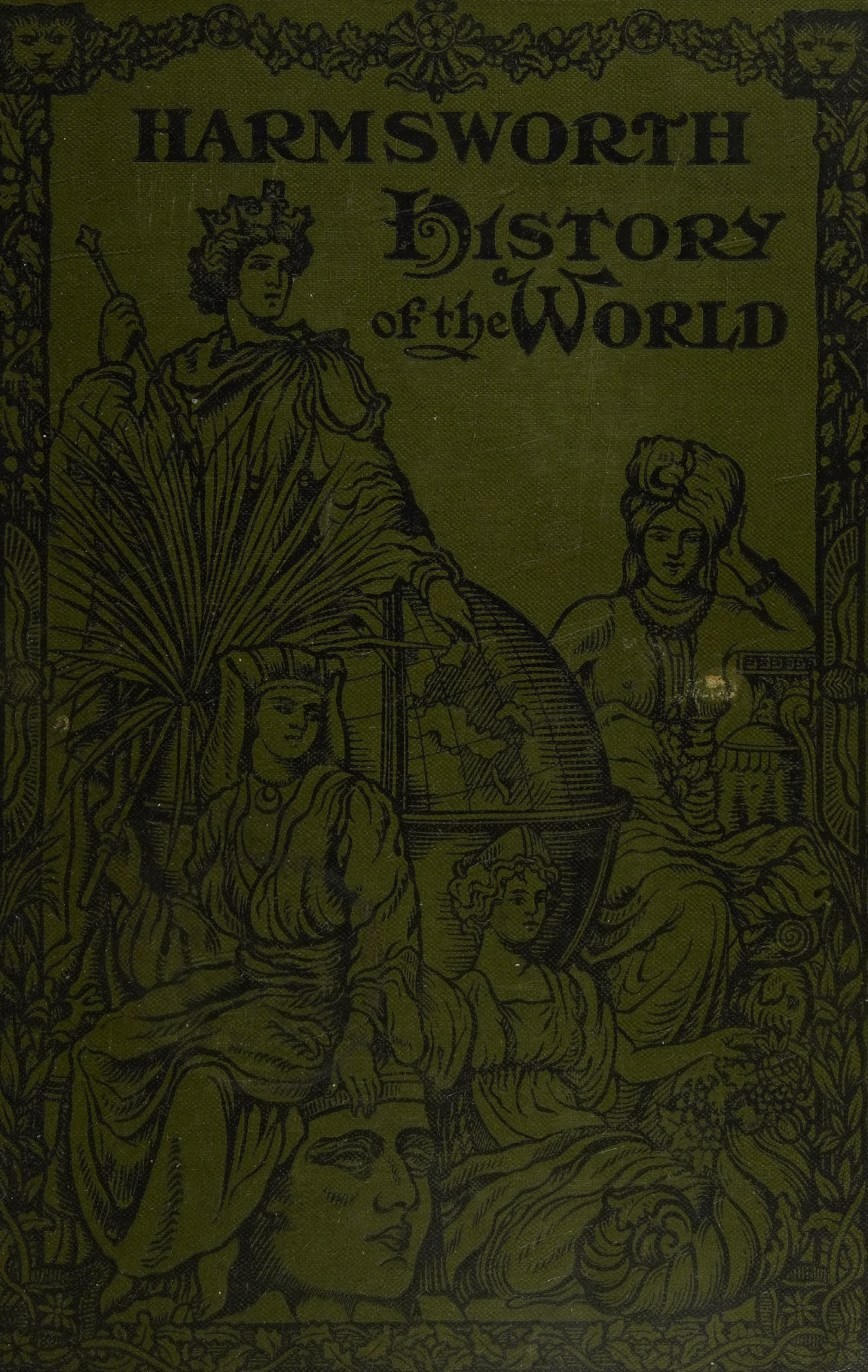


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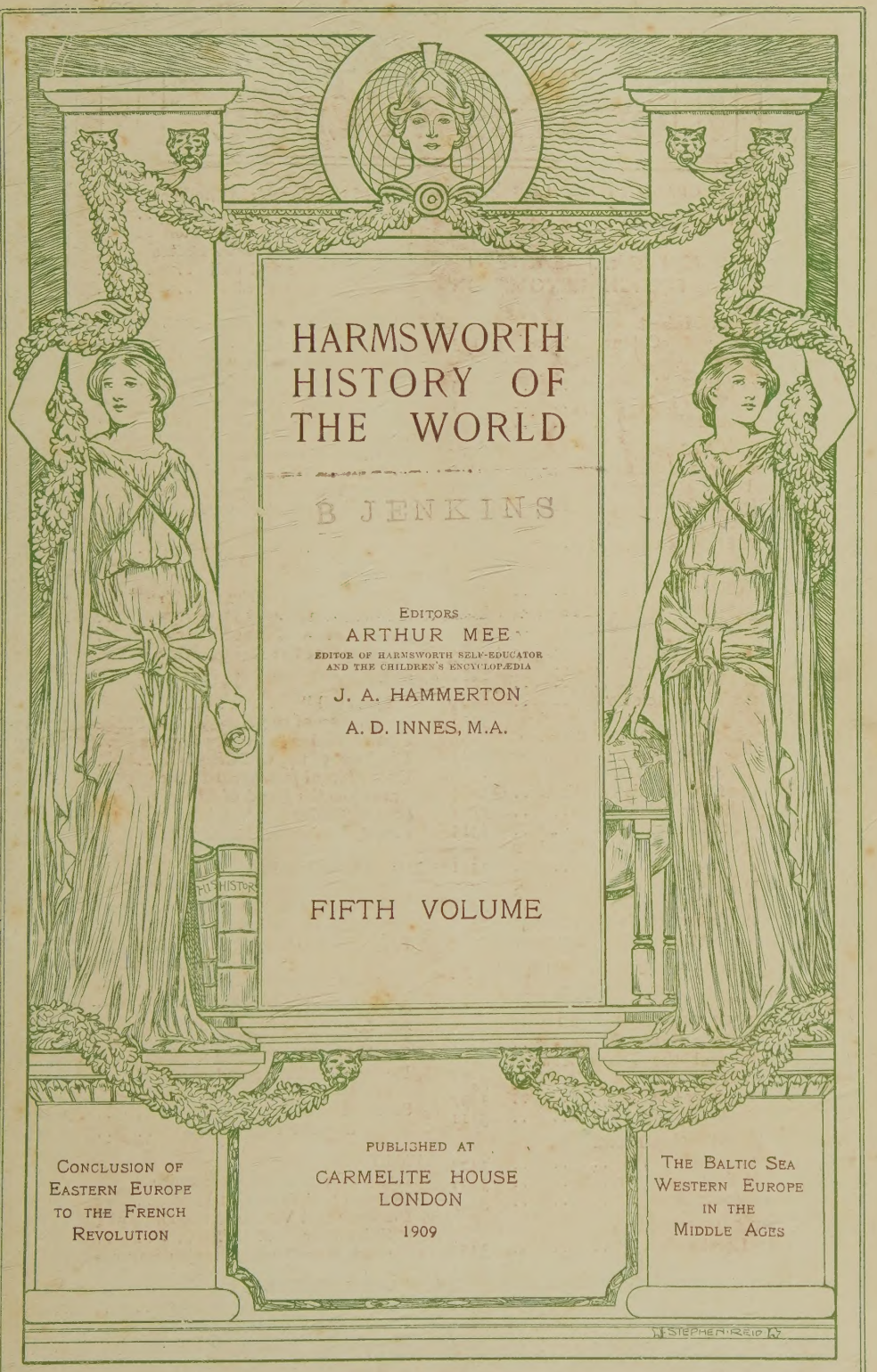


B JENKINS

HARMSWORTH
HISTORY
OF THE WORLD



ALFRED: THE HERO KING OF ENGLAND



HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

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FIFTH VOLUME

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TO THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION

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THE BALTIC SEA
WESTERN EUROPE
IN THE
MIDDLE AGES

STEPHEN REID

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H. F. Yeames

A TRAGIC SCENE FROM ENGLISH HISTORY: PRINCE ARTHUR AND HUBERT

On the death of Richard I., Prince Arthur, the posthumous son of Geoffrey, the fourth son of Henry II., was the rightful heir to the English crown, but the usurper John imprisoned him, first at Falaise and then at Rouen, where he perished April 3rd, 1203. The story of King John's ordering Hubert to put out the boy's eyes was current soon after Arthur's death, but the exact manner of his end is unknown. See page 3868.

"Hubert, if you will, cut out my tongue so I may keep mine eyes; O, spare mine eyes!"—*King John, Act iv, Sc. i.*



HUNGARY

BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE MAGYARS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE district occupied by the modern state of Hungary was, long before the arrival of the Magyars (pronounced Madyars), a beaten track for immigrating nations and a battlefield and resting-place for the most different races. The valleys of Hungary breathed something of the attraction of primeval life. Powerful fortresses rose at an early period in the frontier districts, protecting the main roads. Long ago Kelts and Thracians invaded these districts and founded a kind of civilisation. The Romans then occupied the west and south, and in the course of two centuries created a flourishing community. The waves of the great migration, however, swept away the Roman settlers, together with the few barbarians inhabiting the country, into other districts. The Roman legions retired to Italy before the advancing Huns.

After the death of Attila, in 453 A.D., his kingdom fell to pieces; the Huns were incorporated with other races and disappeared from the scene. Goths, Gepids and Langobards now maintained their position for a longer or shorter time upon the arena and destroyed what scanty remnants of Roman civilisation had survived. These Teutonic hordes

Struggles of Barbaric Hordes

were in their turn driven out by the Avars, who occupied the eastern frontiers from 626, notwithstanding their defeat, until the Frankish Emperor Charles broke their power in 803. Their deserted territory was occupied by Slav nomads and some Bulgarians, together with the remnants of the Avars, until the end of the ninth century, when it was seized by the nation,

one of whose names it was henceforward to retain. The name "Hungarian" has no connection with the Huns. Ungari is merely a variant of Ungri=Ugri, Ugrians.

Probably the Magyars were originally settled in the south of Ingria, on the Isim, Irtish, Om, and in the wooded steppes of Baraba, but at an early period were driven into the districts between the Caspian and the Black Seas, where they settled between the Don and the Kuban, and became a fishing people. On this hypothesis they are a genuine branch of the Ugrian group of the Mongolian race, to which the Fins and the true Bulgarians belonged. It was the influence of their Hun neighbours that first induced these Ugrians to adopt cattle-breeding, an hereditary occupation of the Turkish nomads. The bracing effect of the dangers which threatened them on every side as they pushed forward in the vanguard of their race gradually changed their national character, with the result that they were eventually inferior to no Turkish nation in political capacity.

For a long period the Magyars paused in their migrations and settled in the plains on the Lower Don, where they had their chief market town in Karch. Muslim ben Abu Muslim ab-Garmi (about 830-845), and other Arabs constantly confused the Magyars with the Bashkirs, who resembled them in nationality and name, and were settled eastward of the Pechenegs in the steppes between the Ural and Caspian seas, bounded on the north by the Isgil Bulgarians on the

Kama; to this confusion is due the hypothesis, long vigorously supported, of a "Magna Hungaria" in South-east Russia as the first home of the Magyars.

The truth is that their district, which lay upon the Maeotis, bordered that of the Alans, Khazars and Bulgarians, and extended to the Kuban on the north-west end of the Caucasus; it was known as "Lebedia" to Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetos. About 833 these Western Turkish Khazars found themselves so oppressed by the Magyars that they applied for protection to the Emperor Theophilus. The result was the construction of a fortified trench and the building of the brick fortress of Sarkel on the Don. Cut off in this direction by the Khazars, the Magyars removed to the Lower Danube in 839-840, where they intervened in the Bulgarian and Greek struggles.

Soon we find them loosely dependent upon the Khazars. However, when these latter, in alliance with the Guzes of the Sea of Aral, drove the Pechenegs from their possessions between Atil and Jajyk this movement proved unfavourable for the Magyars, for the Pechenegs had been little weakened, and now appeared in a hostile attitude upon the Don; the Magyars, therefore, about 862, turned their backs upon Lebedia, which was henceforward closed against them, and established themselves to the west of the Dnieper, on the Bug and Dniester. This new home is repeatedly referred to as Atelkuzu. The khan of the Khazars was equally hard pressed, and made a proposal to Lebedias, the first tribal chieftain of the Magyars in Chelandia, to become prince of the Magyars under his supremacy. He, however, declined the proposal.

Although hemmed in by the Khazars and Magyars, the power of the Pechenegs grew rapidly. After the years 880-890

the Magyars found it impossible to continue their marauding expeditions eastward; for this reason they abandoned Atelkuzu, which had lost its value for them, and had become absolutely unsafe in the east upon the Dnieper, and moved further westward in 889. This second and final forced movement of the Magyars from the north shore of the Black Sea is of importance in the history of the world; driven forward by the Pechenegs, and also from the Balkan Peninsula, which at the invitation of the Byzantines they had devastated in 894, from the Pruth and Sereth, to meet with expulsion in 895 from the bold Bulgarian Symeon, the Magyars

in 896 pushed their way like a wedge amid the South-east European Slavs; here they remained and developed their civilisation, and for a thousand years continued to occupy this position.

The Magyars advanced into the districts of the Theiss and Danube, across the North Carpathians, through the pass of Vereczke. It is said that the chieftains of the several races—together with Arpad and his son Liuntis, who ruled the predominant tribe of the Kabars, Kursan is also mentioned—executed a closer form of agreement upon this journey; choosing Arpad as their leader, they concluded a

"blood-treaty" by catching blood from their arms in a basin and drinking it. The nomadic races who had spent their previous existence on the steppes of Hungary were at once attracted by the flat country which surrounded them in their new home in Pannonia, with its great expanses, its pellucid atmosphere, and its lack of colour. Like every steppe people, they were accustomed to live in a state of warfare, and depended partly upon the booty which they were able to extort from their settled neighbours by their bold cavalry raids. Some time, however, before their



ARPAD, THE LEADER OF THE MAGYARS
Chosen by the chieftains as the leader of their race, by concluding a "blood-treaty," each chief making a wound in his own arm and drinking the blood.

**How Arpad was
Chosen by
"Blood-treaty"**

appearance in the plains of the Theiss they had progressed beyond the savagery of a primitive race.

The occupation of this new home was effected without difficulty; there was, in fact, no one to bar the way. The scanty population was soon incorporated with the new arrivals, who first settled in the plains of the lowlands, where they found abundant pasturage for their herds of horses and cattle. From this base of operations they then extended their rule towards the natural frontiers of the region they occupied. Their only conflicts took place on the north-west, in the district of the Waag River, and finally Moravia

Major succumbed to their attacks in 906. The several chieftains settled with their tribes in the places appointed to them, and built themselves castles, which served as central points both for defence and for economic exploitation. Arpad himself took possession of Attila's castle, in the ruins of which, according to the somewhat unreliable *Gesta Hungarorum* of the anonymous secretary of King Bela, the Hungarians "held their daily festivals; they sat in rows in the palace of Attila, and the sweet tones of harps and shawms and the songs of the singers sounded before them." Minstrels sang the exploits of fallen heroes to the accompaniment of the lute, and story-tellers related legends of the heroes of old.

The warlike spirit of the brave Hungarians found, however, little satisfaction in this peaceful occupation. They invaded Upper Italy in 899, 921, 924, 941-942, 947 and 951, Saxony in 915, Central and even South Italy in the winter of 921; in 922, 926, and 937 they raided Burgundy; South-west Franconia in 924, 937, and 951, and Suabia in 937. Advancing upon their hardy steeds they ravaged and plundered far and wide. They held

Central Europe terror-stricken for half a century; then, laden with rich booty and slaves, they returned home. The Czechs, who had become the neighbours of the Magyars after the fall of Moravia, often suffered from their raids. On July 5th, 907,

Death of Arpad

the Bavarians experienced a severe blow. After 924 a Magyar division from Venice appears to have joined in a piratical raid, conducted by the Emir Thamar of Tarsus; others made their way to Galicia and Andalusia about 943. Neither the death of Arpad, in 907, nor the defeat inflicted upon them in 933 by the German king Henry the Fowler put an end to their extensive raids;

in 934, in alliance with or under the rule of some hordes of Pechenegs, part of whom had been converted to Mohammedanism about 915, they undertook an invasion of the East Roman Empire, upon a scale which reminds one of the typical crusade; they devastated the boundary fortress of Valandar and advanced to the walls of Constantinople. In 943 and 948 this attempt was repeated upon a similar scale. It was not until 955, when they suffered a dreadful defeat at Augsburg and lost the East Mark of Germany for the second time, that a considerable transformation took place in the intellectual and social life of the



FOUNDER OF THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
With the rule of Geza, great grandson of Arpad, the Magyars passed from nomadism to a settled nationality and his son Stefan I., who reigned as king of Hungary from 997 till 1038, consolidated the kingdom of which he was the real creator.

Magyar nation. Contact with foreigners, even by way of enmity, and in particular the large immigration of foreign Slavs, who had amalgamated with the Hungarian nation, had brought about a new state of affairs, and convinced the upper classes that no nation could live by military power alone in the midst of peaceful nationalities. The great grandson of Arpad, "the duke" Geza (972 to 997), accepted Christianity. His government marks the point at which the Hungarians passed from the simple conditions of life in their heathen nomad state to the position of a settled nation.

When Wajk, the son of Geza, who was baptised as Stefan I., ascended the throne in 997, he found the path already prepared; in the course of four decades he was able to complete the work of civilisation begun by his father, and to secure for Hungary a position among the nationalities of Europe. With statesmanlike insight he

Stefan Brings Hungary to Rome

joined, not the Greek, but the Roman Church, and thereby threw open his country to the new intellectual movement which was beginning to stir the West. His German wife, Gisela, a daughter of the Bavarian duke Henry II. who died in 995, was his faithful supporter in these labours. The Pope, Silvester II. (999-1003), in recognition of his services to Christianity, in 1000 conferred upon him the dignity of king together with extraordinary ecclesiastical privileges for himself and his successors. By the foundation of monasteries and bishoprics Stefan laid a firm basis for the organisation of the Roman Church in Hungary. Many tribal chieftains certainly took up arms against these innovations, but Christianity took firm root after a short time. In particular, the worship of the Virgin Mary was rapidly popularised, owing to her easy identification with their own Nagyasszony, the "mother of the gods."

King Stefan also introduced innovations in military, judicial, and economic institutions. He effected nothing less than a revolution in the domestic and public life of his subjects. To him is due the division of the country into *comitates* or counties. In spite of the fact that his constructive activity was directed chiefly to works of peace, he was forced on several occasions to take up arms. After a victorious campaign against the Pechenegs and Mieczyslaw II. of Poland, the successor of Boleslav Chabri, he was obliged to measure his strength, after 1030, with the German emperor, Conrad II., and in the

The Great Work of Saint Stefan

peace of 1031 was able to extend his kingdom westwards beyond the Fischa to the Leitha and Danube. The remainder of his life the great king spent in mourning for the loss of his son Emerich. On August 15th, 1038, the real creator of the Hungarian kingdom ended his laborious existence; deeply revered by his people, he was canonised by the Church in 1087. Stefan the Saint was succeeded by Peter Orseolo (1038-1041 and 1044-1046),

Samuel Aba (1041-1044), Andreas I. (1046 to December, 1060), and Bela I. (1060-1063), whose daughter Sophie is regarded by the Askanians, the Hohenstauffen, the Guelfs, and the Wittelsbachs as their common ancestor. Then followed Salomon from 1063 to 1074—he married in 1063 Judith, or Sophie, the daughter of the Emperor Henry III. and of Agnes of Poitou—and Geza I. (1074-1077). During this period development was impeded by quarrels about the succession, and internal disturbances. The efforts of the German Empire to maintain the supremacy which had been secured over Hungary in 1044 came to an end in 1052 with the fruitless siege of Pressburg undertaken by the Emperor Henry III.; the campaign of Henry IV. in 1074 was equally unproductive of definite result. The last efforts of heathendom were crushed with the suppression of a revolt begun by the heathen population under their tribal chieftain Vatha, killed 1046, and his reputed son Janos, who died about 1060.

St. Ladislaus I. (1077-August 29th, 1095) and Koloman the author (1095-1114) were able to continue the reforming work of Stefan. Towards the end of the eleventh century Hungary occupied an important position among the independent states of Europe. St. Ladislaus, who survived in Hungarian legend as a type of bravery and knightly character, incorporated the inland districts of Croatia with his kingdom, founded a bishopric at Agram in 1091, and divided his new acquisition into counties. His successor, Koloman, whose interests were primarily scholastic and ecclesiastical, though he also turned his attention to legislation, subdued the Dalmatian towns with the object of erecting a barrier against the growing power of Venice. From this time Croatia has remained a component part of the Hungarian territory.

While the empire was extending its boundaries westward, the eastern frontier was troubled by the Cumanians. In 1091, when the authorities were occupied with Croatia, this nation made a devastating invasion into Hungary; Ladislaus captured most of them in two campaigns, and settled them in the districts of the Theiss. He did his best to introduce security of property. In the momentous struggle between the Pope and the

empire he promised to support the Roman Church against the Emperor Henry IV., but was far-sighted enough to take no direct part in the quarrel. In the year 1192 he was canonised. During the government of Koloman, the first Crusaders, led by Count Emiko of Leiningen, marched through the land in disorderly array, and were for that reason driven beyond the frontier, while a friendly reception was extended to Godfrey de Bouillon.

After the death of Koloman, his weak-minded and dissipated son Stefan II. occupied the throne from 1116 to 1131; during his government the Venetians recovered the larger part of the Dalmatian district. When he died without issue, the Hungarians submitted to Bela II. (1131-1141), who, together with his father, Duke Almos of Croatia, had been previously blinded by King Koloman for participation in a revolt. Hardly had the blind king entered upon his government when the country was invaded by Borics, the son of Koloman by a Russian wife, Eufemia, who had been divorced for adultery. Borics was supported by the Polish Duke Boleslav III., who was put to flight by the German troops of the king.

Crusaders in Hungary

On the death of Bela II. his son Geza II., who was a minor, came to the throne (1141 to May, 1161), and Borics then attempted to secure the help of the Crusaders, who were passing through Hungary. However, the Emperor Conrad and King Louis VII. declined to support this hazardous project. Borics now fled to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel. This ruler had inspired further life into the

decaying Byzantine Empire, and was attempting to make Greek influence once more preponderant in the Balkan Peninsula. As Hungary stood in the way of his plans he attempted to undermine her independence by every means in his power. At the instigation of Borics he invaded the south of Hungary, but was driven back by Geza II. and forced to make peace. Borics afterwards met his death at the head of Greek troops in a conflict with the Cumanians. The Emperor Manuel now took the Dukes Stefan and Ladislaus under his protection; they had sought refuge with him after revolting against their brother Geza in 1158. Under this ruler took place the first great migration of the Germans to Northern Hungary and Transylvania. On the death of Geza the Hungarian throne naturally fell by inheritance to his son Stefan III. (1161-1172), but Manuel by means of bribery secured the election of his favourite Ladislaus II. in 1162. After his early death the Emperor Manuel brought forward Stefan IV., the other brother of Geza,

as an opposition king; Stefan, however, was speedily abandoned by his supporters and overthrown by Stefan III. in 1164, in alliance with the Premyslid Vladislav II. Manuel concluded peace with Stefan III. and took his brother Bela to Constantinople to be educated. The danger which Byzantium threatened to the Hungarian Empire came to an end in 1180, with the death of the Emperor Manuel; shortly before that date he had given Hungary a king in the person of Bela III. (1172 to April 20th, 1196), who used his Greek education solely for the



TYPES OF THE ANCIENT MAGYARS

The history of this people, said to be a branch of the Mongolian race, dates back to the sixth century. They are described as possessing "regular features, shapely figures, black hair and eyes, dark complexion, impulsive temperament, and intense patriotic feeling."

benefit of the people. Bela III. recovered the Dalmatian districts and Syrmia from the Venetians, and occupied Galicia for some time. By his marriage with Margaret, the sister of Philip Augustus of France, French customs were introduced into Hungary. Andreas II., the son of Bela III. (1205-1235), overthrew his brother

**French
Customs
Introduced**

Emerich, who died in the middle of September, 1204, and also his son Ladislaus III., who died on May 7th, 1205, in Vienna, and undertook a crusade on his own account in 1217. On his return home he lived in a continual state of dissension with his nobles. After a long struggle, in which the malcontents, under the leadership of Benedict Bor, otherwise Bank bán, killed the Queen Gertrude in 1213, Andreas II. issued the "Golden Bull"—a piece of legislation of the first importance to the Hungarian constitution. By this measure he broke the power of the counts and gave extensive privileges to the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of lower rank, securing to the latter a permanent influence upon government legislation and administration.

Under the government of his son, Bela IV. (1235-1270), the Mongols of Batu invaded the country in March, 1241, and spread appalling devastation for a year. The Austrian duke, Frederick II. the Valiant, the last of the Babenbergs, meanwhile occupied the West and plundered the treasures of Queen Maria, who had taken refuge with him. After the departure of the invading hordes the king returned home from Dalmatia, and with the help of the Knights of St. John soon restored prosperity and undertook a campaign against the Austrian duke, who fell, leaving no issue, in the battle of Vienna Neustadt on June 15th, 1246. Bela IV. now occupied his valuable heritage, but in July, 1260, was forced to divide it with the Bohemian king, Premysl Ottokar

**Bohemian
Supremacy in
Hungary**

II., and finally to renounce it entirely since the power of Bohemia extended to the Adriatic Sea, and in Germany the "dreadful period without an emperor" of the interregnum had begun.

Ladislaus IV. (1272-1290), the son of Stefan V. (1270-1272), and a grandson of Bela IV., helped the Hapsburg ruler to win a victory for Ottokar at Dürnkrut on August 26th, 1278, and then wasted his time in dissipation and feasting with the

Cumanians, to whom he was related through his mother, the daughter of a Cumanian chief. He was hardly able to expel the Tartar invaders. On August 31st, 1290, he was murdered by a company of his dearest friends, the Cumanians. Rudolf of Hapsburg made an unjustifiable attempt to hand over Hungary to his son Albert, as a vacant fief of the empire; his real object, however, was to secure concessions in that quarter.

The male line of the house of Arpad became extinct after Andreas III. He was recognised only by Dalmatia and Croatia (1290 to January 14th, 1301), being opposed by Charles Martel of Anjou, who died in 1295, a stepson of Rudolf of Hapsburg and a protégé of Nicholas IV. Under the government of the Arpads the Hungarian nation had imbibed the spirit of Christian civilisation, though without sacrificing their natural interests on the altar of religion. The general policy of the Arpads had been to connect the development of the Hungarian nationality with Western civilisation, and to put down infidelity and barbarism with the sword. The country was covered with churches,

**Christianity and
Early Hungarian
Literature**

monasteries, and schools, of which latter the high school at Veszprim soon became a scientific and artistic centre. No less obvious is the influence of Christianity in the most ancient remains of Hungarian literature. The first book written in the Hungarian language at the outset of the thirteenth century is the "Funeral Service with Proper Prayers"; this service clearly reflects the spirit of the nation which had so long wandered upon the storm-lashed plains and only a short time before had buried its dead with their horses.

Upon the extinction of the male line of the Arpads several members of the female line came forward with claims to the vacant throne. Charles Robert, the grandson of Maria, daughter of Stefan V., was a member of the Neapolitan Anjou family, and had secured a considerable following from 1295, even during the lifetime of Andreas III.; however, the Hungarians, if we may believe the somewhat questionable traditions on the point, elected the king, Wenzel II. (Wenceslaus) of Bohemia, whose mother, Kunigunde of Halicz, was descended from the family of the Arpads. He did not accept the election, but handed over the Hungarian



MARGARET, QUEEN OF HUNGARY, SETTING OUT FOR PALESTINE

The daughter of Louis VII., King of France, Margaret became the second wife of Bela III., and was the means of introducing into Hungary much of the refinement and elegance which, even at that early period, distinguished the French court. After the death of Bela, in 1196, Henry VI., Emperor of Germany, determined upon sending an army to aid the Crusaders in Palestine, and at the head of the troops furnished by Hungary, Margaret, the youthful widow, set out in person. Margaret was not destined to return from her voluntary expedition, as she died in Palestine.

crown to his son, Wenzel III., who assumed the name of Ladislaus V., as king in 1302.

However, the party of Charles Robert caused Ladislaus so much trouble during his stay in the country that he returned to Bohemia in 1304. The party of Wenzel now elected Otto III., Duke of Lower Bavaria (1305 to 1308), whose mother, Elizabeth, was also a descendant of the house of Arpad. While upon a visit to Transylvania he fell into the hands of the Transylvanian voivode, Ladislaus Apor, in 1307; after spending a year in captivity he secured his freedom, abdicated the crown, left the country, and died in 1312.

By means of the intervention of the Pope, Charles Robert was chosen king; he was able to secure the predominance of the house of Anjou in Hungary for nearly a century. He proved an admirable ruler, who not only kept the oligarchy in check, but also improved the prosperity of Hungary by the introduction of a reformed system of defence and of agriculture; he also brought the nation into immediate contact with Italian civilisation. He secured the crown of Poland to his son and successor, Lewis, and the crown of Naples came under his influence by the marriage of his other son, Andreas.

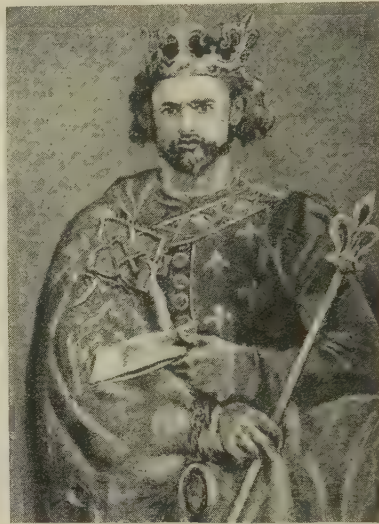
On the death of Charles Robert his son Lewis I. came to the throne (1342 to 1382), and Hungary secured a highly educated and knightly ruler, to whom she gladly gave the title of "the Great." Lewis introduced a beneficial innovation by a regulation which obliged the territorial serfs to pay a ninth of the products of their fields and vineyards to the nobility, in order that these might the more easily be able to fulfil the heavy obligation of supplying troops for military service; by prohibiting the alienation of noble lands from the families which owned them, this Angevin introduced the Hungarian custom of *aviticitas*—that is, hereditary succession. To this reform Lewis the Great owed his brilliant military successes.

His attention was soon claimed by the confusion in the kingdom of Naples, where his brother Andreas had been murdered by his own wife, Joanna I., in 1345. Lewis appeared in Naples with a large army at the close of 1347, conquered the town, and inflicted punishment upon the supporters of his sister-in-law, who fled to Provence. This victory of the Hungarian arms in Naples considerably raised the prestige of Lewis throughout Europe. Owing to the opposition of Pope Clement VI. he was unable to take permanent possession

In Touch With Italian Culture

of the conquered territory, but the long stay which he made in Italy (1347, 1348-1350) had a great influence upon the education of his nobles. In two campaigns, 1356 and 1358, he humbled the republic of Venice, and finally reconquered Dalmatia from Quarnero to Durazzo. For a short period (1365-1369) he also occupied part of Bulgaria. It was under his government that Christian Europe was first threatened by the Turkish advance into the Balkan Peninsula; this advance he prevented in 1366 for some time. To secure his dynasty and extend it, he betrothed his daughter, the heiress Maria, to Sigismund of Luxemburg, a younger son by a fourth marriage of the German Emperor Charles IV.; his other daughter, Hedwig, was betrothed to William, Duke of Austria. Both, however, died without children. Lewis did not secure possession of the crown of Poland until 1370; his power now extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and for a time even to the Black Sea. These acquisitions of territory increased his prestige and his influence among the states of Europe, but contributed very little to the consolidation of the Hungarian kingdom owing to the undisciplined nature of the Polish nobility and the favouritism of his mother Elizabeth. As Lewis I. had no sons, his daughter Maria (1382 to 1385) ascended the throne after his death, but was unable to maintain her position. Poland fell into the hands of her sister Hedwig, who had become the wife of Jagellon of Lithuania. How-

ever, in Hungary Maria was forced to deal at once with certain revolted noble families, who called to the throne, in 1385, King Charles III., the younger of Durazzo,



LEWIS THE GREAT

The greatest figure in Hungary before Hunyadi. He reigned from 1342 till 1382, and besides greatly extending the power and territory of his country, advanced its civilisation.

from Naples. This Angevin king was crowned as Charles II., and after a reign of thirty-six days was assassinated on February 24th, 1386. The nobles took Maria prisoner, and her mother Elizabeth they strangled. Maria's husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg, appeared at the right moment in Hungary with a Bohemian army of Wenzel to free his consort from imprisonment, and the regency was entrusted to him at the close of March, 1387. While these disturbances undermined the power of Hungary from within, the Ottomans were continuing their conquests in the Balkan Peninsula. In 1389 the fate of Serbia was decided. In 1393 the fortress of Widdin fell, the house of the Sismanids of Tirnovo was overthrown, and Bulgaria became an Ottoman province. Sigismund then turned for help to the Christian states of Western Europe. However, his splendid army,



QUEEN MARIA AND HER CONSORT SIGISMUND

These old woodcuts represent Maria, the daughter of Lewis the Great, and her husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The latter, who was also German Emperor, was made regent of Hungary in 1387.

half composed of Hungarians, was destroyed at Nicopoli by the Turks, with the loss of more than 50,000 men. South Hungary soon became a desert. Sigismund then found himself entangled in a long and fruitless war with Venice for the possession of Dalmatia. As German Emperor his attention was

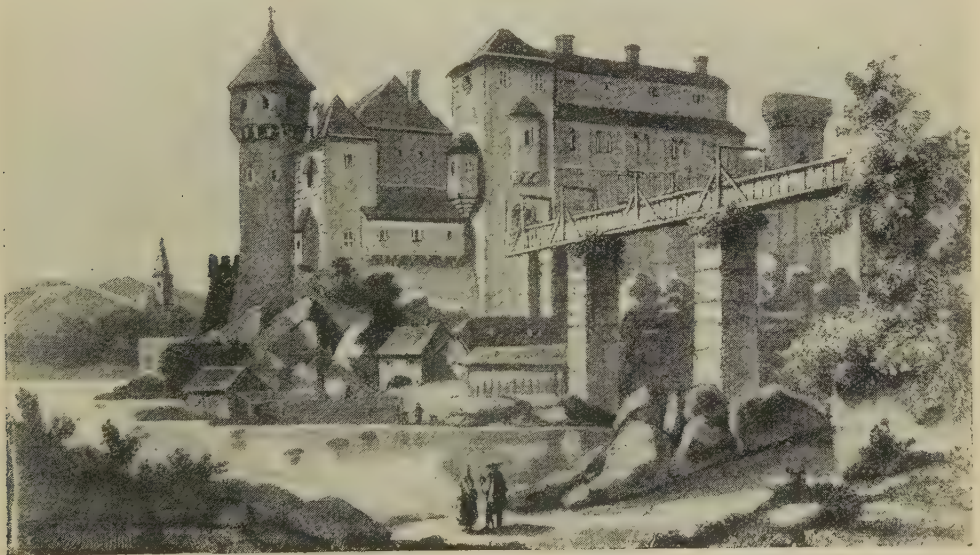
long occupied, after 1410 and 1411, by ecclesiastical difficulties. By the burning of the reformer, John Huss, the Hussite heresy was widely spread in Bohemia,

and the devastating influence of the movement extended also to Northern Hungary.

After a reign of fifty years Sigismund died and left the throne to the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, Albert of Austria. Under his government (1437-1439), Hungary nearly fell into the hands of the Turks, and was saved from destruction only by John or Janos Hunyadi, Baron of Szolnok and Count of Temesvar; he was one of the most capable generals and noblest figures in the Magyar nation. After the unexpected death of Albert, disturbances broke out at home and abroad. One party of the nobles chose Vladislav III. of Poland, while another

deceived by the optimism of the papacy, broke the treaty. The result of this rashness was his total defeat at the battle of Varna on November 10th, 1444, where Vladislav and Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini lost their lives. During the minority of

King Ladislaus V. Posthumus, Hunyadi was chosen regent of the empire, and ruled from June 5th, 1446, to Christmas, 1452. He devoted superhuman efforts to checking the aggrandisement of the nobility and the advance of the Turks. After the capture of Constantinople bands of Turks appeared before Belgrade. Owing to the enthusiastic preaching of the Minorite, John of Capistrano, the people joined



THE HISTORIC CASTLE OF JOHN HUNYADI, THE GREAT HERO OF HUNGARY

offered the crown to Ladislaus (Posthumus), the son of Albert, born after his death on February 22nd, 1440. These quarrels about the succession came to an end only upon the death of the queen widow, Elizabeth, on December 19th, 1442. In the end Vladislav I. secured recognition (1442-1444). The brilliant successes which Hunyadi had gained over the Turks on the occasion of their incursion into Transylvania and South Hungary in 1442 inspired the king to attack the enemy in his own country in 1443; he was defeated, and forced to conclude the peace of Szegedin in the middle of 1444. A few days afterwards Vladislav,

Hunyadi's Victories Over the Turks

the army of Hunyadi in such numbers that he was able to relieve Belgrade with great rapidity (July 21st, 1456). The whole of Europe was delighted with this brilliant feat of arms. However, on August 11th John Hunyadi ended his heroic life. The memory of this great man was but little honoured by King Ladislaus. Persuaded by the calumnies of the dead man's enemies, he executed his son Ladislaus, who had murdered the influential Count Ulrich of Cilli in Belgrade; the other son, Matthias, he took with him into captivity in Prague. After the sudden death of King Ladislaus V., on November 23rd, 1457, shortly before the arrival of his consort, Isabella of France, Matthias

returned home, and was placed upon the throne by the nobility on January 24th, 1458. Thus the short connection between Hungary and Bohemia again terminated for the moment. The thirty-two years of the reign of King Matthias Hunyadi (1458-

**Hunyadi's
Able Son on
the Throne**

1490), known as Corvinus, from his coat of arms, is the second period of prosperity and the last effort at independence on the part of Old Hungary. With an iron hand Matthias secured peace at home by the stern punishment of the rebellious nobles, and by making the grant of offices and dignities conditional upon good service. His government

is a series of military and political successes, accompanied by a steady advance in intellectual and economic progress. The Hussite, John Giskra, who had occupied almost all the fortified possessions in Upper Hungary, recognised the power of the young king and came over to his service in 1462. Matthias became entangled in the changing vicissitudes of a long war with the Emperor Frederick III., who had been joined by the dissatisfied nobles; the struggle was brought to an end between 1485 and 1487 by the permanent conquest of Vienna, of Austria below the Enns, and some parts of Styria. The troubles in Bohemia were satisfactorily terminated by the conventions of Ofen and Olmütz on September 30th, 1478, and on July 21st, 1479; these secured to Corvinus the title of King of Bohemia, and gave him possession of Moravia and the duchies of Silesia and Lausitz. He undertook a great expedition against the Turks, who marched triumphantly into Breslau and Vienna. When they invaded Transylvania he sent Count Paul Kinizsi of Temesvar to help the Voivode Stefan Bathori; they defeated the enemy on the Brotfeld at Broos on October 13th, 1479. Under the government of Corvinus the Turkish danger lost its threatening character for some time; by

the organisation of a standing army, the "Black Squadron," which maintained good discipline, he created a military power, the admirable organisation of which acted as a strong barrier against the storm advancing from the south.

At that period the new spirit of humanism was potent at the king's palace at Ofen, in the castles of the bishops, and in the high schools. Matthias was entirely under its influence. The movement of the renaissance found an enthusiastic reception and a ready support, not only in the seats of Dionys Szechy and John Vitez, the ecclesiastical princes of Gran and

Grosswardein, but also at the king's court. Italian masters, including Benedetto da Majono (1442-1497), built and decorated a royal palace in which historians, poets, and rhetoricians assembled. The prothonotary, John of Thuróc, continued his "Chronicum pictum Vin-dobonense" to the year 1464, while Antonio Bonfini, the "Hungarian Livy," who died in 1502, wrote the king's history, and Martino Galeotti, who died in 1478, collected his decrees.

Among the circle of scholars who gathered round Corvinus, a European reputation was won by Marsilio Ficino and by the later Bishop of Fünf-

kirchen, Janus Pannonius, with his Latin epics, elegies, and epigrams.

King Matthias had one of the most famous libraries of his time, the "Corvina," containing about 3,000 manuscripts and 60,000 volumes; it was carried off by the Turks, and a few scanty remnants of it now existing

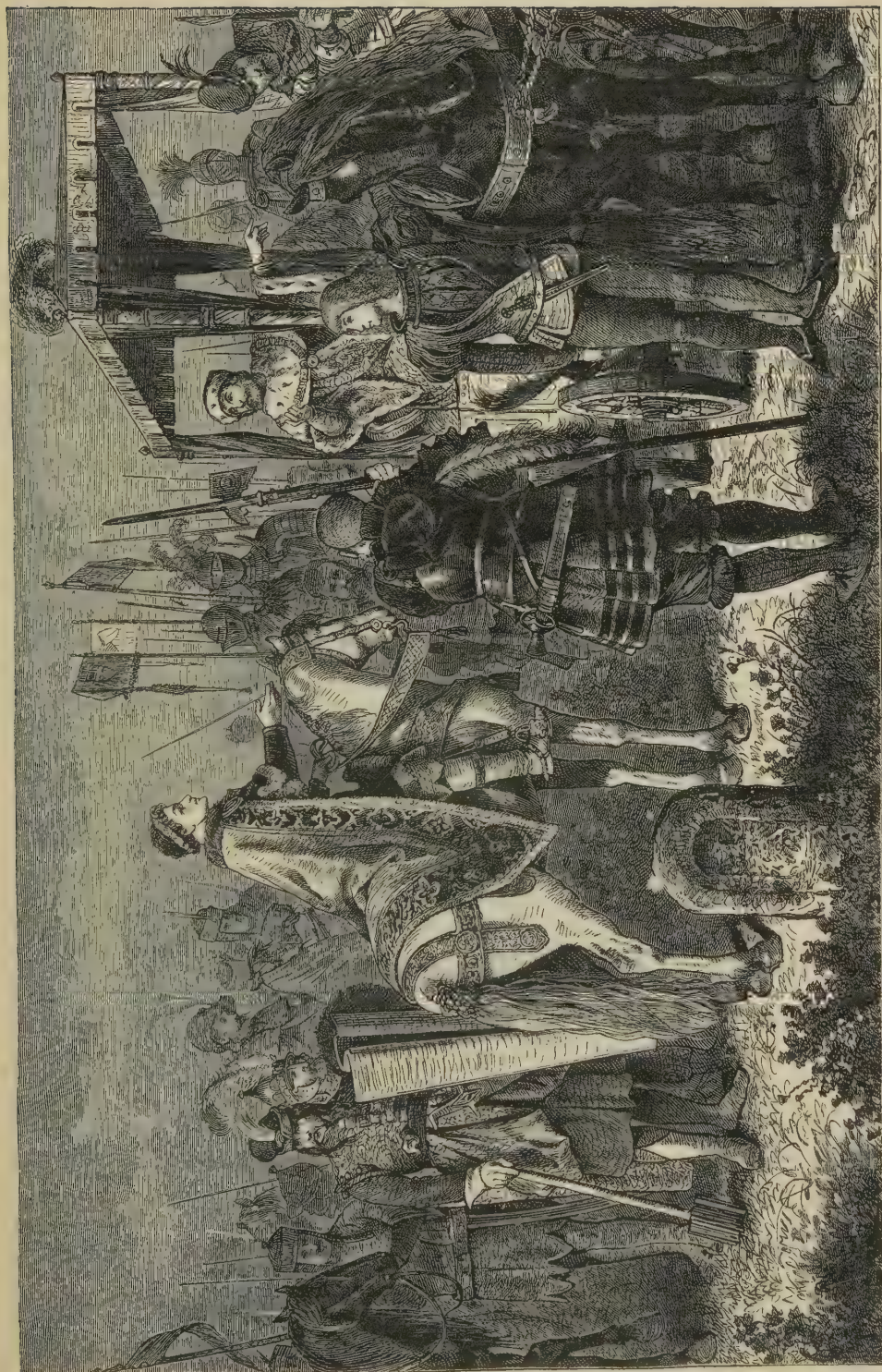
were sent back from Stamboul in 1869 and 1877. The period which ended with the death of this second Hunyadi was indeed a brilliant age. Its influence was transmitted to the minds of the coming generation, and facilitated the transition to the Reformation, which in Hungary found minds prepared to receive it by the intellectual culture of that age.



HUNYADI, THE HERO OF HUNGARY
John, or Janos, Hunyadi was the saviour of his country, as it was due to his military prowess that Hungary was saved from the Turkish yoke in the middle of the fifteenth century.

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**Brilliant
Age of
Corvinus**



JOHN HUNYADI'S SON, MATTHIAS CORVINUS, AND GEORGE PODIEBRAD IN THE CAMP BEFORE SPIELBERG IN 1403

On April 6th, 1490, King Matthias died at Venice at the age of fifty. The creation of a powerful Danube kingdom, which the genius of the great Corvinus had brought to pass, proved to be of a transitory nature. He had married twice, but there

Death of the Great Corvinus

were no children either by his first wife Katharina Podiebrad, or by the second, Beatrice of Aragon, whose praises are sung by Bonfini. With the consent of the nobles he therefore designated his natural son, the Duke John Corvinus, as his successor. Seduced from their promises by the intrigues of Queen Beatrice, the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries elected to the throne the Bohemian King Vladislav, a member of the family of the Jagiells or Jagellon family; his younger brother, John Albert, who had been brought forward during his minority, gave up his claim on February 20th, 1491, in return for compensation in Silesia.

Beatrice had supported the election of Vladislav in the hope that she would marry the king, who was still a bachelor, but in this she was entirely deceived. The great nobles were tired of the iron rule of Matthias, and longed for a weak king under whom the power of their families could be extended as they pleased. From this point of view Vladislav II. (1490-1516) fully realised their hopes; he lived at Ofen, a mere figurehead, who with his nobles carried on the government

and bought peace from foreign enemies at the price of disgraceful conditions.

The Roman Emperor Maximilian reconquered Vienna and the Austrian territories. The great nobles laid heavy burdens upon the towns and serfs, and made them feel inexorably the weight of their recovered power and dominion. The same time John Zapolya, Count of Zips, one of the richest territorial

owners, was secretly aiming at the throne; in 1505 he induced the estates to decree that they would not again elect a foreigner in case Vladislav should die leaving no male heir. To secure his family interests Vladislav in 1515 made a convention with the Emperor Maximilian regarding the succession, and betrothed his son Lewis to the Archduchess Maria, the emperor's granddaughter, and his daughter Anna to the Archduke Ferdinand.

A short time before—in 1514—a terrible revolt of the peasants had broken out under the leadership of George Dozsas. Zapolya caused the "belliger cruciferorum" (leader of the Crusaders) to be burnt upon a red-hot iron throne, and reduced the country to a state of apparent peace; but the misery and distress of the common people had risen to a high pitch.

After the death of King Vladislav, the throne was occupied by his son Lewis II., then ten years of age (1516-1526); during his minority the affairs of state were

conducted by a regency of three. In the midst of the disastrous party struggles which were continually fostered by Zapolya, the ambassador of Suleiman appeared in Ofen and offered peace on condition that Hungary should pay the yearly tribute to the sultan. The demand was refused and the emissary imprisoned, though no measures were taken

to protect the frontier. When Suleiman invaded the country in 1526, Lewis II. was able to bring only a small army against him. The disaster of Mohacs, on August 29th, cost the childless king his life and put an end to the unity of the Hungarian state. Suleiman captured Ofen, devastating the country far and wide, and marched home in October, retaining only Syrmia, to secure his possession of Belgrade.



KING MATTHIAS AND BEATRICE OF ARAGON

Matthias, the greatest son of John Hunyadi, died in 1490 after a brilliant reign, though he had not succeeded in creating a great Danube kingdom. Beatrice was his second wife, and he left no heir.



THE HAPSBURG POWER IN HUNGARY AND THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM

HARDLY had the Turks retired when disputes about the succession broke out. One portion of the nobility chose John Zápolya as king on November 10th, 1526; the remainder, on the ground of the compact concerning the succession which they had concluded with Vladislav, raised the Archduke Ferdinand, a brother of Charles V. and king of Bohemia, to the throne on the 16th and 17th of December. Ferdinand appeared with an army in the summer of 1527, captured Ofen on August 20th, and drove the opposition king, Zápolya, to Poland. However, after the retirement of Ferdinand, Zápolya returned with the help of Suleiman, conquered Ofen, and accompanied the sultan's advance to the walls of Vienna on September 21st, 1529. The attempt of the Turk to conquer Vienna was unsuccessful. However, Zápolya was able to secure the Hungarian throne with his help, while Ferdinand retained his hold only of the countries bordering on Austria. Henceforward, for nearly two centuries Hungary became a battlefield and the scene of bloody conflicts between armies advancing from east and west respectively.

Hungary a Battlefield for Two Centuries

French policy, which was working in Germany, Italy, and Constantinople to undermine the growing power of the house of Hapsburg, induced the sultan to undertake a second campaign in June, 1532, against Vienna. On the march, however, his quarter of a million soldiers were stopped by the seven hundred men of Nicholas, who held out for three weeks before the little fortress of Güns, so that the Turk was obliged to give up his project; he returned home, devastating the country as he went. This movement eventually induced the two kings to come to a reconciliation on February 24th, 1538, at Grosswardein. Each ruler was to retain the district which he had in possession, and after the death of John Zápolya the whole country, including that beyond the Theiss and Transylvania, was to be

inherited by Ferdinand; any future son born to the Magyar was to receive only Zips as a duchy.

This peace was, however, dissolved in 1539 by the marriage of John Zápolya with the Polish Duchess Isabella, who bore him a son, John Sigismund, in 1540. By the help of the Croatian, George Utis-

Treachery of the Sultan

senich, known as Martinuzzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, the Queen Isabella, who became a widow in 1540, was able to secure the recognition of her son as king. The Porte promised protection. However, on September 2nd, 1541, the sultan treacherously occupied Ofen, and incorporated it with his own kingdom. The little John Sigismund was left by the Turks in possession only of Transylvania and of some districts on the Theiss, while the northern and western counties remained in the hands of Ferdinand. The latter afterwards secured the help of Martinuzzi in December, 1541, under the convention of Gyula. The Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg and the Duke Maurice of Saxony made an attempt to recover Ofen at the end of September, 1542, but were hindered by insufficiency of means.

In view of the threatening aspect of the Turks, Martinuzzi persuaded the queen in 1548 to surrender her territory in return for an indemnity. Isabella and John Sigismund came to an agreement in 1551 with the Silesian duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor, while John Castaldo, Ferdinand's field-marshal, occupied Transylvania, and

Queen Isabella Surrenders Territory

"Frater Georgius" was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. As Ferdinand's army was not strong enough to dispel the attack, Martinuzzi attempted to gain time by negotiating with the Porte. This aroused the suspicion of Castaldo. On December 17th, 1551, he caused Martinuzzi to be treacherously murdered in the castle of Alvincz by the Marchese Alphonso Storza-Pallavicini and the private secretary Marcantonio Ferrari. In view of repeated

attempts to accentuate the devotion of the Austrian hereditary territories and the value of the contingents offered by the German Empire, it is worth pointing out that the very dexterous policy of "brother George" was dangerous to Hungary, inas-

Transylvania Under the Ottoman Heel

much as it served to clear the way for the inevitable supremacy of the Turks. Isabella and John Sigismund soon returned to Transylvania, which now became a permanent vassal state of Turkey, though it received full religious freedom in 1557. Ferdinand, one of the best princes of his age, could not oppose the victorious advance of the Ottomans, for at that time the interests of the Hapsburgs extended over half Europe, and he could not use his power against the Porte alone. Temesvar fell in 1552, notwithstanding the heroic defence of Stefan Losonczy; in Dregely, George Szondy died a hero's death, with the whole of the garrison. Castaldo was forced to retire from Transylvania in 1556, and peace secured the sultan in the receipt of a yearly tribute from Ferdinand.

After Ferdinand's death, his son and successor Maximilian (1564-1576) became entangled in the war with John Sigismund in the very first year of his reign. The result was a fresh campaign of the Turks, in the course of which Nikolaus Zrinyi met his death, with the whole of his garrison, in the fortress of Szigetvar on September 7th, 1566. John Sigismund Zápolya now founded a principality of Transylvania under Turkish supremacy, but on the condition that the estates should on every occasion have free choice of their prince. After his death, in 1571, Stefan Báthori (1571-1575), a far-seeing and important man, was placed upon the new throne; however, in December, 1575, he exchanged his throne for the more ancient kingdom of Poland, as the husband of the Jagellon princess Anna. As regards

the services of the Hungarian nobility, who did their best to break away from the Hapsburgs and lived in constant effort to secure this end, a sufficient proof of their selfishness is their oppression of the lower classes, who had revolted against the Ottomans in 1572 from pure patriotism. Stefan's brother Christopher was succeeded in 1586 by his son Sigismund Báthori.

Meanwhile Maximilian had died, and the inheritance fell to his son Rudolf (1576-1608). Hungary was devastated under his rule by a Turkish war, which lasted fifteen years (1591-1606), while Transylvania was ravaged both by the Turks and by the armies of Rudolf. Sigismund Báthori, who had married Marie Christine

of Styria in 1595, soon divorced her, and exchanged his land for Oppeln and Ratibor in 1597. In 1598, however, he regretted his action. He returned home, abdicated in 1599 in favour of his nephew Andreas, and retired to Poland. Rudolf, who would have been glad to get Transylvania under his own power, incited Michael, the Voivode of Wallachia, to make war against Andreas Báthori, who fell in that campaign. The nobles then recalled Sigismund Báthori in 1601; but he was driven out, in 1602, by George Basta, the field-marshal of Rudolf,

with the help of the Turks. With the object of definitely getting the country into the possession of Rudolf, Basta had secured the murder of the Wallachian voivode in Thorenburg, or Torda, on August 19th, 1601, and exercised so inhuman a despotism as governor, that Transylvania was brought to the lowest point of distress. In exasperation and despair the nobles, after the suppression of a revolt begun by Moses Székely in 1603, appointed the Calvinist Stefan Bocskay as prince in 1605, and he soon occupied almost the whole country, with the help of the Turks. Although the sultan recognised him as



THE FAMOUS CROWN OF HUNGARY

Among the historic crowns of Europe none has had a more varied history than that of Hungary, known as the crown of St. Stefan, the lower part of it having been given by Pope Silvester II. to King Stefan. Fifty kings have been crowned with it during a period of 800 years.

The Peace of Vienna Concluded

THE HAPSBURG POWER IN HUNGARY

king, Bocskay brought about a reconciliation with Rudolf, and concluded the peace of Vienna in June 1606, with Rudolf's brother Matthias, who had been appointed governor in Hungary; in accordance with this agreement the constitution was to be restored in its old form, and the Protestants were to retain their religious freedom undisturbed by the untenable edicts which Rudolf had issued on this subject in 1604.

After November of the same year the intervention of Bocskay brought about the peace of Zsitva-Torok with the Turks. The Turks retained the districts which they possessed at that time, but Hungary was no longer to pay tribute after one final instalment of 200,000 florins. Bocskay survived the conclusion of the peace of Vienna only for a short time; he died on December 29th, 1606. This arrangement, "without prejudice to

appearance of Luther, performed a valuable service in fostering the spirit of union. During the piteous strife of contrary interests it spread so rapidly in the course of a century that it overran almost the whole nation. In the stern theology of Calvin,

which the nation called the "Hungarian Faith," the people found the support which saved them from collapse. "From the time of the introduction of Christianity," says the Hungarian writer on æsthetics, Zoltán Beöthy, "the Protestant movement was the first great enlightening influence which passed over the whole nation. The apostles of the new faith appeared in hundreds, the messengers of a more penetrating and more national culture." The Protestants founded numerous schools and printing-presses, which published the first Magyar grammars, dictionaries and histories. To this period belong the whole series



JOHN ZAPOLYA KING OF HUNGARY
Zápolya was chosen king by the nobles in 1526, but was ousted by the King of Bohemia. In 1529, however, with the aid of Suleiman, the Turk, he restored himself, and held the throne until his death.



QUEEN ISABELLA

Isabella was the wife of John Zápolya and mother of King John Sigismund, and Zrinyi was a Magyar leader who met his death at the hands of the Turks at Szigetvar in 1606.



NIKOLAUS ZRINYI



STEFAN BATHORI

Bathori exchanged the throne of Transylvania for Poland.

the Catholics," far from bringing the wars of religion to an end, rather tended to exasperate partisan feeling.

In these difficult times of degeneration, Protestantism, which had made an entry into Hungary immediately after the

of translations of the Bible, among which that by Kaspar Károlyi obtained a reputation which has remained undiminished from that period right up to the present day. In the course of this intellectual movement, there appeared in 1565, a year after

the birth of Shakespeare, the first dramatic production of Hungarian literature, under the title of "The Treachery of Melchior Balassa," probably composed by Paul Karádi, which, with biting satire and poetic vigour, described the life of a noble given over to the sins of that age. Literature was circulated through the country not only by the clergy, but also by wandering minstrels, who passed from castle to castle, and from place to place, and sang their songs to the accompaniment of the lute or violin. Of them, the most highly

Réformation. A Protestant who had been converted by the Jesuits, Peter Pázmány (1570-1637), Archbishop of Gran from 1616 and Cardinal from 1629, was a zealot in the cause of conversion, and was specially successful among the high nobility. By his sermons and pamphlets, which he collected in his "Kalauz," or "Hodegeus" ("guide"), as his great work was called, he converted many nobles to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1635 he refounded the Jesuit University at Tyrnau, which was burnt down in the sixteenth century; this



THE DESTRUCTION OF SZIGETVÁR BY THE TURKS ON SEPTEMBER 7th, 1686
This picture of the assault in which Nikolaus Zrinyi was killed is taken from a woodcut of the period.

educated was, perhaps, Sebastian Tinódi (about 1510-1557), whose historical songs and rhymed chronicle recount the whole history of those years of warfare and distress. The heroic and careless-minded knight, Valentin Balassy (1551-1594), was the first great Hungarian lyric poet whose "Blumenlieder" were to be revived two centuries later. Romantic poetry at that time entered upon a peculiar period of prosperity in Hungary. Under Rudolf's successor, Matthias, whose reign lasted from 1608 till 1619, began the Catholic Counter-

was afterwards changed into the High School of Budapesth. The Reformation in Hungary seemed doomed to collapse.

Only in Transylvania was Protestantism strong enough at this period to check the progress of the Counter-Reformation and to protect the Protestants who were persecuted in Hungary. When the Thirty Years' War broke out under Ferdinand II. (1619-1637), the successor of Matthias, the throne of Transylvania was occupied by Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629), the successor to Gabriel Báthori (1608-1613); to

THE HAPSBURG POWER IN HUNGARY

him Protestantism in Hungary and Transylvania is indebted for its preservation.

When the Bohemians revolted against Ferdinand II. in 1619, Bethlen espoused their cause, and brought the greater part of Hungary, including the crown, into his power. On January 8th, 1620, he was appointed king in Neusohl, and was also recognised by the Porte at the price of the sacrifice of Waitzen on November 5th, 1621. However, on January 6th, 1622, he concluded peace with Ferdinand II. at Nikolsburg, for the power of the Hapsburgs had increased considerably since the battle of the White Mountain.

Soon, however, he again took up arms against Ferdinand, as the ally of the German Protestant princes. He was induced by the victory of Tilly over the allies of the "Winter King" to renew the peace on the 8th of May, 1624, and was even desirous of marrying a daughter of Ferdinand, in order to unite his power with that of the Hapsburgs against the Turks. Catholic influence prevented this project, and Bethlen married Katharina, a sister of the Elector George William of Brandenburg. In the year 1626 he advanced for the third time against the brave Mansfeld; as, however, King Christian IV. of Denmark was also defeated by Tilly, he finally concluded peace with Ferdinand on December 28th, at Pressburg. After a reign of fifteen years, he died without children on November 15th, 1629; he was the greatest prince of Transylvania, and largely forwarded the progress of culture, science and education.

After Stefan Bethlen had made an unsuccessful attempt at the regency, the Transylvanians chose as their prince

George Rakoczy I. (1631-1648), a son of that Sigismund Rakoczy who had been prince of Transylvania from February, 1607, to March 3rd, 1608. After a series of difficulties at home and abroad he was forced to take up arms against King Ferdinand III. (1637-1657), in the interest of Hungarian Protestantism. In September, 1645, the contending parties concluded peace at Linz, and a full measure of religious toleration was secured to the Protestants; this agreement was an advance upon that of Nikolsburg, in so far as the concessions formerly made to the nobility were now extended to the citizens and serfs.

Rakoczy died on the day of the proclamation of the Peace of Westphalia, and was succeeded by his son George Rakoczy II. (1648-1658). In 1653 he secured the supremacy of Moldavia, and that of Wallachia in 1654, after the death of Matthias Basarab, as Constantine Basarab then submitted to him. On the other hand, he wasted his strength in 1657 in a fruitless war against Poland as the ally of Charles X. of Sweden. He was consequently deposed by the Turks, and died on June 6th, 1660, of the wounds he had

received at Szamosfalva on the 22nd of May. The Grand Vizir placed Franz Rhédey on the throne in November, 1657, and, upon his speedy abdication, installed Achatius Bárcsay in November, 1658. The latter, however, was expelled by John Kemény. Against him the Vizir Ali set up an op-

position prince on September 14th, 1661, in the person of Michael Apafi (1661-1690). After a rule of one year Kemény fell, on January 24th, 1662, at Nagy-Szöllös, near Schässburg. As Transylvania grew weaker, Hungarian Protestantism was hard beset



KING FERDINAND II.

This Hapsburg ruler of Bohemia and Hungary had to meet a revolt of Bohemia in 1619; and Gabriel Bethlen, joining with the Bohemians, secured part of Hungary.



GABRIEL BETHLEN

Though Bethlen, King of Transylvania, succeeded against Ferdinand, with the aid of Bohemia, he was, later, glad to make friends with the Hapsburgs. George Rakoczy II. ruled Transylvania from 1648 till 1658.



GEORGE RAKOCZY II.

from day to day, and at the same time the Turks were extending their conquests and occupying the most important fortresses in Upper Hungary and in the Austrian territories. Under the son and successor of Ferdinand III., the strict Catholic, Leopold I. (1658-1705), the distress of the country began to reach its zenith. In those troubled times

A Literary Hungarian Protestant

the greatest figure of Hungarian Protestantism was Albert Szneci Mólnár, who wrote his Hungarian Grammar and Dictionary at German universities, and translated psalms, which he set to French tunes, a setting used at the present day in the Calvinistic Churches of Hungary. In the battles of that year a conspicuous figure is Nikolaus Zrinyi (1616-1664), a great-grandson of the hero of Szigetvar;

he composed an epic poem, "The Peril of Sziget," in which he sang the exploits of his great ancestor, whose military capacity had long hindered the progress of the Ottomans. Leopold's field-marshal, Raimondo Montecuccoli, won a victory over the Turks on August 1st, 1664, at St. Gothard on the Raab; but, in consequence of the danger threatened to his rear by the Magyars, concluded a peace at Eisenburg, by the terms of which the Turks retained possession of all their previous conquests.

This disgraceful retreat stirred up exasperation in Hungary, and a conspiracy was set on foot in 1667; the leaders, however, who reckoned on French and Turkish support, the Counts Peter Zrinyi, Franz Nádasdy, and Franz Christopher Frangepani were executed on April 30th, 1671. Franz Rakoczy, the son-in-law of Zrinyi, was spared, while Franz of Wesselényi died a natural death on March 28th, 1667, before the discovery of the conspiracy. The Vienna government took advantage of this occasion to overthrow the constitution and to extirpate Protestantism. The property of Protestant nobles was confiscated, priests and teachers were transported in bands and served in the galleys of Naples, while executions and condemnations were of daily occurrence. Thousands fled to Transylvania and to

the Turkish frontier districts, whence, under the name of Kurutzen or Crusaders, they continually made incursions into the royal domains. These struggles, however, with the mercenaries of the foreign government did not become important until 1678, when Emerich Tokoly placed himself at the head of the movement. With the exception of some few castles the whole of the royal district fell into the hands of Tokoly, who was appointed Prince of Hungary by the sultan, and chosen king in 1682 by the diet of Kaschau, an election confirmed by the Porte on August 10th, 1683. The defeat of Vienna brought his rule to a speedy end, and Leopold now sent his armies into Hungary in conjunction with his German allies. On September 2nd, 1686, the citadel of Ofen again fell into the hands of the Christians



EMERICH TOKOLY

Who headed the movement against Hungary in 1678 and was appointed Prince of Hungary by the sultan in 1682; his spell of power was short.

after one hundred and forty-five years of Turkish rule. The grateful nobles abolished the elective monarchy in 1687, and recognised the hereditary rights of the house of Hapsburg by primogeniture in the male line.

The Turks lost one district after another; and when Prince Eugene of Savoy had inflicted a fearful defeat upon them at Zenta, on September 11th, 1697, the Peace of Karlovitz was concluded, by the terms of which Hungary was freed from the Turkish yoke with the exception of the valley of the Temes and part of Syrmia. Transylvania had been so

closely conjoined with Hungary, on May 10th, 1688, that Apafi now possessed only a shadow of his former power. However, the persecution of the Protestants and the oppression of the people still continued. Leopold's generals, including Antonio Caraffa, who had secured Transylvania for the Hapsburgs, after the death of the prince Apafi in 1690, exercised so inhuman a despotism, that the general exasperation broke out again in 1703. Franz Rakoczy II. (1676-1735), a son of the above-mentioned Franz I., took the lead of the malcontents. At that time Leopold was occupied with the War of the Spanish Succession, and almost the whole country fell into the hands of the nobles, and was declared independent on June 7th.

Hungary Free From the Turkish Yoke



THE RECAPTURE OF THE CITADEL OF OFEN BY THE CHRISTIANS IN 1686

For nearly a century and a half the citadel of Ofen, which is the modern Buda, had been held by the Turks, and was an important centre of the Ottoman power in the west. But after the defeat of Vienna, Leopold I., who was a strict and zealous Catholic, sent his armies into Hungary in conjunction with his German allies, and on September 2nd, 1685, Ofen was rescued from the dominion of the Turk. In the following year the grateful nobles abolished the elective monarchy which had hitherto obtained, and the House of Hapsburg was established on the throne of Hungary.

After the death of Leopold, his son Joseph I. (1705-1711) undertook the government; and the nobles then declared at the diet of Onod, in 1707, that the throne had passed from the Hapsburgs. An appeal to arms resulted in Joseph's favour in 1708. Rakoczy fled, and his field-marshal Karolyi concluded peace with the king at Szatmar on May 1st, 1711. With this peace the momentous period of internal struggle, for which the high nobility were chiefly to blame, came to an end.

The fact that the Hungarian nation was not destroyed in the severe struggles of those years, but was able to preserve its national independence, was owing primarily to Protestantism, which preserved

custom of buying and carrying off women in the modern Hungarian ceremonies of wooing and marriage; on the other hand, the peculiar funeral customs of Hungary have been considerably modified by Christian beliefs.

Tenaciously clinging to these traditions, the nation watched the One Hundred Years' War, which was carried on by those of their number who had been exasperated beyond bounds by the arbitrary rule and the religious persecution which their king had directed from Vienna. The war is, as it were, an epitome of the national history; the splendour and the sorrow of this period is reflected in a rich and brilliant ballad poetry, which was inspired in particular by the revolts of Tokoly and Rakoczy. From the events of his own

time Stefan Gyongyosi (1640-1704) found material for those narrative poems which remained popular among the nation for over a century. Shortly after Descartes, John Apaczai Cseri, who had been educated in the Netherlands, came forward, between 1654 and 1655, as the representative of rationalism, with his "Hungarian Encyclopædia." By this work he created a Magyar vocabulary for philosophy some fifty years before Chr. Thomasius had done the same for German. At the same time there were a

number of historians and chroniclers, such as John Szalardi, Prince John Kemeny, Nikolaus Bethlen (1642-1716), Michael Cserei (1668-1756), and also the narrator of ancient customs, Peter Apor (1676-1752). The most distinguished work in the literature of that time is certainly the "Letters from Turkey" of Klemens Mikes (1690-1762), who shared the banishment to Turkey of Franz Rakoczy II., and clung with moving fidelity to his defeated master and to the country he had lost.

Under the government of Charles III. (1711-1740) peace slowly began to gain ground, although the Turkish war broke out twice during his reign. After the first campaign the king not only recovered, in 1718, by the Peace of Passarowitz, the



DRESSES OF HUNGARIAN SOLDIERS IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY

From an old wood engraving in "The Triumph of King Maximilian I."

the old native conceptions derived from ancient and in part from heathen times, and indeed almost justified their right to exist side by side with new trains of thought. As the Roman Church at the introduction of Christianity interfered but little in family life and popular custom, so also Protestantism, as being in close sympathy with the idea of nationality, did its best to preserve traditional use and custom. In the midst of religious and political dissension at home and abroad, Protestantism placed national unity above religious uniformity. It was rather a conservative than a destructive force in its influence upon ancient family customs, of which many fragments have survived from that day to the present. A case in point is the survival of the old

**Famous
"Letters from
Turkey"**



A countess in the dress of a lady of rank



The typical national costume of a nobleman



A Hungarian baron in the dress of his rank



The Prime Minister in the costume of a noble

THE COSTUMES OF THE OLD HUNGARIAN NOBLES

From a series of photographs of present-day nobles in their national dress.

E. N. A.

Turkish portion of Hungary, but also made acquisitions in Wallachia and Servia.

After the death of Charles III., his daughter Maria Theresa (1740-1780) ascended the throne, but her right to the succession was immediately and vigorously disputed. The Prussian king, Frederick II., invaded Silesia; the elector, Charles Albert of Bavaria, occupied Upper Austria and Bohemia with French help; and the Spaniards attacked the Italian possessions. At the diet of Pressburg, on September 11th, 1741, the nobles enthusiastically placed their lives and property at the disposal of the young queen. In a short time the Hungarian and Austrian troops drove the French and Bavarians out of Bohemia and occupied Bavaria. Only Frederick II. was able to deprive the queen of some comparatively small amount of territory, as she was thrice obliged to cede to him a part of Silesia. During the years of peace the queen devoted her attention to improving the material and intellectual prosperity of her subjects, and introduced beneficial reforms into ecclesiastical and educational organisations.

While the national spirit was thus stirred to new life, literature also entered upon a remarkably flourishing period. Full of gratitude, Maria Theresa summoned the chief nobility to her court, and

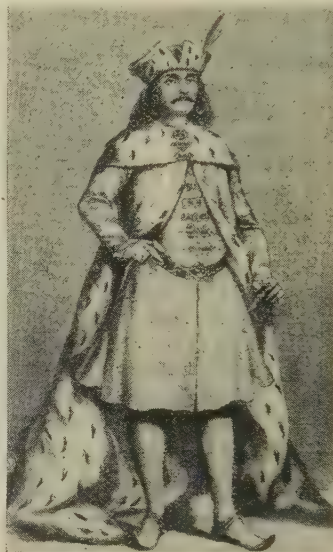
formed a Hungarian bodyguard of their sons, in 1760, at Vienna, who became the pioneers of a new culture through their close connection with the intellectual movements in the West. In the year 1772 there appeared from the pen of George Bessenyei (1752-1811) "The Tragedy of Agis;" in this, as in his other dramas and in his epic poem of King

Matthias, the poet showed a masterly power of imitating the French, and especially Voltaire. He thus became the founder of the "French School," among whom Alexander Baroczi (1737-1809) and Joseph Peczeli became conspicuous as translators of French works of literature.

With the accession of the son of Maria Theresa, the humanitarian Joseph II. (1780-1790), the kings of the house of Lorraine and Tuscany came to the Hungarian throne. Joseph continued the work of reform, but without displaying his mother's tact. In 1784 he made German, instead of Latin, the official language of the state and of the schools; in 1785 he

divided the country into ten new districts, and placed foreigners at the head of these.

A dangerous ferment arose in 1789 when Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar was nearly set up as an opposition king with Prussian support; and Joseph II. shortly before his death on January 30th, 1790, was forced to repeal all his innovations.



FRANZ RAKOCZY II.

With whose defeat at Szatmar, in 1711, Hungarian internal strife came to an end.



THE CITADEL AND CATHEDRAL OF GRAN, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF HUNGARY



GERMAN ELEMENT IN HUNGARY AND ITS INFLUENCE DURING 800 YEARS

AFTER the overthrow of the rule of the Avars, the frontiers of the great Frankish dominion were occupied by German colonists; Frankish and Bavarian nobles obtained extensive possessions, especially in the mountainous country which borders the frontiers of Styria, and even then bore some traces of Roman civilisation. When the Hungarians occupied the country at the end of the ninth century, they left the German settlements for the most part undisturbed, but prevented their increase. Many of the fortified frontier strongholds may have been overthrown in the course of the Magyar attacks; but they did not disappear entirely.

Friendly relations with Germany were secured in 995 by the marriage of Stefan with Gisela, the daughter of the Bavarian duke, Henry II., for the reason that this lady brought with her many clergy and

Culture in the Train of a Princess

nobles and their retinues, who helped to bring about the rapid extension of Christianity and culture. The immigration of German knights, monks, and other people became more rapid after the husband of Gisela had ascended the throne of Hungary; however, among the German colonies proper we have certain information concerning only one as originating from that early period, that is, Deutsch-Szatmar on the Szamos, which was founded by Gisela herself.

The apostle-king, as Stefan I., or Saint Stefan, has been called, organised his court upon German models, and throughout his reign displayed a consistent tendency to favour the noble immigrants. In his advice to his son Emerich, who died prematurely, he wrote that the introduction of foreigners was to be regarded as a necessary means to the support of the throne and to the increase of the imperial power; "treat these guests well and hold them in honour." Upon the whole, this was the attitude adopted by his successors of the Arpad family.

The counties of Eisenburg and Ödenburg on the slopes of the Leitha mountain range, at the base of which lies the Lake of Neusiedel, and also the valleys formed by the spurs of the Eastern Alps of Styria and Austria, are inhabited by the German people of the Hienzes. Upon an area of some 400 square miles are to be found

30,000 Slavs ("Water-Croatians"), 10,000 Jews, about 5,000 Magyars, and about 300,000 Germans, for the most part Catholics. The name Hienz, or Haenz, points to their German origin, for their neighbours would not have given this little people any name of German form. Probably the name is derived from Heinz, Henz, or Aenz (Heinrich or Henry), and consequently has the meaning "Henry's people," meaning either the Emperor Henry III. or Count Henry of Güssing (1228—1274), who founded one of the most powerful families, was for a time palatine of the empire, and is often mentioned in the frontier wars against Styria and the Austrians. He founded numerous fortresses in these districts, including the castle of Ternstein and the town of Güns. His sons, Ivan, or John, Peter, Nicholas, and Henry, all occupied high positions, and are named in the documents "Henry's sons"; they all worked to secure the prestige of their family. Almost all the fortresses on the western frontier were in their possession. The garrisons of these fortresses were exclu-

Prosperity Among the Bavarians

sively German, recruited for the most part from the surrounding inhabitants, and may therefore have taken the names Hienzes, or Haenzes, or have received it from their master.

The remnants of that Bavarian settlement founded here by Charles the Great to oppose the Avars—though we need not assume that the colonial activity of Charles extended beyond the east frontier into Pannonian territory—developed into

flourishing Bavarian communities under the Frankish margraves; like these, the settlements of the Hienzes suffered no doubt considerable damage from the occupation of the country by the Hungarians, but soon received important reinforcements in the numerous German prisoners brought by the Hungarians from German countries in the course of their raids. This German group of communities was especially strengthened in the first place by the neighbourhood of Austria and Styria, and further by the incorporation of German nobles. The wooded frontier district, which even at the time of the Emperor Henry III. was so inhospitable that he was able to penetrate into Hungary only by following the long windings of the Raab, was transformed by the industry, the native vigour, the common-sense, and the God-fearing work of the Hienzes into a rich agricultural, timber-growing, and vine-bearing district; here these people clung tenaciously in the midst of their progress to the manners and customs of their forefathers, and preserved their nationality among a Finno-Ugrian population.

Political circumstances were almost invariably favourable to the progress of the Germans, notwithstanding the many disturbances which constantly burst over the West. In 1440, when Eisenstadt was mortgaged by Queen Elizabeth to the Austrian duke Albert, the German nationality received a strong reinforcement. With the consent of the Hungarian nobility King Matthias Corvinus ceded considerable districts to the Emperor Frederick III.

The neighbours of the Hienzes are the "Heidebauern," or heath-peasants, who lived upon the "heath" on the shores of the Lake of Neusiedel, on the Schütt, and near Pressburg. This people is of Suabian origin; they migrated from the district on the Bodensee to Hungary during the

Turks Expelled to Make Room for Germans

Reformation, to escape the persecution of the neighbouring Austrian nobles, - and were protected by Maria, the consort of Lewis II., about 1626. When, however, the Counter-Reformation in Hungary prepared to suppress Protestantism by more vigorous measures after 1640, some of the heath-peasants returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The neighbourhood of the Austrian territories brought with it the consequence

that the settlements of the Hienzes and of the heath-peasants took but little share in the internal disturbances or the foreign wars of the Hungarian kingdom; for that reason they were able to preserve their German nationality.

After the expulsion of the Turks, the ecclesiastical and secular nobles attempted, by bringing in German colonists, to restore the depopulated and devastated districts in the neighbourhood of the capital, on the heights of the Vertesgebirge and of the Bakonyer Wald, on the Central Danube and in the corner between the Danube and the Drave. At the end of the seventeenth century the Archbishops of Gran settled Suabians and Franks upon their property. In 1690, in the county of Pesth, Suabian immigrants founded the town of Izsaszeg, and six years later restored the ruins of Duna-Haraszti. The Duke Charles of Lorraine and Prince Eugene also settled Germans on their property at Ofen; their example was followed by the Counts Zichy, Raday, and Grassalkovich. In the year 1718 Germans from

Secret of German Success

the Rhine districts were settled on the property of the lords in the counties of Tolna and Baranya. The Austrian field-m Marshals, who had been rewarded with extensive lands in Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks, attempted to attract German colonists thither. In the majority of such settlements the German nationality has survived to the present day, though weakened in many respects.

Of much greater, and sometimes of decisive political importance, have been the Germans in Northern Hungary. Belonging for the most part to the population of Lower Saxony and Central Germany—Thüringen and Silesia—they reached their present home, between the last third of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth, in the course of several advances to the slopes of the Carpathians. Their main calling was mining, but they owed much of their prosperity to their commercial activity and their manufacturing industry; and they received grants of municipal privileges through which they were enabled to produce a prosperous burgher class. Beginning with the district of the heath-peasants, whose representatives in Germany sent a few offshoots over the Danube, their central point was Pressburg, which the Hapsburgs

made, from 1642, the town for the coronation of the Hungarian kings and the seat of the assembly. Most of these advance posts have been absorbed, with a few scanty exceptions, by the surrounding Slovak-Ruthenian population.

The most northern points of the German nationality were formerly the mining towns of "Lower Hungary." The first Germans may have settled here at the same date when others occupied Zips in the second half of the twelfth century. The oldest mining colony, Schemnitz, received corporate privileges from Béla IV. as early as 1244. The "municipal and mining code of Schemnitz," composed in two sections on the basis of that royal document in the thirteenth century by the "sworn representatives of the town," detailed in forty sections the "town rights" and in twenty the "mining rights," and was, in the course of the fourteenth century, extended to include most of the remaining mining towns, so far as they had not already charters of their own.

In 1255 the men of Neusohl acquired the right to carry on mining free of taxation; their only obligation was to pay a tenth part of the gold and an eighth of the silver to the royal treasury, and to serve under the king's flag in campaigns. They, too, were allowed the ordeal of battle, after the old Saxon custom, with swords and round shields. It was, however, King Stefan V. who first gave Neusohl its charter of freedom in the year 1271. Kremnitz, which had been the seat of the imperial chamberlain from 1323, was given rights hitherto enjoyed only by the rich Kuttensburg in Bohemia, by King Charles Robert, with the consent of the secular and ecclesiastical nobles. Thus the people of Kremnitz were able to live under judges of their own choice, and could be prosecuted for debt by none in the whole country.

In 1424, when King Sigismund handed over the mountain towns to his second wife, Barbara of Cilli, who died in 1451, the result was that they remained a coherent group in the possession of the Hungarian queen, and received extensive privileges enabling them to attain a prosperity which aroused the envy and the avarice of the lords of neighbouring castles. The castles which surrounded that district in a circle

were partly in possession of the Hussite leader Giskra, and partly in that of the family of Doczy and of other nobles. In 1497 the quarrel broke out, but soon ended in a compromise. Meanwhile the mining towns enjoyed the favour of the powerful families of Thurzo and Fugger, with whose support they were able to emerge victoriously from the struggle.

The Richest Man in Hungary Towards the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the mining towns attained the zenith of their prosperity, notwithstanding the attacks of the Turks and the devastations of hostile armies. Their export copper trade extended beyond Cracow to Danzig and the Hansa towns, even to Antwerp and Venice. The lessee of the mines of Neusohl, Alexius Thurzo, chancellor of the imperial exchequer, was regarded in 1523 as "the richest man in Hungary," while his relations in Augsburg, the Fuggers, were for a long time bankers of the Hungarian kings.

The disturbances of the seventeenth century brought grievous consequences upon the mining towns. In 1620 Gabriel Bethlen caused himself to be proclaimed King of Hungary in Neusohl, and from 1619 the mining towns were forced to pay him heavy taxes. During the disturbances in the time of Rakoczy and Tokoly, these towns were not only the scene of warfare, but also lost their prosperity in consequence of extortions and devastation. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the mines became less productive, for natural reasons. As an additional calamity came the persecutions of the Counter-Reformation, to which members of the Lutheran doctrine were exposed. The impoverished mining towns were now occupied by Slovaks and here and there by Magyars. The nobility seized the greater part of the mines. A century, however, was needed to reduce the German

German Nationality in Ruins nationality in this place to its present low ebb; to-day only family names and place names are German, the population is Slovak. Passing over the ruins of German nationality in the north-west, we come to the extreme north of Hungary to the southern slopes of the Carpathians, where we find the vigorous German tribe of the people of Zips, who since the seventh century have had a settled home amid the romantic surroundings of the high

mountain range, and by their steady industry have secured prosperity and reputation among the neighbouring peoples. The wealth of timber, the number of mountain streams, and the nature of the natural products of the "Silva zepus" (in Magyar Szepes) limited the agricultural possibilities of the place, and naturally turned

The Stormy Times of Geza II.

the inhabitants to industrial occupations. Thus the inhabitant of Zips became a workman; "his log-huts, originally scattered about, gradually drew closer together, and from this uncouth nucleus developed the towering town."

The first definite occupation of Zips by the Germans probably falls in the stormy period of Geza II., who was in alliance with the Welf duke, Henry the Lion. Tradition speaks of the Count Reinold, who was the king's chief justice, and led his brother compatriots into this district about 1150. A contemporary Byzantine writer, Johannes Kinnamos, speaks of an army of Czechs and Saxons which was gathered by Geza in 1156, for a war against Constantinople. It was not until the end of the twelfth century, under Bela III., that the main reinforcement reached Zips; this was drawn chiefly from Central Germany, especially from Silesia. The modern dialect of Zips is allied to that of Silesia.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century individual stragglers followed, after Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, the first wife of Andreas II., had conferred property in Zips on several Tyrolese noble families; from their leader, Rüdiger of Deutsch-Matrei, the Berzeviczy derived their descent. The oppressive rule of the nobility of German extraction seems even then to have become so highly unpopular that in 1213 the national Magyar party began a bloody revolt against the queen regent, who favoured the Germans. After the invasion of the Mongols, which

Magyars in Revolt

divides the history of Zips, like that of so many other districts, into two stages, a large influx of immigrants appeared in the fourteenth century, chiefly from Silesia and Thuringia.

In a short time the German places in this remote mountain district became so prosperous that the society of the clergy of Zips, founded about 1232 under their provost, and known after 1248 as a "sodalitate," or "confraternity,"

arranged the secular or ecclesiastical affairs of the country. In 1274 Ladislaus IV. confirmed the rights of this society; in 1297 Andreas III. also gave it the right to collect tithes. Before 1271 Stefan V. had given his "faithful Saxons of Zips" a "privilegium" as a guarantee of their "independence." Thereafter these "royal places" had to pay three hundred marks of silver every year, in return for which they were free of all other contributions, and in time of war had to place fifty armed men beneath the king's banner. They were allowed to choose their own count, who governed them according to their rights, and also their clergy. Hunting, fishing, and mining rights were also recognised in their charters.

After the death of the last Arpad in 1301, under the leadership of the soldier Matthæus of Esak, of the mountain fortress of Trentschin, the nobility of the Waag district attempted a revolt. The people of Zips, who had formerly done homage to Wenzel and Otto, now joined the Angevin Charles Robert, who with their help decisively defeated the west Hungarian nobility

King Lewis the Friend of Liberty

at Rozgony, in the valley of the Tarcza, in 1312. In recognition of the services which they had "willingly done him since his youth," and for their "manly and faithful struggle against Matthæus of Trentschin, in which they spared neither person nor purse," Charles Robert, in 1318, confirmed the privileges of the twenty-four royal towns.

On the basis of this charter the chiefs, representatives, and elders, in 1370, drew up an important legal code, the "arbitrium"—that is, free choice or convention—of the Saxons in Zips; this was recognised in the same year by King Lewis, and thus became law. Ecclesiasticism, a love of discipline, a strong sense of honesty, are the most striking features of this code. Manufactures at this flourishing period were controlled by guilds and associations. Trade and industry began to develop in the towns and plains. Numerous foreigners lived here all the year round, for the reason that a vigorous commercial intercourse went on between this place and Poland and Silesia.

Exactly 100 years after the confirmation of the privileges by Charles Robert, the first heavy blow fell upon Zips. On November 8th, 1412, the Emperor-king



HUNGARIAN VILLAGE IN THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS



PRESSBURG, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF UPPER HUNGARY



A VALLEY OF THE EAST STYRIAN ALPS IN THE LEITHE MOUNTAINS

IN THE LAND OF THE MAGYARS: TYPICAL SCENES IN HUNGARY

Sigismund I., who was in a constant state of financial embarrassment, mortgaged the thirteen settlements of Zips, together with the royal fiefs of Lublau, Pudlein, and Gnesen, to Vladislav of Poland. The alliance of the towns of Zips was continued for a time even after their alienation. They were handed over to Polish officials,

The Doom of the Germans who soon began to exercise an arbitrary authority in the mortgaged district and made it an hereditary starosty. At the

instance of the Hungarian Diet, Vladislav III. promised to give back the country in 1440, but in the agreement of Altenburg between Hungary and Poland the mortgage was renewed in 1474. This agreement sealed the doom of the German nationality in the northern districts and in part of the southern.

Further damage was inflicted by the intrusion of the Hussites and the supremacy of Bohemian mercenaries under Giskra. Political independence disappeared; towns that remained Hungarian were deserted, and were handed over by the king to the noble families. Thus King Matthias conferred upon his faithful Emerich Zapolya the hereditary county of Zips, and also, in 1480, the possession of the town of Kasmark, which had been made a royal free town, together with the nine parishes attached to it. In 1655 Kasmark alone had been able to resist the intrusion of the Magyar nobility and of the Slavs, and secured recognition as a free town.

In the course of these distresses the Germans of Zips would in no long time have suffered an invasion of foreign nationalities had not the German element in Upper Hungary been strengthened by the Reformation with its German preaching and its German hymns. The close connection with Germany, in the high schools of which several pupils from Zips studied the sciences every year, brought

Friends and Foes of the Reformation with it the consequence that men like Martin Cziriak, a pupil of Melan-chthon, Thomas Preisner, and George Leutscher boldly and successfully fought against the Catholic clergy. The Reformation was carried out, therefore, in 1546 throughout the country of Zips notwithstanding the decrees of 1523 and 1525, in which it was declared that "all Lutherans with their supporters and adherents would be regarded as open

heretics and enemies of the sacred Virgin Mary, and would be punished by execution and confiscation of their property."

On the 26th of October, 1546, the entire clergy of Zips publicly acknowledged the Lutheran creed. The intellectual revival brought with it fresh development of trade and manufacture. The linen and cloth fabrics of Zips, and the leather and metal work of the country, were famous far and wide on the North Sea and the Baltic, in the midst of Russia and in Constantinople. At Whitsuntide, Greeks, Russians, and Serbs, even North Germans, were in the habit of visiting the country to make their purchases. The inhabitants were an enterprising and energetic little people, who kept in touch with the mother country in their new mountain home and created a civilisation which raised the citizens and the peasants of the time to a height of prosperity and intelligence unusual in Hungary.

Soon, however, this revival of German science and art was exposed to severe attacks. In 1588 opposition to the new faith began at the instigation of Martin

Peace of Vienna Ends Persecution Pethe, the provost of Zips, and in 1604 the opposition developed into a vigorous counter-reformation. The government

Catholic commissioners appeared in Zips and attempted to force the inhabitants to surrender their churches to the Catholics; but the people rose in revolt and drove out the commissioners. The disturbances under Stefan Bocskay and the peace of Vienna of 1606 put an end for some time to the persecution of the Protestants in Zips.

But in 1632 the Jesuits, in conjunction with the Magyar Catholic nobles and with the military and civil authorities, began again the work of forcible conversion. The Protestant clergy lost their property and were driven out of the country; their churches were taken from them by the soldiers and handed over to the Catholics. This work was continued by a process of forcibly denationalising the towns and parishes and by electing Magyar nobles as councillors and judges. Notwithstanding the vigorous support which they gave to all those political risings which took place in the interests of the new creed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under Bocskay, Bethlen, Tokoly, and Franz Rakoczy, the Germans of Zips had

to suffer the hardest treatment from their own allies. Devastation, persecution, and oppression of every kind produced the result that the Germans grew steadily weaker through the advance of the Hungarians and of the productive, adaptable and capable Slovaks.

Notwithstanding the depth of this overthrow, wherever a hand's-breadth of favourable soil was to be found, the irrepressible vigour of the inhabitants brought forth new results. German industry and economy survived the worst disasters, and eventually succeeded in producing a feeble similitude of former prosperity. Among the free towns, industrial and commercial life continued to flourish. The German language was predominant notwithstanding the prevalence of Magyar, Slav, and Low Latin, and was the medium of constant communication with foreign countries. The feeling of German nationality was, however, terribly shattered.

In 1772 thirteen places mortgaged to Poland were reunited with Hungary, and "the sixteen towns of Zips" were placed

Happy and Peaceful Germans

under a special Count, as judge and supreme administrative official; the Empress-queen Maria Theresa not only confirmed the previous privileges, but added new rights in 1775.

It is an indisputable fact that wherever the German nationality in Hungary has devoted itself to trade and manufacture the lapse of time has brought annihilation, in spite of the prosperity and culture acquired, whereas the communities especially devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding have been able to maintain their position to the present day.

The home of the Transylvanian Saxons is encircled and traversed by the Carpathians, with their snow-clad summits white under the midsummer sun, with their wooded valleys full of flowers, birds, and animals, with their rushing brooks and streams. Here, more than seven centuries ago, the Germans found the counterpart of their earlier home, and here they settled. Many a storm burst over this peaceful centre of German civilisation; but intervals of rest continually recurred during which this offshoot of the parent stock put forth new growth.

The chief settlements of the Germans in Transylvania were made under Geza II. for the protection of the south-east

frontier of the empire against the Cumans, who had established themselves in Moldavia and Wallachia after the subjugation of the Pechenegs, and made constant incursions into the neighbouring provinces. These immigrants came partly from the Lower Rhine, partly from Flanders, and are designated as "Teutons

Kronstadt Becomes the Capital

from beyond the forest;" they are also known as "Flemings." The title "Saxons," or Saxones, which afterwards

became universal, does not appear before 1206. Their settlements extended along the banks of the Alt to its confluence with the Homorod, and from the Maros to the valley of the Kokel River. The proximity of savage tribes forced the settlers to build fortified churches and castles where the inhabitants of the plain could take refuge in time of need. In course of time these strongholds developed into towns and places of greater size. A favourite point of entrance for marauding bands was upon the extreme south of the Burzen district; for this reason Andreas II. allowed the Teutonic Order to build stockades and towns here in 1211; Kronstadt then became the capital. The Order was, however, forbidden to populate the district of Burzen with Saxons from the neighbouring provinces, and new settlers were brought in.

After the expulsion of the German knights, which took place in 1225, in spite of the vigorous support accorded to them by Pope Honorius III., Kronstadt soon became prosperous and exercised a kind of hegemony over the other colonies; the town is first mentioned in a document of 1252. The German colonies in the district of Nösen seem to be of earlier date; in 1264 Bistritz seems to have been in existence for some time. These north-eastern Transylvanians, like those of Deés, probably came from other parts of Hungary, and settled

Bulgarian Queens' Private Property

here to carry on the mining industry. The chief places, which were under their own

counts in 1300, together with their surrounding districts, formed the private property of the Hungarian queens from an early date; thus on July 16th, 1264, Pope Urban IV. orders the king's son Stefan (V.) to restore the towns of Bistritz, Rodna, Senndorf, and Baierdorf which he had unjustly taken from his mother, Maria. On December 29th, 1330, the

"citizens and colonists of Bistritz and those belonging to that jurisdiction" received a charter from Queen Elizabeth, with the consent of her husband Charles, by the terms of which they were placed exclusively under the jurisdiction of judges elected by themselves. In a short time the German settlements rose to

German a prosperity and political
Prestige at its importance which secured
Highest them the favour of the
Hungarian kings. Thus,

about 1185, Béla II. was able to report to Paris, upon the occasion of his betrothal, the receipt of 15,000 marks from the foreign settlers of the king in Transylvania. The rapidity with which the prestige of the Germans increased and the height to which it rose is evidenced by the "Andreanum" of the close of 1224; in this edict Andreas II. confirmed and increased all the privileges granted to the Germans from Broos to Draas, near Neps, upon their immigration; he united the independent districts of the settlers brought in by Geza II. into one province governed by an elected "count" as supreme judge who resided in Hermannstadt.

The progress of prosperity was, however, soon checked by the Mongol invasions of 1240-1242. The fortified towns and strongholds of the country could provide refuge for comparatively few. The majority fled to the mountains, where they perished. Under the fostering care of the kings the German settlements recovered comparatively quickly after the retreat of the Mongols. Such new settlements as Klausenburg were also founded by Stefan V., before 1270, as Duke of Transylvania; for the benefit of his soul he conferred this fief upon the Church of Weissenburg. As Hungarian nobles were not allowed to settle upon Saxon soil, and as the Germans of that district enjoyed the rights of nobles, the last of the Arpads, Andreas III.,

From
Wilderness
to Garden

summoned them to participation in the Hungarian diet in July, 1292, and in August, 1298. In 150 years the "Saxons" had cleared and completely transformed the former wilderness. About 300 strongholds, forts, and fortified churches protected the goods and chattels of freemen, and guaranteed the security of this once doubtful Hungarian possession. The swamps were drained and became fruitful, arable land. Upon the mountains and in

the lonely valleys, in the fertile lowlands of the Kokel River, and where the stony slopes of the Carpathians bring forth a scanty harvest, dwelt a people whose industrial and agricultural labours and peaceful devotion to the arts had created a flourishing country, while their representatives sat in the diet side by side with the barons and prelates of the empire.

When the house of Arpad became extinct in 1301, hard times began for the Saxons of Transylvania. Like all the Germans in Hungary, they had joined Otto, the duke of Lower Bavaria; he accepted their well-meant invitation, fell into the hands of the treacherous voivode Ladislaus, or Apor, and was soon forced to leave the country. The Saxons were then exposed to the oppression of the Bishop of Weissenburg, and the powerful voivode deprived them of the rich silver mines of Rodna. In 1324 they were forced to take up arms in defence of their rights of 1224, which had been again secured to them on May 25th, 1317, by Charles Robert, who had become sole ruler in the meantime. This period of oppression was followed

Hard Times
for the
Saxons

by a time of prosperity under the government of Lewis I., who favoured Saxon trade in every possible way. From 1369, Kronstadt possessed staple privileges against Polish, German, and other foreign merchants, especially cloth merchants. The fairs in Germany and Poland were visited by bands of Saxons. The trade route led to Germany through Prague, and passed to the south-west through the Danube territories to Dalmatia and Venice. Numerous schools and churches, monasteries and hospitals, were founded, and the citizen guilds, brotherhoods, and trainbands were admirably organised.

After the death of Lewis the great troubles again began. Under Sigismund (1387-1437) internal disturbances broke out, in the course of which the neighbourhood of Klausenburg was devastated by the king's opponents. But the greatest danger menacing Transylvania was the advance of the Turks. In 1420 they destroyed the old "Saxon town" of Broos, and carried the inhabitants away to slavery; in the next year they overwhelmed Kronstadt. Previous to and during their invasions the first gipsies entered the country. In Hungary the struggles of the Magyar nobles with the German citizens were beginning, and at

this time the three hard-pressed "peoples" of Transylvania, the Hungarians, the old Magyar Szeklers, and the Saxons, concluded the "Union" at Kapolna on September 28th, 1427, and swore "to protect one another against all and sundry who should attack them; only, if the king should infringe the rights of one of the contracting peoples, the other two should appear before him on bended knees and ask his favour. For the rest, upon the second day following an appeal for help, the parties should start with all their forces to give aid as quickly as possible and should march at least twelve miles daily."

In the year 1438 the Turks destroyed the town of Mühlbach and captured some 75,000 slaves, after fruitlessly besieging Hermannstadt for forty-five days. On November 10th, 1444, the banner of the Saxons waved over the battlefield of Varna, and in October, 1448, they fought against the hereditary enemy on the Anselfeld under John Hunyadi. But the domestic life of the German settlers was shattered by these military distur-

**The Turks
on the
Warpath**

bances. Klausenburg and Winz soon received a Magyar influx of population, which speedily became predominant and broke off connection with the other Saxon districts. On the accession of Matthias Hunyadi, the Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons renewed the alliance of Kapolna at Mediasch in 1459, with a view to resisting any possible attacks of the king. The revolt was stifled by the rapidity of his movements. To these internal disturbances were added the invasions of the Turks, who continually renewed their harassing incursions, even after their defeat on the Brotfeld in October 13th, 1479. King Matthias recognised the services of the Saxons and increased their territory.

Notwithstanding the troubles of the age, their close and profitable intercourse with the mother country had enabled the Saxons to surpass every other nationality within the empire in respect of culture. Every year several Saxon youths went as students to the German high schools at Wittenberg, Jena, and Tübingen, and brought back a knowledge of science and art for the benefit of their own country. By these channels of intercourse the great ecclesiastical Reformation of the sixteenth century reached the Saxon colonies and

rapidly secured the general support. In 1519 Saxon merchants brought Luther's writings from the fair of Leipsic; in 1521-1522 the first evangelical preachers, the Silesian Ambrosius and Conrad Weich, appeared in Hermannstadt. The energy of a pupil of Melanchthon, the Saxon preacher Johannes Honter (1498-1549),

**Transylvania
and Hungary
Break Apart**

who brought a printing-press with him, secured the success of the Reformation in Transylvania in 1547. The struggle for the throne between Zápolya and Ferdinand I. cost the Saxons heavily in life and property. After the death of Zápolya Suleiman II., who claimed the suzerainty of Transylvania, conferred the country upon Johann Sigismund Zápolya, who was then in his minority. His authority was limited to the district on the further side of the Theiss, and the period of the separation of Transylvania from Hungary then begins, to last for 150 years. For a short time Transylvania came into the power of King Ferdinand, but after the death of Johann Sigismund in 1571 the sultan transferred it to Stefan Báthori, who brought in the Jesuits. In December, 1575, he was elected King of Poland, and then handed over Transylvania to his brother Christopher, who also seconded the efforts of the Jesuits to bring the country back to Roman Catholicism.

At that time the Saxons were exposed to extortion of every kind. They found a supporter in Stefan Bocskay, who was chosen prince by the nobles and Szeklers on February 22nd, 1605, but died on September 29th, 1606. Siegmund Rakoczy occupied the country from February, 1607, but abdicated on March 3rd, 1608. Gabriel Báthory now ascended the throne. He captured Hermannstadt and attempted to get possession of Kronstadt. But on October 16th, 1612, the people of Kronstadt inflicted a severe defeat upon

**Crazy Tyrant
Deposed
and Murdered**

him, under the leadership of their burgomaster, Michael Weiss, who lost his life in the battle. Shortly afterwards the population of Transylvania rose in a body against this crazy tyrant; he was deposed and murdered at Grosswardein, while in the act of flight, on October 27th, 1613. Gabriel Isethlen, the leader of the revolt, restored the old privileges of the Saxons. After his early death on November 15th, 1629, a Saxon chronicler justly wrote:

"God grant this famous hero peaceful rest and a joyous resurrection hereafter, for he left the country securer than he found it." In the age of the two George Rakoczys (1631-1660) Transylvania suffered from wars with Moldavia, Wallachia, and Poland. Recognising the situation as impossible, Michael Apasi broke

The Saxons' Rights Conceded away from the Turkish supremacy and placed Transylvania under the protection of Leopold I., by the Tractatus Hallerianus of 1686, the terms of which he was compelled to repeat with greater emphasis in the convention of Blasendorf of October 27th, 1687. The country was occupied by the imperial troops, and at the diet of Fogaras the oath of fidelity was taken to the Hapsburgs as the hereditary kings of Hungary. Some resistance was offered only by the lower classes of Kronstadt; the town was forced to surrender to the general Veterani on May 16th, 1688. By the "Diploma of Leopold" of December 4th, 1691, the Saxons were secured in the possession of their rights. The government of the Queen-empress Maria Theresa, who made Transylvania a principality in 1765, was followed by the ill-considered reforms of her son Joseph II., when the special constitution of the Saxons was in great measure sacrificed.

Far in the south, in the Banate of Temes and in the Pacska, are the last and most recent German settlements in Hungary. The Banate of Temes is bounded by the Danube, the Theiss, the Maros, and the mountains of Transylvania. After 166 years of Turkish rule it was restored to Hungary by the peace of Poscharevatz on July 21st, 1718, which followed the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy. During the Turkish supremacy the wide lowlands and hill districts of the counties of Torontal and Temes were transformed into a desert. Consequently Count Claudius Florimond

Prosperity Under Wise Government Mercy, the first governor of this waste, brought in colonists from Germany, Italy, and Spain after the year 1720. In

1728 there were ten villages occupied by Suabians, one village of Italians, and one of Spaniards. Under Mercy's government, between 1722 and 1730, the town and fortress of Temesvar were restored, and numerous villages were founded and occupied with colonists who came from Trèves, Cologne, Alsace-Lorraine,

Luxemburg, and the Black Forest. After the count's heroic death at Crocetta, near Parma, on June 29th, 1734, the settlements entered upon a period of distress, the devastation of the Turkish wars, between 1737-1739, thinning their numbers.

Under Maria Theresa a special colonial commission was set on foot in Vienna on July 22nd, 1766, which brought in Catholic colonists from the districts of Havenstein, Trèves, Lorraine, and the Breisgau. At that time more than 25,000 Germans are said to have found a home in the Banate. Moreover, the Emperor Joseph II., who made a personal visit to the Banate, issued an "immigration patent" on September 21st, 1782, in which he gave a special invitation to "members of the German Empire in the Upper Rhine district" to take up settlements. By the terms of this patent the immigrants were to travel free of expense, to receive allotments of ground for building and cultivation, necessary implements, and a certain sum of money. The Germans came in large numbers, built fourteen

The Emperor Fosters Immigration new settlements in 1784-1786, and increased thirteen others. The neighbouring county of Bacs, which had

been wrested from the Ottomans immediately after the victory of Mohacs in 1687, received attention at a later period than the Banate. In accordance with the "colonisation patent" of 1763 full arrangements were made by a royal commission for the occupation of the district by Germans. The greatest influx of settlers took place between May 1st, 1784, and November 30th, 1785; during that period 2,057 families, amounting to 9,201 persons, entered the county of Bacs. Then, by the decree of April 24th, 1786, further immigration at the expense of the state was stopped. As most of the Germans were of the agricultural class, numerous large villages arose, which have preserved their German character to the present day. The number of Germans here amounts to about 30 per cent. of the whole population. The chief places inhabited by Germans are Apatin, Cservenka, Csonopla, Kula, Alt-Futak, Alt-Szivacz, Bajmok, Stanisics. In spite of the number of languages spoken upon this frontier district, German is at the present time predominant.

HEINRICH VON VLISLOCKI
HANS F. HELMOLT



BOHEMIA, MORAVIA AND SILESIA

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CZECH KINGDOM

THE realms of which we are accustomed to think to-day inclusively as Austria are occupied by an extraordinary composite of nationalities. Throughout the greater part of it the Teuton has planted himself, but in only a small portion of the whole is he the historical lord of the land. In fact, he is a colonist. Hungary is a Magyar kingdom, ethnologically of Mongol origin. The south-west, as we have also seen, is Slavonic. The north-west—Bohemia and Moravia—is also Slavonic. Yet the sceptre of the whole has passed to the ruling house of the German wedge thrust in between the southern and the western Slavs. Thus, while the house of Hapsburg is of the West, and throughout its history essentially a western power, the great bulk of its dominions to-day belongs historically to the East of Europe.

**The Farmer
King of
Bohemia**

Bohemia, with Moravia, forms the central district of Europe. Every wave of barbarian migration surged against it, most of them seem at one time or another to have worked into it or through it—Kelt and Teuton, Mongol and Slav. Who was in occupation at any given time till long after Rome had ceased to be imperial, it is nearly impossible to determine. It seems, however, tolerably clear that in the sixth century the Slavs were in possession; and in the seventh, the Mongol Avar "Empire," of which little enough is known, disappeared as the Huns disappeared; leaving the Slavs to work out their own future.

The further development of the Slav settlement, its extension, and its political organisation, are hidden from us by a gap in tradition, extending over more than a century and a half. We may, however, conclude that the international development of the country progressed considerably, from the Bohemian legend as related by Kosmas in the beginning of the twelfth

century, which tells of Krok, Libusha, and Premysl, the farmer of Staditz, who was called from the ploughshare to the throne, and became the ancestor of the first royal house of Bohemia.

It is probable that political and social life in Moravia developed much more

**Louis the
Pious a Man
of Peace**

quickly and strongly during the same period; for before Bohemia emerges from the obscurity of legend into the clear light of history, there rises on Moravian soil, quietly and without any legendary history, a self-contained principality known as the Moravian kingdom of the Moimirids, after the founder of the dynasty, Moimir. During the military period of Charles the Great it is unknown, and it appears in its full power only during the peaceful reign of Louis the Pious. While Moimir did homage to the German emperor and offered presents, he extended his power eastwards, driving out of his country the neighbouring Slav prince who had settled in Neitra. The Frankish counts in the East Mark and in Pannonia had every opportunity of watching the growth of the neighbouring Moravian kingdom, and the fact that the Slav prince took refuge with them upon his expulsion, and received their support, tends to show that Moimir's aspirations met with no approval upon this side. However, serious opposition to the powers rising on the frontier of the empire formed no part of the policy of Louis the Pious. After the treaty of Verdun, in 843, Lewis the German took over, with his districts in the east, the task of securing supremacy of the empire formerly founded by the Emperor Charles over the neighbouring Slavs; it was inevitable that a struggle between the two states should break out, as indeed the Franks had already expected on their side. Even the fragmentary

**Moimir's
Heroic
Struggle**

descriptions which have come down to us give an idea of the fury and extent of this struggle, in which the weaker side, the Moimirid principality, always reappears upon the scene, heroically maintaining its position in spite of repeated defeat. Moimir himself escaped into his fortified castles from the first attack which the

German king delivered in the year 846. His rule, however, was brought to an end by a domestic conspiracy led by his own nephew Rastiz, or Rastislav. The second Moimirid then received the inheritance of his uncle from the hands of the Franks, to govern the land likewise under their supremacy. The struggle, however, soon broke out anew, because Rastislav followed in his predecessor's footsteps, and strove to secure complete independence of the Frankish kingdom. German armies repeatedly marched upon Moravia in the years 855, 864, 866, and 869. However, no decisive battle took place. At one time by pretended submission, and at another by flight into his impregnable castles, Rastislav forced the Franks either to make peace or to retire from the inhospitable country. Once again domestic treachery placed the Moravian prince in the power of Lewis, in 870. The defeater of Rastislav, his nephew Svatopluk (Zwentibold), secured the supremacy over the whole of Moravia under the protectorate of France, while his uncle was punished by blinding and confinement in a French monastery.

The political struggle for the foundation of a powerful Slav empire was accompanied, from the outset, by a serious attempt to break the ecclesiastical ties which united these countries with Germany. German, Italian, and Greek priests were working simultaneously in the country, and the disastrous consequences to the land afforded the prince Rastislav a plausible excuse for appearing before

the Roman Pope Nicholas I. with a request that he should decide what priests should henceforward be permitted to preach and teach in Moravia. The Pope, however, is said to have declined to consider the question, or perhaps to have decided it against the wishes of the Moravian prince, who in 863 asked for fresh teachers from the Greek emperor Michael III. to preach the true faith to the Moravian nation in their own language.

Early Missioners of the "True Faith"

The mission was entrusted to the brothers Constantine and Methodius of Thessalonica. Their spiritual work in Moravia began in the year 864; as, however, they possessed no high ecclesiastical rank, they confined themselves at first to the education of the children. As they desired to fulfil the object of their mission, the introduction of divine service in the Slavonic language, both into the Moravian and also into the neighbouring Slav kingdom of the Pannonian prince Kozel, the brothers, accompanied by the most capable of their scholars, betook themselves to Rome in 867, in order to secure the Pope's permission for the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Pope Hadrian II. is said to have fulfilled the wish of the Moravians in 868.

Feeling, however, a presentiment of approaching death, Constantine resolved not to return to Moravia; he entered the monastery at Rome, took the name Cyril as a monk, and died shortly afterwards, on February 14th, 869. The continuation of his apostolic work was left to his brother Methodius, who had

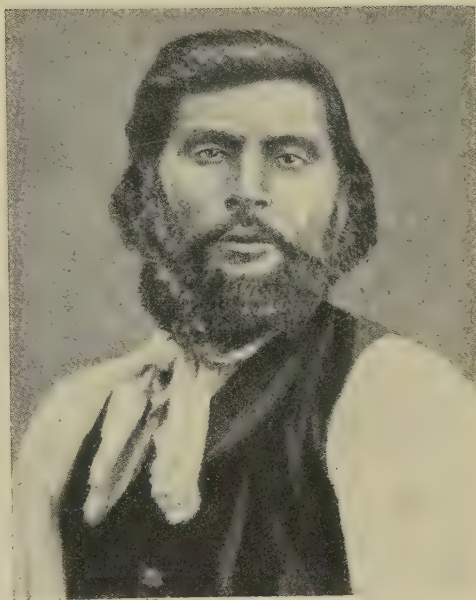
been consecrated bishop at Rome. Hardly, however, had he returned to Moravia with the intention of resuming the

struggle against the German clergy, so successfully begun, when the revolution took place which cost Rastislav his throne and freedom, and transformed Moravia practically into a Frankish mark. Methodius then succumbed to his opponents; for two and a half years, during the first years of the reign of Svatopluk in Moravia, he remained a prisoner in a German monastery.

Friendly as were the relations existing between the new Moravian prince and the neighbouring German Empire, and in particular with Karlmann, the count of the East Mark, they continued but a short time. So soon as Karlmann had reason to suspect the fidelity of Svatopluk, he seized his person and his property, and retained him at his court in honourable confinement, with the idea that his removal would make it easier to establish Frankish supremacy in Moravia. However, the oppressed Moravian population began a desperate attempt to secure their freedom. Karlmann thought that he could entrust the task of crushing this movement to no more suitable person than Svatopluk, so entirely had the Slav won

the confidence of the German. Hardly, however, did Svatopluk find himself among his own people, ere he gave rein to his long-repressed fury, and with one blow destroyed not only the army which had been sent to his support, but also all semblance of Frankish dominion in Moravia. In the two following years (872 and 873) Karlmann was unable to break down the resistance of Svatopluk. Not until the year 874 have we direct evidence of the conclusion of a peace at Forchheim, under which Svatopluk promised fidelity, obedience, and the usual annual tribute. Peace for eight years followed this act of submission.

During the period of this national rising the Moravians also remembered Methodius in his imprisonment abroad; their representations at Rome eventually induced Pope John VIII. to order the Bavarian bishops to liberate the Moravian apostle. Methodius immediately proceeded—about the outset of the year 873—to Kozel, in the Pannonian principality, and shortly afterwards to Moravia, where he was received with marks of high respect on the part of the prince and people. Svatopluk, however, failed to appreciate the help which might have been given to his political plans by a firm establishment of the Slavonic Church in the country. During the dogmatic quarrels between Methodius and the Bavarian clergy he



PURE GIPSY TYPE OF BOHEMIA

maintained a position of neutrality; he went so far as to express the wish that Methodius should prove his orthodoxy before the Pope at Rome. The latter was thus for the second time obliged to journey thither, and in the year 880 returned to his diocese under full papal protection, and with further recognition of the dignity of his position. Even now, however, it was impossible for him to gain a complete victory over his opponents in Moravia; the Bavarian clergy maintained their position in the country, and threw obstacles in his way. It was not until the last years of his life—he died on April 6th, 885—that his position in Moravia became more peaceful.

Within this period (882–884) occurred many violent political struggles between Svatopluk and the neighbouring Frankish districts. The Moravian prince then appeared as the protector of one of two families who were struggling to secure the position of count in the Traungau and in the East Mark, while Arnulf, or Arnolf, the son of Karlmann, who governed the marks of Karantania and Pannonia, supported the opposition party. The war began in 882. In 883 Svatopluk was raging in Pannonia "like a wolf," and in the following year hostilities were renewed. The feud was repressed only upon the interference of the Emperor Charles III. in the East Mark in August,



TYPE OF BOHEMIAN WOMAN

884. In 885 peace was concluded between Svatopluk and Arnulf, and resulted in a mutual understanding so complete that, when Arnulf became candidate for the crown of Germany in Frankfort in the year 887, Svatopluk zealously supported him. Under such circumstances the work of Cyril and Methodius could not flourish in Moravia, the more so as the death of the latter had thrown the entire responsibility upon the feeble shoulders of a disciple. In the very year of the death of Methodius, the year of Svatopluk's reconciliation with the Franks, a general persecution of the disciples of Methodius began in Moravia; only a few received permission from Svatopluk to leave the country. The Slav priests then took refuge in the south Slavonic countries, where their liturgy found a field unexpectedly productive.

Thus, politically as well as ecclesiastically, Moravia remained in peaceful dependence upon the Frankish Empire until the year 890. At that time divergent conceptions concerning the relation of the Moravian princes to the German king brought forth new points of difference, which were to be solved only by further fighting. In the first campaign in 892, and more especially in the following year, the Moravians held the field; but in the year 895, when the power of the Slav kingdom for resistance was to be tested for the third time, Svatopluk died a sudden but natural death. With him disappeared irrevocably the whole splendour of the Moravian kingdom. The violent struggle between the brothers, who were the heirs of Svatopluk, accelerated the downfall, and the strength of the country was further weakened by the secession of both Bohemian and Silesian districts, over which the military power of Svatopluk had extended his dominion. Under these

Moravia Falls Before the Wild Magyars

circumstances it was impossible for the country to resist for any length of time the fearful attacks of the Magyars, who advanced with barbaric ferocity. In the year 906 Moravia succumbed to this enemy, whom she had hardly had time to observe, much less to guard against, after concluding, in the year 901, a peace with her great enemy the Franks, which in no way limited her constitutional independence. The Moimirids had eyes

only for the limitations which hindered their national development upon the west, and failed to see the dangers which threatened their unprotected eastern frontier; this neglect brought about the downfall of their carefully constructed empire.

The downfall of the old Moravian kingdom made room for the development of other Slavonic states which had existed under the protection and government of the Moimirid Empire at the time of its highest power; such were the Bohemian duchy on the west and the Polish duchy on the north-east of Moravia. The fortunes of Bohemia in particular were, during the ninth century, often closely linked with those of her more important neighbour on the east. The expeditions of the Franks were on several occasions directed against both countries. The activity of the Slav apostles in Moravia seems to have been not unheeded in Bohemia; there is evidence for the fact that the Bohemian Duke Borivoi was baptised by Methodius. In individual points, however, the relations of the two countries in politics and religion are somewhat obscure, for the reason

Christianity Established in Bohemia

that the history of Bohemia is of a very legendary character until late in the ninth century. Borivoi, a contemporary of Svatopluk, is the first historical prince in Bohemia, and his name follows a long series of mythical rulers.

However, the foundation of a uniform kingdom, and the definite establishment of the Christian faith in Bohemia, belong to the period of the sons of Borivoi—Spitigney and Wratislav—and his grandsons—Wenzel the Saint and Boleslav I. As early as the reign of Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, took place the first inevitable collision between the German Empire, which had gained in strength since the accession of Henry the Fowler and the Slav power, which had grown up during the Hungarian wars. The struggle had fatal effects upon German prosperity. Wenzel was a peace-loving prince, whose mind was bent more upon the salvation of the Church than on temporal success; he readily recognised the supremacy of the German king, and agreed to the old tribute, when Henry I. appeared before Prague in the year 928. When, however, Wenzel, in the course of domestic struggles, lost his life in the year 935 at the hands of his brothers and allies, and Boleslav I.,



WENZEL OF BOHEMIA: "THE GOOD KING WENCESLAUS"

Wenzel's thoughtfulness and regard for others endeared him to his people. Of his humility and consideration a pretty story is told. One cold, frosty night, so runs the tale, he saw a poor man in the snow gathering fuel. His heart was touched, and calling on his page to "Bring me flesh and bring me wine, bring me pine-logs hither; thou and I will see him dine, when we bear them thither," they went out "in the rude wind's wild lament" on their mission of mercy.

"the fratricide," became duke, the war with Germany broke out afresh. The Bohemian prince held out for a long time in the frontier fortresses and abattis, which protected his country against King Otto I., then hard pressed by enemies on many sides. Eventually, however, Boleslav's strength grew feeble, and in 950 he submitted to the same conditions under which his brother and predecessor had recognised German supremacy. In the battle of the Lechfeld, in the year 955, a Bohemian auxiliary force fought side by side with the troops of the united German races. Boleslav, who protected his frontiers against the impetuous Magyars, pursued the defeated enemy, and inflicted further defeat upon them.

About this time appeared a dangerous rival to the rising Premyslid principality; this was the Polish Empire. We first become acquainted with the existence of this new power in the lowlands between the Oder and the Warthe about 963; its political centre was Gnesen, and it extended south-west to the modern Silesia, where it touched the Bohemian kingdom. At first the two Slav principalities maintained friendly relations; the Polish Duke Mesko I., who died in 992, married Dubrava, the daughter of Boleslav I. of Bohemia. She it was who won over both her husband and his people to Christianity. As early as the year 968 a Polish bishopric was founded in Posen, some years before that of Prague. Bohemian auxiliary troops supported Mesko in his struggles against his northern neighbours. The Polish and Bohemian princes—the latter was the son and namesake of Boleslav I.—made an alliance, and joined in helping the Bavarian Duke Henry against the Emperors Otto II. and Otto III. in the years 976 and 983-985.

Then, however, the bond of friendship between the two brothers-in-law was broken; Dubrava had died in 977. In the year 990 our authorities speak of the "bitter hostility" existing between the two, as the Pole had captured a considerable district from Bohemia, and had succeeded in maintaining his position in a series of battles. Accurate geographical information is wanting, but from the mention of the place Niemtsch it has been concluded that the scene of the war was Silesia. A long period of

bitter struggle between the two neighbouring states followed, which severely tested the resources of the Premyslid kingdom.

After about a century of development Bohemia had now arrived at a turning-point which is marked upon the one hand by a decline in political power, and on the other by violent domestic convulsions. That period came when Adalbert, the second Bishop of Prague, abandoned "the blind nation rushing to its own downfall," left his country and his home, and in 997 sacrificed his life in missionary work among the savage Prussians. It is the period when a noble native family, the Slavníkings, from which Adalbert was sprung, was exterminated by Duke Boleslav II. and the nobility. The contagion of discord soon extended to the royal family, and the Premyslids and the Bohemians were governed by dukes, designated by the chroniclers as "basilisks," or "poisonous vipers."

Hardly had Boleslav III., the son of Boleslav II., assumed the government in the year 999 when he attempted to destroy his younger brothers, Jaromir and

Poles and Bohemians at War Udalrich, and upon the failure of his attempt drove them out of the country with their mother; they found a refuge

at the imperial court in Germany. The condition of affairs naturally enabled the warlike Polish Duke Boleslav I. Chabri (992-1025) to seize Bohemia, with the help of dissatisfied Bohemian nobles, at the outset of the year 1003, after previously conquering the German frontier land between the Oder and the Elbe, and also Moravia. He declined, however, to do homage to the emperor for his new dominions, and Henry II. resolved to deprive the Pole of his latest acquisitions. Bohemia was reconquered at the first attack, in 1004, and Prince Jaromir was invested with the Duchy of Bohemia. The struggle for the other conquests of the Pole ended in a long war between the German emperor, who was supported by the Bohemians, and Boleslav Chabri; the war occupied almost the entire reign of this prince.

In the course of the struggle between the Bohemian and Polish powers victory returned to the flag of the former, especially after the death of Boleslav Chabri, when a period of internal confusion began in Poland; while in Bohemia, after the short rule of Jaromir, his brother

The New Polish Empire

Bohemia Rushing to its Downfall

Udalrich seized the reins of government, with the support of his bold son Bretislav. To Bretislav is in particular due the achievement of obtaining from Poland the land of Moravia in 1029, the last of the great conquests of the period of Boleslav Chabri. The union of this district with Bohemia materially increased the prestige and the strength of the Premyslid dynasty.

After the death of his father Udalrich, in 1034, Bretislav took over the sole government. In 1039 he undertook an expedition into Poland with a large army, and made a victorious advance as far as Gnesen, plundering and devastating the land on all sides. At the point where the corpse of the Bishop of Prague, Adalbert, had been laid to rest after his martyrdom at the hands of the Prussians, in 997, Bretislav atoned for the ingratitude of his forefathers to this noble man; he made his Bohemian and Moravian subjects renounce at the martyr's grave, while they were in arms, a number of heathen customs of long standing, against which Adalbert had inveighed. The "sacred burden," the remains of the martyr, were then brought back to his native land.

The conquests, however, of certain districts of Poland had to be abandoned when the Emperor Henry III. protested against them. Like Henry II. before him, his son was determined to prevent the creation of a great Slav empire on the east of Germany. Bretislav accepted the challenge forthwith, and in 1040, the first year of the war, he secured a great success. In the following year, however, the course of the campaign was so disastrous to the Bohemians, owing to the treacherous desertion of certain nobles to the emperor's cause, that the Bohemian ruler was forced to sue for peace. Only two Silesian districts of his Polish conquests were

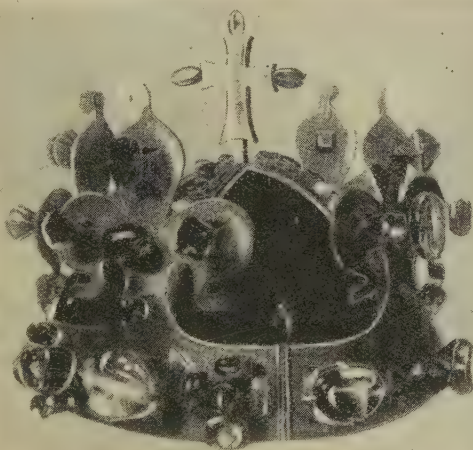
The Disloyal Nobles of Bohemia

left to him, and these were shortly afterwards perforce restored to the Polish prince in return for a yearly tribute. Henceforward Bretislav renounced all military operations against the German Empire, and, indeed, supported the emperor in his campaigns, especially against Hungary. Bretislav secured peace and quiet for the advancement of civilisation and economic prosperity in his territories. During his government in Bohemia and Moravia several important monasteries were founded. In the interior of his extensive empire he hoped to be able to secure permanent order, even after his death, through his heirs. He bequeathed to his first-born son, Spitignev, the government in Bohemia, together with the general right of supremacy; Moravia he divided among his three younger sons, Wratislav, Konrad, and Otto. A fifth son, Jaromir, was intended for the Church.

Bretislav the Friend of Peace

Bretislav had, however, taken inadequate measures to secure the performance of these conditions, and the reaction began immediately after his death in 1055. Spitignev deprived his Moravian brothers of their rule, destroyed the nobility of Moravia, who attempted to offer resistance to his aggressive measures, and finally, for unknown reasons, expelled from Bohemia the Germans, who had acquired great influence during his father's reign; he also banished his mother, Judith von Schweinfurt, the first German princess who had occupied the throne of the Premyslids. His government, however, lasted scarcely six years (1055-1061).

His brother and successor, Duke Wratislav II., reverted to his father's policy. Bretislav had given Moravia its first monastery by his foundation at Raigern in 1048, and Wratislav, notwithstanding the great difficulties raised in his path by his brother Jaromir-Gebhard, Bishop of



THE ANCIENT CROWN OF BOHEMIA

This famous crown of Bohemia, often called the crown of St. Wenceslaus, dates from the fourteenth century, and is kept in the treasury of St. Veit at Prague.

Prague, founded the bishopric of Olmütz in 1062, which afterwards became the ecclesiastical centre of Moravia. Of very considerable importance to Bohemia and to the German Empire are the personal relations upon which Duke Wratislav entered with the Emperor Henry IV.; these endured unchanged during the whole

government of the two rulers, notwithstanding the general secession of the princes from the emperor and the warnings of Pope Gregory VII. As a reward for this personal fidelity and for the constant military help which the formidable reputation of his troops was able to give the emperor, the Bohemian duke was rewarded at different times by neighbouring pieces of territory, though he was unable to maintain a permanent supremacy over them, and in the year 1086 he was allowed to assume the dignity of king, though this was merely a personal concession to himself.

So great was the reputation possessed by Wratislav in Germany that the Archbishop Wezilo of Mayence announced the elevation of the Bohemian duke to the dignity of king in these words to the Pope: "All are agreed that he would have been worthy of even higher favour, if any such could have been found for him." Only in his own house did Wratislav fail to secure peace. There were continual quarrels, now with his brother the Bishop of Prague, now again with his other brothers the Moravian princes, and also with his son and his nephews. These differences often caused local disturbance, and sometimes forced him to take up arms against his opponents. The cause of them among the Premyslids—and they were to endure for almost the next century and a half—consisted in that regulation for the succession, the "Justitia Bohemorum," which Duke Bretislav is said to have arranged upon his

death-bed, and according to which supremacy was to fall to the eldest son of the house. It was the Moravian princes who more particularly revolted against the power of the Duke of Bohemia in the attempt to establish their claim to the Bohemian throne. During the reign of the two successors of Wratislav, who died in 1092, his sons Bretislav II. and Borivoi, we have struggles with Udalrich of Brünn and Lutold of Znaim in 1101, and some

years later—in 1105 and 1107—with Duke Svatopluk of Olmütz; these produced very serious disturbances. At the same time the Premyslid power was involved in numerous military enterprises abroad, at one time against Hungary, at another against Poland—now upon its own initiative, and again as following the German kings.

The relations of the country to the empire were by no means undisturbed by this internal confusion; on the contrary, the emperor was often called in as arbitrator. This struggle increases in dramatic force until it reaches its highest point in the year 1125. Duke Vladislav, also a son of Wratislav II., had died, and had been succeeded in the government by his younger brother Sobeslav; he was opposed by his cousin Prince Otto of Olmütz, who found a powerful ally in King Lothar of Süpplingenburg. Hitherto German kings had offered no direct interference in the struggle of the Bohemian rivals, but Lothar led the army to Bohemia in person to support the cause of his protégé Otto. The result was the fearful battle of Kulm on February 18th, 1126, in which

not only the German knights in the king's service met with total defeat, but the Moravian prince was also slain. The wars of succession were, however, not concluded. During the government of Sobeslav (1125–1140) the country was in a continual state of internal ferment. However, the duke vigorously suppressed one conspiracy after another, and thus secured time to carry on his numerous foreign wars, whether against Poland, which he repeatedly devastated between 1132 and 1135, or in Germany, Italy, and Hungary, in the service of King Lothar, with whom he had made peace immediately after the battle of Kulm.

Under the successor of Sobeslav, his nephew Vladislav II., the smouldering fire blazed up. The youthful Bohemian duke was opposed simultaneously by a number of Bohemian Premyslid princes, by the Moravian princes of Brünn, Olmütz, and Znaim, and by a portion of the Bohemian nobility. Thanks, however, to his own determination, to the fidelity of his followers, including his brother Thebald and the Bishop of Olmütz, and to the vigorous support afforded by the Emperor Conrad II., a half-brother of his wife Gertrude, he succeeded in forcing the allies to retreat. The struggles of the Duke of Bohemia

Bohemian Duke Assumes Title of King

Bohemia's Wars of Succession

Throne of Bohemia in Dispute

with the Moravian Premyslids, especially with Conrad of Znaim, endured for years. Eventually the forces of the latter were exhausted, and the world-inspiring idea of a Second Crusade diverted men's minds from the monotony of domestic strife. The close relations of Bohemia to the German Empire at that time, and also the energy of Bishop Henry of Olmütz, made the political movements felt in this country in full force. The summons for a crusade to Palestine in 1147, and for a simultaneous enterprise against the heathen Wends on the lower Elbe and Vistula, was enthusiastically received by Bohemia and Moravia. Under the leadership of Bishop Henry and some of the Premyslid princes, one party started off with the northern crusading army, while Duke Vladislav with a no less splendid force joined Conrad III. and the eastern host, though the duke was forced to return from Constantinople or Nicæa by reason of the great hardships of the campaign.

A few years later, on June 25th, 1150, death deprived the duke of his faithful counsellor, Bishop Henry. The bishop

**The Pope's
Eulogy of
Bishop Henry**

was a personality of very high importance both in the ecclesiastical and political world. Fully penetrated by German ideas and German culture, he was respected both by the Emperor Conrad and by Pope Eugenius III., who selected him for important diplomatic missions, such, for instance, as the attempted union between the Greek and Roman Churches proposed by the Pope. The Pope's words to the emperor respecting this bishop are more than a mere compliment: "Though we should have been very glad to keep with us for some time in high honour and affection this good and pious man, yet we send him back to your Highness, knowing as we do how great is your need of him." Between the years 1142 and 1147 we see Henry at least once every year at the German court, and in personal attendance upon the Emperor Conrad.

Henry's position in the empire can be well inferred from the words of the emperor in an official document, to the effect that he had chosen the Bishop of Olmütz in preference to all the bishops in the empire, on account of his stainless faith as a teacher and mediator in all things pertaining to the service of God. His energy as regards Bohemia and Moravia was very considerably paralleled by the endless

quarrels of the Premyslids among themselves. The fact is, however, of importance that he was, by reason of his connection with Germany, the first means of bringing the ideas of German civilisation into Moravia and the Premyslid countries; for the church of Olmütz, for instance, he secured, in full accordance with German

**King Vladislav
Enjoys Fame
and Prosperity**

custom, a grant of jurisdictional immunity — a privilege which had hitherto been unknown in this district, and was soon to become of great importance to legal developments in Bohemia and Moravia. The reign of Vladislav continued long after the death of the bishop; the king lived in prosperity and fame to his latest years. The dangers threatened by Moravia had been obviated for the moment by establishing Bohemian Premyslids in the divided principalities. It is true that many a banished Premyslid prince was living abroad, only waiting for the moment when the throne of Vladislav should begin to totter; yet he was successful in preserving his rule for a long time from any shattering blow.

An important means to this end was the fact that upon the accession of Frederic I. (Barbarossa) to the German throne in 1152, Vladislav continued in the traditional path of fidelity to the emperor and empire. At the right moment, and by means of the dexterous mediation of Bishop Daniel of Prague, the tie between the two princes was drawn even closer in June, 1156. The Duke of Bohemia undertook to place his subjects at the emperor's disposal for military expeditions, and in return for this he received certain small concessions of territory, and also the honour of kingship, which, exactly seventy years before, had been conferred by the Emperor Henry IV. upon his grandfather, Wratislav II.

Bohemia now entered upon a military period. First of all the country shared in Barbarossa's Polish campaign of 1157,

**Bohemia
as a Military
Power**

crossed the Oder, and cleared the path far into a foreign country for the imperial army. Though the enterprise had no importance for Bohemia itself, it was of great import to the independent principality of Silesia. This campaign, which was repeated in 1163, resulted in the recall of the sons of Vladislav II. of Poland by the Polish duke Boleslav IV. Kendzierzawy. In 1146 he had driven his brother Vladislav II. of Poland from the throne, and

forced him to flee to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Conrad III. of Germany. His children were now reinstated in their father's inheritance, Breslau, Glogau, and Oppeln. The Polish supremacy over these districts was, indeed, maintained for a considerable period. But the three princes, Boleslav, Mesko, and Conrad, who had spent the whole of

Germany's Bid for Silesia their youth in Germany, were the first who brought Silesia within the area of Western civilisation. It is of great historical importance that the Bohemian king co-operated in the first attempt to sunder Silesia from Poland, and connect it with the German Empire.

In the year following the Polish war the Bohemians received a summons to a campaign against Milan. The youthful Bohemian knights enthusiastically supported the summons, though the older nobility regarded the new policy with suspicion and distrust. Vladislav, without consulting his nobles, had been crowned by the emperor on January 11th, 1158, at an imperial diet in Regensburg, and, without their consent, had agreed to Frederic's conditions. Their opposition, however, went for nothing. The spirit and bravery of the Bohemian warriors contributed largely to secure victories for the emperor, both in this year, and in his later campaigns and conflicts in Italy in 1161, 1162, and 1167. It must be said that their plundering habits procured them an evil reputation both abroad and in the emperor's countries. Successful, too, was an expedition which King Vladislav led to Hungary in 1164, in order to support his protégé Stefan III. in the struggle for the succession against Stefan IV., who was supported by the Byzantine emperor. The treasures of the Greek campaign provided a rich booty.

Towards the end of Vladislav's reign his relations with Frederic Barbarossa were clouded for many reasons. Upon his resolve to transfer the government of Bohemia to his son Frederic without the consent of Barbarossa, the German emperor opposed this arbitrary action on the part of the Bohemian king, and, instead of Frederic, made his cousin Sobeslav II. Duke of Bohemia. The immediate consequence was a protracted struggle for the throne. Frederic was obliged to give way at first, but at a later period he

recovered the emperor's favour and reconquered the supremacy from Sobeslav in 1179.

In this struggle he was supported by Germany, and also, in particular, by the Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who, in all probability, was sprung from a collateral branch of the Bohemian Premyslids, and had succeeded under King Vladislav II. to the principality of Znaim upon the extinction of a native line of rulers.

From the beginning of Sobeslav's reign, Brünn and Olmütz were governed by his younger brothers, Udalrich and Wenzel, so that the Moravian branch of the Premyslids became entirely extinct about the year 1174. However, the struggle between Bohemia and Moravia broke out once again. The second reign of Frederic, the "inexperienced helmsman," as a contemporary chronicler names him, was as short as the first; a popular rising forced him to flight, and he applied for help to the emperor. The ducal throne of Bohemia seemed destined to fall to the Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who already united under his rule the three component kingdoms of

Bohemia and Moravia Again in Arms Moravia. However, Frederic Barbarossa summoned the two Premyslids to appear before his court at Ratisbon, and delivered his decision on September 20th, 1182: Frederic was to reign in Bohemia, as before, while Conrad Otto was henceforward to govern Moravia as a margrave, immediately depending on the emperor and in complete independence of Bohemia.

After the death of Conrad Otto, in 1191, the struggle for the supremacy in Bohemia and Moravia broke out again between the two lines of the Sobeslavs and Vladislavs, and the emperor eventually decided in the favour of the latter, conferring Bohemia, in 1192, upon Premysl Ottokar and Moravia upon Vladislav Henry, the two younger brothers of the Duke Frederic, who died in 1189. Peace, however, was not even then secured. In the following year the brothers were driven out by their cousin Henry Bretislav, who was also Bishop of Prague, and ruled over both countries until 1197.

His death seemed likely to become the occasion of a further struggle for the succession between the two brothers, Premysl Ottokar and Vladislav Henry. The latter, however, was a peaceable character, and found a solution of the

difficulty by offering his brother an arrangement for the partition of the empire, which occurred to his mind when the armies were drawn up for battle on December 6th, 1197. The proposition was that Premysl Ottokar should rule in Bohemia and Vladislav Henry in Moravia, while both "were to have one mind as they had one rule." Though this arrangement does not in the least represent the nature of their subsequent relations, it none the less remains certain that with it a new age begins in the history of the Premyslid kingdom.

This fraternal compact of 1197 brought to a somewhat unexpected conclusion the unfruitful period of Bohemian history, during which the domestic policy of the country was dominated by continual quarrels concerning the succession, while economic development and the progress of culture were checked, and only the unbridled warlike temperament of the people was stimulated. However, towards the close of the twelfth century the military element falls into the background of the history of the Bohemian territories,

Peace and Progress in Bohemia

while civilisation and progress gain the upper hand. Feud and quarrel in the royal family disappear, and brotherly love

and unity promote the bold plans conceived by the head of the family, the Duke of Bohemia, for the aggrandisement of his empire and his royal house. The German emperor no longer settles Bohemian affairs at his own will and pleasure; on the contrary, the Bohemian princes derive considerable advantage from the struggles and confusion prevailing in the German Empire. Supported with unselfish devotion by his Moravian brother, the Margrave Vladislav Henry, who died in 1222, both in his diplomatic and military enterprise, the new Duke of Bohemia cleverly utilised the quarrel of the rival German kings, Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick, to secure the recognition of Bohemia as a kingdom for himself and his successors, first from Philip, then from Otto after Philip's secession to the other side, finally from Pope Innocent III., in 1204. Hardly had the youthful Hohenstauffen Frederic II. appeared upon the political scene, when the duke induced him also to confirm the existence of the kingdom, first in the year 1212 and afterwards in 1216, to recognise his first-born son as a successor

to Bohemia, and to grant other privileges in addition. This event marks the advancement of the right of primogeniture as the principle of succession against the right of seniority which had previously been accepted.

German colonisation gave the Slav territories, from a political standpoint, a new constitution for town and village, and from a social standpoint a class of free peasants and citizens hitherto unknown. The prosperous beginning of German colonisation received a further impulse under King Wenzel I. (1230-1253), notwithstanding the numerous military entanglements into which Bohemia was then drawn, chiefly with Austria, and in spite of the appalling danger threatened by the Mongol invasion of the year 1241. For the moment, however, Bohemia was spared.

It was Moravia, and especially Silesia, that suffered most heavily from the barbarians. The years 1157 and 1163 were, as regards the progress of political development and civilisation, an important turning point in the history of Silesia, as the government of the three Silesian princes betokens an entry of Germanising influences upon a large scale. The figures most distinguished from this point of view are Duke Boleslav I., the Long (1157-1202), his son Henry the Bearded (1203-1238), who is known for his participation in the founding of the German orders in Prussia, and his descendant Henry II. (1238-1241). The dominions of the latter extended far beyond the three original Silesian principalities. He ruled Cracow and part of Great Poland, which his father had already conquered in the course of wars against his Polish cousins.

However, this brilliant development of the Silesian principality was shaken to its depths in March, 1241, by the invasion of the Mongols, who reduced Poland to a desert as they advanced, and forced the Duke of Silesia to oppose them, if he did not wish to see the destruction of the civilisation laboriously acquired in the course of the last hundred years. The bloody battle on the Wahlstatt at Liegnitz, on April 9th, 1241, cost the lives of Henry and of numerous knights in his following. The further history of the Mongol invasion, which continued until the spring of 1242, and kept

Poland Devastated by Mongols

the neighbouring territories of Austria and Moravia in suspense, ran its course upon Hungarian soil.

The next important event in the history of Bohemia was the death of Frederic II., Duke of Austria, and the last male descendant of the house of Babenberg, who was killed on June 15, 1246, in the battle on the Leitha against the Hungarians. The marriage between his niece Gertrude and the Bohemian prince Vladislav, who was now also margrave of Moravia, was not celebrated until this time, although it had been arranged years before; it seemed destined to bring the heritage of the house of Babenberg into the hands of the Premyslids. The most dangerous opponent of the Bohemian claims was the Emperor Frederic II., who desired to secure the Austrian territories, as being an imperial fief in abeyance. However, the struggle for the inheritance of Duke Frederic soon came to a rapid end, owing to the death of the Margrave Vladislav in 1247, and of the emperor in 1250. The claims of inheritance and of constitutional right were now thrown into the background; the disputed possessions passed to the greater power and the greater diplomatic capacity of the neighbouring princes of Bohemia-Moravia and of Hungary, with whom Bavaria was struggling for the prey. The new margrave of Moravia, Premysl Ottokar, the grandson of King Wenzel I., soon defeated Otto, the duke of Bavaria, after a short struggle in Upper and Lower Austria. In the year 1251 he was recognised as duke by the nobility and the towns of that district, and further secured his conquests by his connection with Margareta, the sister of the last Babenberg and the widow of King Henry VII.; in February, 1252, he married her, although she was considerably older than himself.

For the possession of Styria a lengthy struggle began between King Bela IV. of Hungary and Premysl Ottokar II., who also inherited the crown of Bohemia on the death of his father in 1253. At the outset, success inclined to the side of the Magyar, chiefly owing to the support of the Pope, in 1254; eventually, however, the Bohemian king proved victorious in this quarter after his success at the battle of Kroissenbrunn. In July, 1260, the dissolution of his marriage with

The Prosperous Reign of King Ottokar II.

the aged Margareta, his marriage with Cunigunde, the young granddaughter of the Hungarian king, in 1261, and his investiture with the two duchies of Austria and Styria by the German king Richard, in 1262, crowned the remarkable prosperity which had marked the first period of the reign of King Premysl Ottokar II.

The following decade (1273) also brought to the Bohemian king fame and victory in many of his military enterprises, and an increase of territory through his acquisition of Carinthia and Carniola, and of a certain power of protectorate over Eger and the surrounding district. Premysl Ottokar II. had then reached the zenith of his power. The domestic policy of his reign was marked by the continuation and the increase of the work of German colonisation, which his father and grandfather had introduced into the Premyslid kingdom. In this task he found a zealous helper in Bishop Bruno of Olmütz, who was descended from the family of the Holstein counts of Schaumberg, and administered the bishopric of Moravia from 1245 to 1281; he proved the king's best counsellor in all diplomatic and political undertakings. Bishop Bruno, together with Bishop Henry of Olmütz and Bishop Adalbert of Prague, formed a spiritual constellation in the history of the Premyslids. They set in motion a religious, civilising, and political influence which were felt far beyond the boundaries of their respective dioceses.

The privileges of the German towns increased from that period in Bohemia and Moravia. This advance in civilisation is the permanent result of the wide activities of Premysl Ottokar II.; for that vast political construction, the Bohemian-Austrian monarchy, which he seemed to have erected with so much cleverness, proved to be unstable; it was too largely founded upon the weakness of the German Empire and upon the vacillation and helplessness of the nominal kings of Germany. Hence for Premysl Ottokar the choice of Rudolf of Hapsburg as emperor on October 1st, 1273, marks the beginning of the decline of the Bohemian power.

This declension was rapidly completed. Premysl Ottokar refused to acknowledge his feudal dependency upon the new German king, thus challenging the emperor and the empire to war. For almost two years the Bohemian king succeeded

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in staving off the threatening secession of Styria and Austria, for the reason that Rudolf's attention was fully occupied elsewhere, while his means were insufficient to provide any vigorous support for his open and secret adherents in these territories. However, in the autumn of 1276 the Hapsburg led the imperial army through Austria to the walls of Vienna. Ottokar was abandoned, both by the Austrian nobles and by some of his most powerful Bohemian nobility, with the result that the two opponents never met in conflict; the Bohemian king preferred submission to the hazardous alternative of giving battle. The peace of Vienna on November 21st, 1276, deprived Premysl Ottokar II. of his position as a great power; he was obliged to surrender Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and other districts which he had conquered and not inherited, and to receive Bohemia and Moravia as the vassal of the German emperor.

This humiliating settlement, however, could not possibly be regarded by the proud prince as a permanent embargo on his schemes. Concerning the future

Bohemian King Falls in Battle

relations of Bohemia with the empire, and regarding certain important points in the peace of Vienna, more particularly the amnesty to the Bohemian lords who had deserted Premysl Ottokar, and the proposed marriage of a son and daughter of the two princes, misunderstandings broke out, which soon ended in that fresh struggle with Rudolf which the Bohemian king was anxious to provoke. In the battle of Dürnkrot, on the Marchfeld, on August 26th, 1278, Premysl Ottokar was captured, in a condition of exhaustion, after a heroic struggle, and murdered by certain knights who had a private grudge against him. The Premyslid territories now surrendered, almost without resistance, to the German king, who was regarded with considerable favour by the German population of the towns, by a portion of the nobility, and not least by Bishop Bruno. The first years after the death of their great king were a time of misery for Bohemia. When, however, Wenzel II., who became the son-in-law and received the support of the German king, ascended the throne in 1283, a renewed period of prosperity seemed to have begun for the house of Premysl, facilitated both by a peaceable and

serious government and by the riches of the country, especially the income from the silver-mines. The young king, with his vivid interest in art and science, gained a great reputation for the Bohemian court, and made it a favourite resort of artists and scholars. This internal development was accompanied by

Silesia's Greatness at an End a successful foreign policy. After the struggle with the Mongols, Silesia ceases to rank among the countries of

importance in the history of the world, and from 1241 its history is purely local. Once again the country was broken into petty principalities, some of which were in continual hostility with Poland, and were thus driven into connection with the Premyslid kingdom through affinities of civilisation and race. In the decisive battle on the Marchfeld the Dukes of Breslau, Glogau and Oppeln acted as the independent allies of the Bohemian king. King Wenzel of Bohemia, in later troubles, was supported by several Silesian dukes, who recognised him as their feudal overlord; he succeeded in conquering Cracow in 1291, and assumed the crown of Poland in Gnesen in 1300, uniting the heritage of the Piasts with that of the Premyslids.

Nor was this the end. In the following year—1301—the male line of the Hungarian royal house of Arpad became extinct, and one party in the country offered this crown to the Bohemian king; he did not accept it himself, but transferred it to his young son, Wenzel III., who was crowned king of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg. However, this period of brilliant prosperity lasted but a short time for the Premyslids. The Hungarian crown could not be retained in face of the Angevin claims, and in the year 1304 Wenzel III. abandoned it. At the same time Wenzel II. became involved in war with the German king Albert. In the

The Passing of the Premyslids

course of this struggle he died, in 1305, at the age of thirty-four. When his heir was meditating an advance upon Poland in the following year—1306—to crush the rising of Vladislav Lokietek, the Polish claimant to the throne, he was murdered by an assassin in the castle of Olmütz; he died at the age of seventeen, the last male descendant of the distinguished house of the Premyslids, leaving no issue, although married.



THE OLD TOWN BRIDGE TOWER AND THE TEYN CHURCH

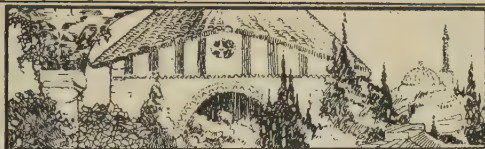


THE ANCIENT BRIDGE AND THE CASTLE OF HRADS



PRAGUE THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF BOHEMIA

This famous city owes much of its beauty to Charles IV., who from 1347 to 1378 greatly extended his capital and erected such buildings as the Cathedral of St. Veit, the Teyn Church, the Bridge Tower, the bridge across the Moldau and the Castle of Hradcany.



BOHEMIA AND THE REFORMATION THE LUXEMBURG KINGS & THE HUSSITE WARS

CLAIMS to the Bohemian inheritance were now raised from two quarters: Duke Henry of Carinthia relied upon the claim of his wife Anna, the eldest sister of King Wenzel III.; on the other hand the German king Albert regarded Bohemia and Moravia as escheated fiefs of the empire, and conferred them upon his eldest son, Duke Rudolf of Austria.

After the premature death of Rudolf in 1307, Henry of Carinthia succeeded in securing a majority of the votes of the Bohemian nobility, and it was only in Moravia that King Albert could secure recognition for his second son Frederic. However, when Albert fell in the following year, 1308, under the murderous attack of his nephew John ("Parricida"), Duke Frederic was obliged to refrain from all attempts to continue the war against Henry in Bohemia and also to surrender Moravia, with the exception of certain towns which remained in his possession as a pledge for the repayment of the expenses of the war.

King Henry's Vanished Prestige Henry of Carinthia was, however, unable to cope with the difficult party questions which troubled Bohemia. King and nobles, nobles and towns, were in a state of perpetual hostility. The result was seen in disturbances and acts of aggression which lost Henry his prestige in the country. A new party arose, led by the Abbot Conrad of Königssaal, which attempted to secure a new ruler by the marriage of Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of King Wenzel II.

Their choice fell upon John, the young son of the new German emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg. On September 1st, 1310, the marriage of the German prince, who was fourteen years of age, with the Bohemian princess, who was eighteen, was celebrated in Speyer. The German emperor had released the Bohemians from their oath to the Duke of Carinthia in the previous July at Frankfort, and had invested his son with Bohemia and Moravia, as escheated fiefs of the empire. The conquest of the country was not a

lengthy task, as King Henry, recognising speedily the hopelessness of resistance, entered upon negotiations and voluntarily left the country. The occupation of Moravia was accomplished with equal facility. John even assumed the title of King of Poland, as a sign that he proposed to maintain the claims of his Premyslid predecessors to this crown.

Germans Expelled from Bohemia The course of his government was soon, however, considerably disturbed, chiefly in consequence of the hostile feeling entertained by the high Bohemian nobility for Archbishop Peter of Mainz and other German counsellors, whom King Henry had sent to direct his inexperienced son. John found his difficulties increased in 1313 by the death of his imperial father, which deprived him of the support of the German Empire. He was obliged to consent to the expulsion of the Germans from Bohemia, and to resign the government of the country to Henry of Lipa, the most powerful of the Bohemian barons.

Peace, however, was not even then secured. Financial disputes between the king and his chief adviser, the extraordinary connection between Lipa and the Dowager Queen Elizabeth, the former consort both of Wenzel II. and Duke Rudolf, who resided in Königingrätz, and overshadowed the court of the queen proper, together with other causes, led to the forcible removal of Lipa in 1315, whereupon Archbishop Peter again received the position of chief minister. After a rule of two years he was again forced to yield to the powerful nobles in 1317.

Revolt Against King John King John was weary of these domestic troubles, and turned his attention to foreign affairs, especially to the rivalry between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic the Fair of Austria for the German crown; consequently the government of Bohemia and the work of resistance to the nobles devolved upon his wife Queen Elizabeth, who received very little support from her husband. The result was a general revolt

against the king in 1318, which he was powerless to suppress. Finally, by the intervention of Lewis of Bavaria, a somewhat degrading compromise with the revolted barons was effected at Taus, and the king was forced to content himself with his title, his position, and the rich income of his territory. King John, a restless, cheerful, somewhat extravagant, but highly gifted and chivalrous character, secured a great extension of territory for Bohemia in the course of the numerous enterprises and intrigues in which he was continually involved.

Moravia Freed from the Hapsburgs

After the death of the Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg, the Oberlausitz fell into his hands in 1319. In 1322 he received in pawn from Lewis of Bavaria the town of Eger, with its territory, which has ever since remained in the possession of Bohemia. He was able definitely to liberate Moravia from all the claims and demands which the Hapsburgs could make upon that province. For a few years (1331-1333) he even secured possession of part of Lombardy, the government of which he entrusted to his eldest son Charles, while his youngest son, John Henry, received the province of Tyrol, with the hand of Margareta Maulltasch, in 1330; but John Henry was unable to maintain his hold of this possession.

The most important acquisition made by King John was that of Silesia, which gave to Bohemia an enormous increase of extent and power. The connection of the Silesian princes with Bohemia had begun under the last of the Premyslids, and had been dissolved upon the extinction of the race; it was made permanent under the rule of King John. As early as the year 1327, upon the occasion of an expedition against Poland, John received the homage of the dukes of Upper Silesia. In the same year Breslau recognised the Bohemian

Fall of "the Crown of Knighthood"

king as its feudal overlord; this example was followed in 1328 by most of the duchies of Lower Silesia. In 1331 John, by a threat of invasion, forced Glogau to do homage. These acquisition were further secured by a treaty between King John and the Polish king Casimir, son of Vladislav Lokietek, in 1335, whereby John renounced the claims to the Polish crown, which he had hitherto maintained as heir of the Premyslids,

receiving in return the cession of the Silesian districts under Polish government.

When John fell, "the crown of knighthood," in the battle of Crecy-en-Ponthieu on August 26th, 1346, the anniversary of the death of Premysl Ottokar II., the domestic resources of Bohemia had been greatly shaken by his extravagant and unsystematic government. However, his successful foreign and military policy, which secured a position for his son and heir, Charles, had largely counterbalanced these disadvantages; for a time the Bohemian king ruled over a more extensive territory than any of his predecessors, with the exception of Premysl Ottokar II., had ever acquired. To this power was now added the dignity of the imperial crown. Thanks to the diplomacy of his father, Charles was elected as Charles IV. on July 11th, 1346, after the deposition of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

On the death of his father, Charles was more than thirty years of age, and had enjoyed a wide experience in his youth. His father had sent him at an early age to complete his education at the court in

The Youthful Charles and his Great Victory

Paris, and his intellectual powers soon made it possible for him to take part in the business of government. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Parma to administer, to guide, and to defend his father's Italian acquisitions. In the year 1332, at the age of sixteen, he won a brilliant victory over his powerful adversaries at San Felice. However, the Italian lands eventually proved untenable, and were sold by King John in the following year.

In 1333 Charles received the title of Margrave of Moravia, and took over the government of the hereditary dominions. He at once reduced the shattered resources of the kingdom to order. Intrigues among the nobles caused at times serious dissension between father and son. These quarrels reached their highest point in the years 1336-1337 when Charles was forced to resign the administration of Bohemia. But in 1338 a complete reconciliation was effected, and in 1341 King John, of his own initiative, secured the recognition of Charles as his successor in the Bohemian kingdom, during his own lifetime. Of special importance to Charles was the year 1342, when his former tutor and his father's friend at the French Court, the Archbishop Pierre Roger of Rouen, ascended the papal chair

as Clement VI. These two highly gifted men are said to have predicted their careers to one another during their intercourse in Paris.

The support of the Pope enabled Charles in 1344 to raise the bishopric of Prague, which had hitherto been subject to the metropolitan see of Mainz, to the rank of an independent archbishopric with jurisdiction over the bishopric of Olmütz in Moravia and the newly founded bishopric of Leitomischl in Bohemia. Clement VI. also took an honourable share in the promotion of the future king of Bohemia to the throne of Germany. Charles was spared the trouble of a struggle with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had been deposed on July 11th, 1346, for as he was on the point of marching against Lewis in 1347 he received the news of his rival's death.

Charles was therefore able to devote himself with greater vigour to the difficult task of conducting the business of the empire. As regarded the administration of his hereditary territories, he found a welcome supporter in his brother John Henry, upon whom he conferred the margraviate of Moravia as an hereditary fief on December 26th, 1349. So long as he lived, this brother was bound to Charles by ties of affection and friendship, and supported

him zealously and unselfishly in his military and diplomatic enterprises. Their mutual relation is comparable to that which existed between King Premysl Ottokar I. and Vladislav Henry. Moravia being thus secured by inheritance to the second line of the Luxemburg house, the diocese of Olmütz and the province of Troppau were declared fiefs of the crown of Bohemia and made independent of the margraviate of Moravia. The

Silesia Under the Crown of Bohemia

duchy of Troppau had been already founded by King Premysl Ottokar II., who had reserved it for the support of his illegitimate son Nicholas I.; it had also been conferred as a fief by King John in 1318 upon the son and namesake of Nicholas, so that the arrangement of Charles only confirmed his father's dispositions. The rest of Silesia Charles had

already, in 1348, incorporated with the Bohemian crown as Emperor of Germany.

The assertion of the Emperor Maximilian that Charles IV. was the stepfather of the empire and the father of Bohemia is justified as regards the latter part of the remark. The whole of

Charles's political activity was inspired by the idea of making his family and his country a great power. From the beginning of his independent reign to his death he exerted every effort to raise Bohemia to the level of civilisation and intellectual development already attained by more advanced countries. He extended his capital of Prague and laid the foundation of its great development, increasing its beauty by such constructions as the Cathedral of St. Veit, the Castle of Hrad, the Teyn Church,

and the bridge over the Moldau. He summoned artists of famous capacity, both German and Italian, architects and painters, brass-founders and sculptors, goldsmiths, and other miniature art workers. To his lively interest in science—he was himself an historical and theological author—the University of Prague owes its origin, at a time when such educational institutions were rare on the north of the Alps, except in France. Bologna and Paris served as patterns for the organisation of the

university. Charles showed an extreme interest in jurisprudence. He was able to regulate imperial affairs by ordinances establishing a land peace, by the "Golden Bull" of 1356, and other edicts; he conceived the idea of providing a uniform legal code for Bohemia and Moravia in the "Majestas Carolina."

However, his intentions were frustrated by the resistance of the native nobility. Further important legal work was achieved in Silesia during his reign, such as the land register for the Duchy of Breslau, "a magnificent work, which has been a model for all later surveys;" the Silesian common law code, a redaction of the "Sachsenspiegel," with special modifications; and, finally, a special municipal code for Breslau. And Charles worked no less vigorously to secure material prosperity in his own dominions. Mining, forestry,



THE FATHER OF BOHEMIA Charles IV. was so called by the Emperor Maximilian for his immense services to his country, which advanced greatly in power and prosperity during his long reign.

agriculture, and cattle farming then became extremely productive. Prague, next to Breslau, which he regarded with no less care, became one of the most important commercial centres in Central Europe, and a meeting-place of traffic from the south to the north, and from the west to the east. The energy manifested by Charles IV.

Bohemia's Succession of Plagues

in promoting the advance of intellectual and material prosperity deserves the more recognition for the reason that severe plagues ravaged the country during the first years of his rule; such were the black death, the Jewish plague, and the "flagellant" outbreak. Though these plagues did not prove so destructive in the hereditary lands of Charles as elsewhere, they were none the less a powerful obstacle to the development of trade and intercourse, of education and art.

It must also not be forgotten that the emperor's time was largely occupied by political business, military campaigns, and journeys to different parts of the empire, so that he was often absent from his hereditary territories for months at a time. The results of the energy which Charles IV. displayed through the thirty years of his reign, seem, in brief, to have been the securing of a prosperous future to the house of Luxemburg, which then counted numerous male descendants. Partly by bold opposition, partly by clever diplomacy, he gradually overcame the influence of the Wittelsbach family, which had hitherto been powerful, and finally secured from them the important Mark of Brandenburg for his own house in 1373.

At the beginning of his reign he was opposed by the King of Poland, whose hostility was supported by Duke Bolko of Schweidnitz-Jauer, the last of the Silesian princes who remained independent of Bohemia. In the year 1348, however, Charles concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the King of Poland, while he so far secured the good favour of Bolko as to induce him to conclude a pact of inheritance with Bohemia in 1364; by this agreement Charles, who entered upon a third marriage, in 1353, with Anna, daughter of the Duke of Schweidnitz, secured a reasonable prospect of acquiring the latter's principality. These hopes were realised in a few years by the death of Bolko in 1368.

Poland and Bohemia in Agreement

Charles had also a difficult problem to deal with in his relations with his stepson, Rudolf IV. of Austria. This prince was inspired by an invincible ambition for supremacy and power. He was anxious to secure an exceptional position for his kingdom among the German principalities, and when Charles opposed these ambitious designs, Rudolf was ready to adopt any and every means for their execution. He produced forged documents, and, what was more dangerous, made alliances with foreign princes against the emperor, supporting especially King Lewis of Hungary, who caused Charles IV. serious anxiety on more than one occasion. However, the diplomatic skill of the Luxemburg monarch was able gradually to overcome these dangers, and eventually to turn them to his own account. After 1363 the attention of Duke Rudolf was occupied by the acquisition of the Tyrol, and he began to feel the need of the emperor's support. In February, 1364, in the course of a meeting of nobles at Brünn, he concluded with Charles an important succession treaty, whereby the Luxemburg and Hapsburg families were

The Death of Charles IV.

respectively to inherit one another's lands in case either house should become extinct in the male and female line. Charles considerably increased his dominions by purchase and by acquisition in other ways, especially in the Upper Palatinate and in Lausitz; also he attempted to secure for his family the prospect of succession to neighbouring thrones, particularly by well-considered family alliances. Both Rudolf IV., and his brother, Duke Albert III., who succeeded him as Duke of Austria in 1365, were married to daughters of Charles IV. His son Wenzel, born in 1361, by Anna, was originally betrothed to the niece, at that time the heiress of King Lewis of Hungary. When, however, in after years, this monarch had daughters of his own, the betrothal was dissolved, and in 1371 Wenzel married Johanna, the daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria. Charles IV. attempted to marry his second son, Sigismund, to Maria, the elder daughter and heiress apparent of Lewis of Hungary.

Charles IV. left his family in a strong position when he died, at the age of sixty-three, on November 29th, 1378. Wenzel had already, in 1376, been

appointed German Emperor by the Electors, and was also in possession of Bohemia and Silesia. The second son, Sigismund, received the Mark of Brandenburg, and the youngest, John, part of the Lausitz. The margraviate of Moravia had been governed until 1383 by Wenzel, the brother of Charles IV., who also ruled the duchy of Luxemburg. The Bohemian king held the feudal rights over this province, and after the death of the margrave John in 1375 the country was divided among his three sons, Jost, Prokop, and John Sobeslav.

Rarely do grandfather, father, and grandson display differences of life and character so profound as may be noted in the case of John, Charles, and Wenzel. The diplomatic powers of King John reappear as practical statesmanship of a high order in Charles; in Wenzel, however, scarce the humblest remnant of political capacity is discernible; again, the extravagance of the grandfather becomes remarkable economy in the son and avarice in the grandson. John is a fiery, impetuous, chivalric figure, seeking and finding death in the press of battle; Charles is a more

patriarchal character, with no preference for war, though far from cowardly; Charles, as years pass by, exhibits a voluptuousness immoderate and even brutal, cowardice conjoined with cruelty, a blend of indolence and vacillation.

Two Popes Dispute the Tiara

Feeble as was his capacity for empire this prince was now confronted not only with the task of governing the realm of a great dynasty, but also with the administration of the vast German Empire, with its various and divergent interests; this, too, at a period when all the material for political and social conflagration had been collected. Shortly before the death of Charles IV. an event had occurred which threw the critical nature of the

general situation into strong relief. Two Popes were disputing the tiara, each with his own following among the princes and the clergy—Urban VI. at Rome and Clement VII. at Avignon. Wenzel, whose special business it should have been, as

Wenzel's German emperor, to allay the
Wall of schism in the Church, calmly
Difficulties contemplated the spread of this disorder in every direction.

Another difficult problem for his consideration was the position of his brother Sigismund in Hungary. The Luxemburg prince had married Maria, the elder daughter of King Lewis I., who had no male issue, and occupied the throne

of Hungary and also, after 1370, that of Poland; on Lewis's death in 1382 his son-in-law claimed the Polish and Hungarian kingdoms in right of his wife. The attempt to secure Poland resulted in total failure, while Hungary was secured only after a severe struggle, which absorbed more of Wenzel's resources than he could well spare. Within the empire, again, the king was hard pressed by the struggle between the princes and the towns. The partiality which he at first displayed for



WENZEL IV., KING OF BOHEMIA

The eldest son of Charles IV., Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, succeeded his father on the throne of Bohemia in 1378, in which year he was also elected Emperor of Germany. His reign was one long succession of trouble and he died in 1419.

the latter was succeeded by indecision when his support proved inadequate to secure victory for the towns, and his diminishing interest in German affairs eventually lost him the sympathies of all parties alike.

These various foreign complications, for the successful solution of which Wenzel did not possess the judgment, the force of will, or the tenacity necessary, became far more dangerous on account of the rise of political, social, and religious difficulties, with which he was too weak to cope, within his own hereditary territories.

However, these menacing dangers were not apparent at the outset of his government in Bohemia. The organisation which Charles IV. had set on foot continued to

work excellently for a time, and Wenzel was not the man to strike out a line of his own. He continued the great architectural works which his father had begun; he extended the university; literary work, especially in the Czech language, met with his zealous support. It was at this period that Huss altered and

Crusade Against the Clergy simplified the Bohemian orthography. But the signs of dissension in the public life of Bohemia grew more and more distinct. The University of Prague in particular was the starting point of the first line of cleavage. The Bohemian element in the population had grown until it outnumbered the other nationalities—the Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles—and the result was a demand for a corresponding redistribution of votes in municipal and other corporations. Soon, again, the Bohemian nationality diverged from the other three nations upon religious questions, which had entirely occupied the attention of the clergy since the days of Charles IV. The German preacher Conrad Waldhauser, whom Charles had summoned from Austria to Prague, then supported the Czech Milicz of Kremsier in his crusade against the immorality of laity and clergy. They both died during Charles's reign, and the activity of their successors became rather nationalist than religious, and was directed on the one hand against the German mendicant Orders, —the Dominicans and Augustinians—and on the other against the upper clergy, the Archbishop of Prague and the chapter.

Wenzel became involved in the quarrel, and treated the Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenstein, and his officials with undue severity. In the course of the conflict they were taken prisoners, examined under torture, and severely punished; one of them, Doctor Johann von Pomuk, otherwise Nepomuk, who had been so brutally mishandled as to be past all hope

The King's Punishment of Officials of recovery, was drowned in the Moldau at the king's orders. This happened in the year 1393. In the very next year the king was to discover the weakness of the foundations supporting the power which he exercised with such despotism in Bohemia. The most distinguished noble families formed a confederacy with the object of overthrowing the king's advisers and of recovering their former rights to a share in the administration.

Their enterprise was especially dangerous to Wenzel, for the reason that they had secured the support of the king's cousin Jost, the margrave of Moravia. Jost, whose personality is henceforward of considerable importance in the history of Wenzel's reign, had been margrave and overlord of Moravia since the death of his father John in 1375. Important estates had been bequeathed to his two brothers, who were independent of Jost. But no love was lost between them from the outset, and the enmity between Jost and Procop resulted in a furious struggle between the brothers in Moravia, which caused great suffering for a long period to the whole margraviate, and especially to the bishopric of Olmütz. Jost, an ambitious and capable character, succeeded in securing the confidence of the self-mistrustful King of Bohemia, and was allowed to assume part of his imperial duties in return for an adequate consideration.

To begin with, he was appointed in 1383 vicar of the empire for Italy, as Wenzel hoped that his cousin would clear

Aristocrats Oppose Wenzel his way for a progress to Rome. In return for the military and pecuniary help which he gave to Wenzel and Sigismund in the Hungarian War, Jost obtained the Mark of Brandenburg on mortgage in 1388; to this were soon added Luxemburg and the governorship of Alsace. When Wenzel first—about 1387—entertained the idea of abdicating the German crown, he had thoughts of transferring it to his Moravian cousin. Jost had serious hopes of securing that dignity, as is proved by the fact that in 1389 he concluded compacts with Duke Albert III., "in the event of his becoming king of Germany." The plan, however, came to nothing. In the year 1390 Jost was again appointed imperial vicar for Italy, with a view to the more serious consideration of the papal question and the crowning of Wenzel as emperor.

The margrave, however, was induced to decline the honour by reason of the outbreak of disturbances in Bohemia, and personally took the lead of the aristocratic league against the king, and secured for this movement the support of King Sigismund of Hungary, Duke Albert of Austria, and the Margrave William of Meissen. Wenzel was able to rely only upon the humble resources of his cousin Procop

of Moravia and of his youngest brother, John of Görlitz. But before hostilities were actually begun the confederates succeeded in capturing the king's person on May 8th, 1394. His two allies attempted to rescue him, the sole result being that Wenzel was confined first in a Bohemian and afterwards in an Austrian castle. Meanwhile Jost administered the government of Bohemia. Germany then began to menace the conspirators, who liberated the king. A war broke out in Bohemia and Moravia which seemed likely to be prolonged by the weakness of Wenzel and the mutual animosity of the several members of the royal family.

At the outset Sigismund, king of Hungary, drove his cousin Jost out of the field by the conclusion of a secret reconciliation with his brother Wenzel, whereby he secured the office of Vicar General in Germany in March, 1396, with the reversion of the German crown. About a year later—in February, 1397—Wenzel in turn made peace with Jost and allowed him to establish a kind of co-regency in Prague.

Suddenly, however, he renounced his compact with Jost and summoned Procop to be his permanent adviser in 1398; this, too, at a time when the temper of the German electors had grown threatening owing to the weakness of Wenzel's government. Wenzel then betook himself to Germany, held a diet in Frankfort in 1398, and travelled thence to Charles VI. of France to discuss the difficult problem of allaying the papal schism. Meanwhile, the federated nobles, supported by Jost and Sigismund, began war in Bohemia against Wenzel and Procop. The struggle continued until the end of August, 1400, when

The Nobles Depose King Wenzel

Wenzel was naturally furious at the insult. He could not, however, summon up resolution to strike an immediate blow for the recovery of his position. He made a second attempt at reconciliation with Sigismund; but the brothers again quarrelled concerning the conditions under which the King of Hungary should take up

arms against the empire on behalf of Wenzel, and Sigismund reluctantly retired to Bohemia. Jost seized the opportunity for a decisive stroke. In alliance with the Bohemian barons, the Archbishop of Prague, and the Margrave of Meissen he forced Wenzel to accept a regency for Bohemia, and again secured his possession

Restless Times in Hungary

of Lausitz and of the Brandenburg Mark in August, 1401. Wenzel was anxious to put an end to this tutelage; for this purpose he again concluded a compact with Sigismund at the beginning of 1402, appointing him vice-regent or co-regent in Bohemia, and conferring on him the imperial vicariate for Germany. The King of Hungary repaid this mark of confidence by making Wenzel a prisoner in March, 1402, and by capturing shortly afterwards his most faithful supporter, the margrave Procop. Sigismund entered upon relations of extreme intimacy with the Austrian dukes, entrusted them with the care of the person of the Bohemian king in August, 1402, and concluded with them important pacts of inheritance, considerably to the disadvantage of Jost of Moravia, whose Mark of Brandenburg he treated as his own.



JOHN HUSS, REFORMER
The leading representative of the Reformation among the Bohemian clergy died a martyr in 1415.

The position was at length entirely changed by a rising in Hungary which obliged Sigismund to abandon Bohemia, and by the flight of Wenzel from Austria to his own country in November, 1403, where he was received with much jubilation, owing to the general hatred of the Austrian rule. Jost was reconciled to Wenzel, chiefly for the reason that his brother Procop, with whom he had been in continual hostility, had died in the year 1405, and the attacks of Sigismund and the Hapsburgs upon the Bohemian king were successfully repulsed. Southern Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria suffered terrible devastation between 1404 and 1406 from the wars between the princes and also from the ravages of the dangerous robber bands which then became the curse of the country.

Silesia suffered no less than Bohemia and Moravia under the unhappy government of King Wenzel. At the outset of his reign he interfered in a violent quarrel

between Breslau and the local chapter, and espoused the cause of the town against the despotic aggression of its opponents in 1381. Shortly afterwards he involved this important commercial centre in a long feud with the dukes of Oppeln upon the question of a heavy guarantee for the king's financial necessities. In the course

Silesian Princes at the Bohemian Court

of this struggle the travelling merchants of Breslau suffered heavy losses in property and purse. Some of the Silesian princes, in particular those of Teschen, remained faithful to Wenzel and secured high offices at the Bohemian court; others, however, broke their feudal ties with Bohemia and formed connections with Vladislav Jagellon, the reigning king of Poland.

These numerous indications of retrogression and decay in the hereditary Luxemburg territories would perhaps have been less ominous had not the religious and nationalist movement among the Bohemian nation then attained its highest point, declaring war with terrible determination both against the Catholic Church and against German influence in general. The best-known representative of the reform movement among the Bohemian clergy is John Huss; he had been a leading figure among the lecturers at the university since 1396, and as preacher in the Bethlehem chapel at Prague he enjoyed an unexampled popularity among all classes of the population. He and his followers fulminated in the Bohemian language against the immorality of clergy and laity, especially against the sale of ecclesiastical offices (simony), whereby the ranks of the clergy were filled with unworthy members. Livings and benefices had been multiplied to such an extent in Bohemia and Moravia that even small churches supported numerous priests in idleness. These and other evils formed a widespread social malady of the period,

Bohemia During the Reformation

and as early as the middle of the fourteenth century had been combated by Waldhauser and Milicz in Bohemia, and by John Wycliffe in England. Nowhere, however, did these ecclesiastical quarrels fall upon a soil so rich in national animosities as in Bohemia. The war broke out upon the question of the condemnation of Wycliffe's writings, which had made their way into Bohemia and were enthusiastically received by the reform

party among the clergy. The cathedral chapter requested the university to oppose the dissemination of Wycliffe's works and opinions; they met with a refusal from the Bohemian "nation" in the university which was practically led by Huss. The breach existing in the university and within the nation was widened.

The same opposition reappeared a few years later upon the question of concluding the papal schism. The Council of Pisa in 1409 proposed to settle the question definitely by observing an ecclesiastical neutrality and refusing obedience to either Pope. In the University of Prague the idea commended itself only to the Bohemian "nation;" the three remaining nationalities in conjunction with the upper clergy adhered firmly to the Roman Pope Gregory XII. King Wenzel, in contrast to Rupert, declared for ecclesiastical neutrality, and the Czech party induced him to issue that fatal decree whereby the Bohemian "nation," though in the minority, was henceforward to have three votes in all university discussions and resolutions, while the three non-Bohemian

Huss Defies the Pope

nations were to have but one vote between them. This measure implied the despotic repression of Germans and foreigners. Their sole remedy was migration to other German universities.

Huss, who must be regarded as the prime mover in this momentous transaction, had shaken off his opponents with unusual success. He was the more emboldened for the struggle with the higher clergy, in particular with Archbishop Zbynek of Prague. This ecclesiastic had forcibly deprived the clergy of their Wycliffite books, which he condemned to be burnt, and had also taken measures against the licence of the preachers in every direction, and was anxious to confine their activity to the parish churches. When Huss declined to obey these regulations and continued to preach reform from the pulpit of the Bethlehem chapel, he was excommunicated. However, the bulk of the population, the university, the court, the Queen Sophie—Wenzel's second wife from 1389—and the king himself, were on the side of Huss, while the archbishop was supported only by his clergy and by the new Pope, John XXIII.

The further development of these divisions was largely influenced by general political events. King Rupert had died



JOHN HUSS, THE GREAT BOHEMIAN REFORMER BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, WHICH CONDEMNED HIM TO DEATH IN 1415

in the year 1410. The simultaneous choice of the two Luxemburg princes, Jost of Moravia and Sigismund of Hungary, was but a temporary danger, as the former died in January, 1411. Of the many descendants of the house of Luxemburg there remained only King Wenzel of Bohemia and King Sigismund of Hungary, neither having

Sigismund on the Throne of Germany

male issue. They agreed without difficulty to share the inheritance of their Moravian cousin, and laid aside all previous grounds of dispute. Sigismund took the Mark of Brandenburg, which he forthwith mortgaged to the Burgrave Frederic of Nuremberg; Wenzel added Moravia and Lausitz to Bohemia. Sigismund was then unanimously chosen king of Germany. Wenzel reserved to himself the right of acquiring the dignity of emperor at the hands of the Pope. They attempted by similar means to conclude the schism in the Church, recognising John XXIII., then resident in Rome, as against the other two candidates who laid claim to the papal tiara. Hopes of a general recognition induced the Pope to modify his attitude to Huss and to refrain from summoning him to Rome; this policy was the more feasible because the chief opponent of Huss, the Archbishop Zbynek, died in the year 1411, and his aged successor was a mere tool in the hands of King Wenzel. Huss, however, was stimulated to further invective in his preaching against ecclesiastical abuses by John XXIII.'s issue of indulgences to secure money for the struggle against his opponents, a proceeding which gave further ground for serious complaints. Once again the nation supported Huss, with his pupils and friends. On this occasion, however, Wenzel resolved to

give vigorous support, for political reasons, to the minority who opposed reform. The result was the imprisonment and execution of certain persons who publicly opposed the proceedings of the papal commissioners, while further complaints were made in Rome against Huss, who consequently incurred a papal sentence of excommunication in 1412. Huss retired from Prague, but continued his work

throughout the country with increased zeal, while in the capital itself the tension between the two parties was in no degree diminished.

Sigismund then considered that it might be possible to make an end of the religious disputes which shook the Bohemian hereditary lands, Bohemia itself, and also Moravia, to their centre, by bringing Huss before the Council of Constance, where the most influential representatives of political and ecclesiastical Europe had gathered to conclude the schism and to introduce general measures of church reform. Huss arrived a fortnight before the first sitting of the council, on November 3rd, 1414, accompanied by several Bohemian nobles, under a safe-conduct from Sigismund. This fact, however,

Huss dies a Martyr

did not prevent the council from imprisoning Huss on November 28th. Sigismund and Wenzel made no attempt to interfere, in spite of their express promise guaranteeing a safe passage and return for Huss. The nobility of Bohemia and Moravia pressed his case with increasing firmness, and sent letters of warning to the king and the council; but after more than six months' imprisonment in misery, Huss was deprived of his spiritual office as an arch-heretic by the council on July 6th, 1415, and the secular power then executed the sentence of death by burning.



A HUSSITE MARTYR

Jerome, or Hieronymus, of Prague was one of the Hussite reformers who suffered death in the year 1416.

Huss died a true martyr to his religious zeal. The firmness, the love of truth, and the contempt of death which he displayed before his judges at Constance, were a powerful incitement to his strong body of adherents in Bohemia and Moravia to cling the more tenaciously to his doctrines. Shortly before his death, his pupil, Jacobellus of Mies, came forward with a claim, based upon the commands of Holy Scripture, for communion in both kinds. Huss offered no objection, and his followers thus gained, to their great advantage, a tangible symbol of their divergence from the Catholic Church.

No priest was tolerated who would not dispense the sacrament in both kinds; and since the Council of Constance



LUTHER AND HUSS ADMINISTERING THE COMMUNION TO JOHN FREDERIC I. OF SAXONY
 Reproduced from an old print illustrating allegorically the triumph of the lay communion, in support of which, and for other "heresies," Huss had been martyred seventy years before the time of Luther.

rejected this innovation as being opposed to the existing custom of the Church, occasion was given for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy in every direction. Nobles and knights, in accordance with the custom of the age, soon formed a league for the purpose of protecting communion in both kinds and freedom of preaching in the country. They were unanimously resolved to regard the University of Prague and not the Council of Constance as their supreme ecclesiastical authority until the choice of a new Pope.

Strong measures were taken against the apostates; the fathers of the council issued excommunications and an interdict without delay. Hussite disciples were burned in Olmütz when they attempted to preach the new doctrine in that city. A second master of Prague, Hieronymus, was burned in Constance on May 30th, 1416. Bishop John of Leitomischl, who was regarded as chiefly responsible next to Sigismund for the condemnation of Huss, was made Bishop of Olmütz, and showed great zeal for the extirpation of the heresy.

But these measures served only to intensify the spirit of opposition, after the death of Huss, from year to year, and soon made the breach irremediable. The only measures which commended themselves to the new Pope, Martin V., were excommunication and anathema, which produced the smaller effect, as the

Hussites Hussites themselves now began to break up into sects and parties, which went far beyond the doctrine of the magister of Prague. The most numerous, and afterwards the most important, of these sects was that of the Taborites, who took their name from Mount Tabor, where they originally held their meetings. As regarded religion, they professed a return to the conditions of primitive Christianity, and adherence only to the actual letter of the Bible. At the same time their political and social views and objects were marked by extreme radicalism. The more moderate opposition among the Hussites were known from their symbol as Calixtins (chalicemen) or as Pragers, as the Prague school was their spiritual centre.

King Wenzel, who had favoured the Hussites since the condemnation of their founder, was impelled by his brother Sigismund and the Pope to entertain seriously the idea of interference, in view of the dangerous and revolutionary spirit which animated an ever increasing circle of adherents. At the outset of the year 1419 he remodelled the Hussite council of the Neustadt in Prague by introducing Catholics, and recalled the priests who had been expelled. However, mutual animosities had risen to such a pitch that on July 30th, 1419, when the Catholics disturbed or insulted a procession, the Hussites, under their leader Ziska, stormed the parliament house in the Neustadt and threw some of the Catholic councillors out of the windows. The councillors were then beaten and stabbed to death by the infuriated populace. The excitement in the city and the country was increased a few weeks afterwards by the sudden death of King Wenzel on August 19th, 1419, the consequence of a fearful access of fury at the outbreak of the revolution.

Wenzel Dies in an Access of Fury

Sigismund, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg, was now confronted with the difficult task of securing his accession to the heritage of his brother—Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. In each of these

three countries the political situation and the prospects of his recognition were different. In Bohemia he might expect a bitter opposition, as long as he maintained his hostility to the Hussite movement. In Moravia this movement had indeed obtained a firm footing among the nobility and the population. Here, however, there was a counteracting force in the bishopric of Olmütz and its numerous feudatories, led by Bishop John, "the man of iron," who strove vigorously for the suppression of the heresy. Further, the most important towns, such as Brünn, Olmütz, Znaim, Iglau, and others were populated by a majority of Catholic and German inhabitants, and neither they nor the nobility had any intention of opposing the rights of the Luxemburg claimant.

Finally, Sigismund could be certain of meeting with ready submission in Silesia, which was entirely Germanised, and regarded the struggle in Bohemia primarily from a nationalist point of view, condemning it for its anti-German tendency. Hence Sigismund did not enter Bohemia, but entrusted the govern-

Sigismund and the Hussites ment to the Dowager-queen Sophie, and to some councillors from the moderates among the nobility; he appeared in Brünn in December, 1419, where he summoned the provincial assembly. An embassy also appeared from Bohemia to ask for the king's recognition of the four articles of belief, which had been drawn up by the Hussite sects a short time previously in a general assembly at Prague. These were, firstly, freedom of preaching; secondly, communion in both kinds; thirdly, the observance of apostolic poverty by the clergy; and, fourthly, the suppression and punishment of deadly sins. Sigismund, however, declined to declare his position, and put off the deputies until he should arrive in Bohemia itself.

He did not, however, proceed to Bohemia, but hurried immediately from Brünn to Breslau, into which town he made a formal entry on January 5th, 1420. Here he declared his real attitude towards the Hussites as his religious and political opponents. Towards the close of Wenzel's reign the artisans of Breslau had raised a revolt against the aristocratic council and the whole system of royal administration, following the example of the Hussites at Prague, who had killed councillors and

usurped the power and authority. Sigismund did not hesitate to bring the revolutionaries to justice; he executed twenty-three of them in the public square on March 4th, 1420, condemned the numerous fugitives to death, declared their rights and property forfeit, and most strictly limited the freedom and the privileges of the guilds as a whole.

This action was intended as a menace to the Bohemians, and its meaning became plainer on March 15th, 1420, when a citizen of Prague, who had ventured to express publicly in Breslau his opinion upon the condemnation of Huss, and to declare himself a Hussite, was burned as a heretic at Sigismund's orders. Two days afterwards he ordered the crusade bull against the Hussites which Pope Martin V. had issued, to be read from the pulpits of the Breslau churches. The embassy from Prague, which had also come to Breslau to negotiate with the king, naturally left the city entirely undeceived, and upon its return to Prague wisely advised a union of the moderate Calixtins and radical Taborites, and issued an appeal for war upon their common enemy, the Luxemburg ruler.

A few weeks later Sigismund entered Bohemia with a strong army, composed chiefly of Germans and Silesians. He could calculate upon the support of many towns which had remained German and Catholic—for example, Kuttenberg—and on the advantage derived from the possession of the two fortresses which dominated Prague—the Hradshin and the Wysherad. However, the siege of Prague from May to June, 1420, was a failure. An attempt to relieve the defenders of the Wysherad was defeated, and in the murderous battle of November 1st, 1420, the king's army was shattered, and many of the Catholic nobility of Moravia who had followed him were included in the overthrow. In February, 1421, Sigismund again made trial of his fortune in war against Bohemia, and was forced to retreat, or rather to flee,

through Moravia to Hungary. On all three occasions the undaunted Taborite army had held the field under its general, Ziska. Conscious of their power, the Taborites now took the offensive, and conquered during the following months a number of towns and fiefs which had remained Catholic. The process of transforming the German towns of Bohemia into Czech settlements went on simultaneously with these conquests, so far as it had not been already completed by earlier events. A few towns only were able to resist the change. In June, 1421, the assembly of

Caslau had already declared the crown to be forfeit, the king being "the deadly enemy of the Bohemian nation." The provisional government offered the Bohemian throne to the King of Poland.

Sigismund was a restless and undaunted character; in this and in many other good and bad qualities he reminds us of his grandfather, King John. Once again he resumed the struggle, although the dangers which threatened him in Hungary made it impossible for him to think of continuing the war in Bohemia without foreign help. Germany equipped a crusading army at his appeal, increased, it is said, to 200,000 men by contingents from Meissen and Silesia. Bohemia was invaded in September, 1421, but the furious attacks of the Hussite bands inflicted heavy loss, and forced the

army to withdraw almost as soon as it had crossed the frontier. It was not for several years that the empire undertook any fresh military enterprise against Bohemia.

Most important to Sigismund were the support and co-operation of Duke Albert V. of Austria, which were continued from the beginning to the end of the war. The price paid for this help was, indeed, considerable. Sigismund gave Elizabeth, his only child and heiress, to the duke, in marriage, ceded certain towns and castles, and afterwards gave him the governorship, and finally complete possession, of the margraviate of Moravia under



A BOHEMIAN WARRIOR
In fifteenth-century chain armour.

the convention of October 1st to 4th, 1423. Albert was gradually able, with the help of the Bishop of Olmütz, to withdraw this province from Hussite influence, to crush the Hussite barons, and to make the province a base of operations against Moravia. These facts induced Ziska to turn his attention to the neighbouring province in the year 1424; but at the outset of the campaign this great general succumbed to an attack of some kind of plague at Pribislau, a little town on the frontier of Bohemia and Moravia, on October 11th, 1424. Before his death bitter quarrels had broken out between the several Hussite sects, though these had hitherto been allayed by Ziska. However, after his death an irremediable disruption took place. His special adherents, who were known as the "Orphans," separated from the Taborites. The leadership of the latter was undertaken by Prokop Holy (Rasa, the shorn one), who took a leading position in the general Hussite army during the warfare of the following years. He was the chief stimulus to the enterprises which the Bohemians undertook after 1424 against all the neighbouring provinces, and he spread the Hussite wars to Austria and Hungary, to Silesia and the Lausitz, to Saxony and Brandenburg, to the Palatinate and Franconia.

The Hussite expeditions were repeated annually, now in one direction, now in another, spreading terrible misery throughout the whole of Central Europe. In many countries, especially in Silesia, the Hussites were not content with mere raids, but left permanent garrisons in the conquered towns and castles, which incessantly harassed and devastated the surrounding districts. To such a height did the danger rise that the princes of the empire were induced to undertake a second crusade against Bohemia in the summer of 1427, while King Sigismund was occupied with the war against the Turks. Once again the enterprise ended with the panic and flight of the German army when confronted at Tachau by the Hussites, whom a long series of victories had filled with hope and confidence. It seemed absolutely impossible to subdue this enemy in the field, and the opinion was further strengthened by the Hussite exploits in the following years.

**Quarrels
Among the
Hussites**

**Hussites Put
German
Army to Flight**

The last act of this tragic period of Bohemian history began at the outset of the year 1431. Sigismund attempted to reach a solution of the problem at any cost on wholly new principles; a council had begun the war, a council should end it. He succeeded in winning over to his view Pope Martin V., who summoned a general council of the Church at Basle, and entrusted the conduct of it to the cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, with instructions to make the suppression of the Hussite movement a chief topic of debate.

This expedition to Bohemia ended, like its predecessors, with a terrible defeat of the Germans at Taus on August 14th, 1431; and negotiations were then attempted, to which, indeed, more moderate parties in Bohemia had long since manifested their inclination. While the Hussite armies in 1432 and 1433 marched plundering and massacring through Austria, North Hungary, Silesia, Saxony, and Brandenburg to the Baltic, an embassy from Prague appeared in Basle during the first months of 1433. When no conclusion could be reached there, the ambassadors of the council betook themselves to Prague, and concluded, on November 30th, 1433, the Compactata of Prague. The material point was the recognition—though under conditions and incompletely—of the four articles of Prague of 1419; concerning the acceptance or refusal of these King Sigismund, then in Brünn, had declined to commit himself.

Of decisive importance for further developments was the split between the moderate Calixtins, who included the majority of the Bohemian nobility, and the Taborites and Orphans. The dissension ended in a conflict at Lipan in Bohemia on May 30th, 1434, when the radicals suffered a severe defeat. The path was now cleared for peace, which was concluded on July 5th, 1436, by the publication of the Compactata at the assembly of Iglau. The reconciliation of the Bohemians with the Church was followed by a further reconciliation with King Sigismund, who was then recognised as king of Bohemia. Only for a year and a half did he enjoy the peaceful possession of this throne. On December 9th, 1437, he died, after numerous misunderstandings and breaches of the terms of peace had begun to rouse strong feeling against him among the Hussites.

**Death
of
Sigismund**



BOHEMIA'S ELECTIVE MONARCHY AND ITS UNION WITH HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA

ON his death-bed Sigismund recommended his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, as his successor to the choice of the Bohemian nobles who stood round him. Albert II. inherited both the German and the Hungarian crown from Sigismund; his claim to Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was based upon the principles formulated under the Emperor Charles IV. to regulate the succession in the house of Luxemburg, and also upon the various succession treaties and marriage connections between the Luxemburg and Hapsburg families. However, the prince, whom the Hussite wars had made conspicuous in Bohemia, could secure recognition from only two of the parties then dominant in the country, the Catholics, led by Baron Ulrich of Rosenberg, and the Calixtins, whose spokesman was Meinhard of Neuhaus. The Taborites, who were then guided by Henry Ptacek

Civil War in Bohemia

of Pirkstein, offered the crown of Bohemia to a Slavonic prince, Casimir, the brother of Vladislav, king of Poland; their action brought about a civil war in Bohemia itself, as well as a Polish invasion both of this country and of Silesia, which had already done homage to Albert.

While this struggle was in progress, Albert suddenly died on October 27th, 1439, leaving no male issue. Not until February, 1440, did his widow Elizabeth bear a son, who was named Ladislaus (Vladislav IV.) Posthumus. Though this prince enjoyed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, his father's justifiable claims to the inheritance, yet the party of Ptacek of Pirkstein passed over the Hapsburg claim and secured, by an almost unanimous vote in the assembly of Prague, the choice of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, as king of Bohemia; he, however, declined the honour under the influence of a secret warning from Ulrich von Rosenberg, the leader of the Catholics. The Taborites then attempted to induce the Emperor

Frederick, the uncle and guardian of Ladislaus, to accept the crown of Bohemia. When this plan failed, they professed their readiness to recognise Ladislaus himself, provided that he were brought up in Bohemia. During these endless party struggles Ulrich of Rosenberg kept the upper hand. He was the most powerful of the Bohemian nobles, and derived the greatest advantages from the confusion which prevailed during his interregnum.

Hussites Capture Prague

The greater part of the country and the capital, Prague, were in his power and in that of his allies, the Calixtins; the Taborites were restricted to four only of the thirteen circles of Bohemia.

The position was changed after the death of Ptacek of Pirkstein in 1444, when the youthful George Podiebrad and Kunstadt undertook the leadership of the advanced Hussite party. In the year 1448 he seized Prague by a bold and sudden attack, and there assisted his party to gain a complete victory. For two years civil war again raged in Bohemia, until the close of the year 1450, when it was agreed at the general assembly at Prague to approach the emperor again upon the question of the surrender of the young king. On this occasion Frederick III. came to an understanding by direct negotiation with George Podiebrad, without consulting the other party leaders. In 1451 he entrusted Podiebrad with the regency in Bohemia during the minority of Ladislaus. The Bohemian

The Youthful Ladislaus on the Throne

estates confirmed this decision at the assembly of April 24th, 1452. Podiebrad, moreover, adhered to these conditions. When a revolution of the Austrian nobility against the emperor broke out in the following year, Ladislaus was released from his position as a minor and, in name at least, became king of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. In October, 1453, the memorable year of the Turkish conquest

of Constantinople, he came to Prague and was crowned king of Bohemia, after a progress through Moravia, where he previously received the homage of the Moravian nobility, to the very considerable vexation of the Bohemians. In Bohemia

King Dies on the Eve of Marriage

the young prince was entirely dependent upon George Podiebrad, who was not only the prince's minister and political adviser, but also his "major-domo," as he called himself, and he never allowed the youth to be out of his sight. He kept the prince in Bohemia for more than a year, and then accompanied him to Breslau and Vienna.

Then at length the Bohemian governor left Ladislaus to return home and continue the government of the country in the name of the king. George Podiebrad was well able to turn the king's favour to his own advantage, and was richly rewarded with fiefs from the royal domains; none the less the period of his governorship in Bohemia (1451-1457) was a period of prosperity. He succeeded in preserving domestic peace, securing general safety and order, and advancing the progress of trade and manufacture. Then, at the age of barely eighteen, the king suddenly died in Prague on November 23rd, 1457, from an illness akin to the plague, at the moment when preparations were being made for the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Charles VII. of France.

So admirable had been the preparations of George Podiebrad, that on March 2nd, 1458, a few months after the death of Ladislaus, he was able to secure his elevation to the crown of Bohemia. The neighbouring provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and in particular the powerful Breslau and Lausitz, at first refused obedience or recognition. Eventually, however, submission to the Hussite king was refused in Moravia only by the Catholic towns—Brünn, Olmütz, Znaim, Iglau and others. When George invaded the country with an army, Iglau alone

proved obstinate, trusting to the support of the Archduke Albert VI. of Austria, a brother of the Emperor Frederick III., until its resistance met with a bloody punishment. In Silesia and Lausitz a revulsion in favour of George took place, when he succeeded, as a result of many tortuous intrigues, in ousting the local claimant to the throne, Duke Albert the Courageous of Saxony.

The firmness of George's position was largely due to the fact that, strangely enough, before his coronation in Bohemia he had promised obedience to the Catholic Church, and had thereby secured the powerful support of the Pope, who expected that Podiebrad would bring the whole of Bohemia into submission to Rome,

and had therefore ordered the Catholics of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to do homage to the new king. Breslau was isolated and unable to persist in its attitude of hostility to George, when Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) sent his legates to the city in 1459 to arrange a reconciliation with the King of Bohemia. On January 13th, 1460, the intervention of the Breslau city chronicler and historian Peter Eschenloer secured the acceptance of an important agreement, whereby the citizens of Breslau promised obedience to King George, though the actual

performance of homage was postponed for three years.

Secure of his power in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, on the best of terms with all the neighbouring states and with the German Emperor, designated "most beloved son" by the papal chair, George was able to turn his attention to higher objects.

Podiebrad Refuses the Crown of Hungary

The prospect of establishing himself upon the throne of Hungary in opposition to Matthias Corvinus, had been offered to him or to his son Henry in the year 1459. In view, however, of the equivocal nature of the situation in Hungary, he had hesitated, and had finally declined the crown, which then fell to Frederick III. Podiebrad found some



ALBERT II. OF GERMANY

He inherited the German and Hungarian crowns from Sigismund, but died in October, 1439, before he had secured general recognition as ruler of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

compensation in the fact that the two princes who were struggling for the throne respectively sought alliance with him from this time onwards. In August, 1459, the emperor invested him with the Bohemian lands, and also made him other important promises; at the same time Matthias made a successful effort to secure the favour of the Bohemian king. Not only did George succeed in turning the hostility of the two princes to his own advantage, but he also conceived the plan of entering into relations with the enemies of the emperor within the empire, and thus advancing towards the imperial crown without the help of foreign intervention. This project of the King of Bohemia was rendered abortive chiefly by the opposition of Albert Achilles, the Margrave of Brandenburg.

A short time afterwards occurred that breach with the papacy which had such momentous consequences for George, and a short period of triumphant progress was followed by almost a decade of fruitless and exhausting struggle. Pius II. insisted upon the performance of the undertaking which George had given in his coronation oath, to adopt strong measures against the Hussites. When negotiation produced no result, the Pope sent his legates to Prague in the summer of 1462. There, on August 14th, a violent

scene took place, when King George publicly replied to the Pope's demands by asserting his refusal to recede from the Compactata, which Pius II. had already declared invalid. The legates accused the king of faithlessness before the public assembly, threatened him with spiritual and temporal punishment, and were forthwith imprisoned.

King and Pope at Enmity By this act every tie between the Pope and the king was broken. For the moment, however, the struggle was confined to attempts to induce the Catholics in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to abandon the king's cause; only in Breslau did these exhortations produce any appreciable effect. The princes to whom the Pope

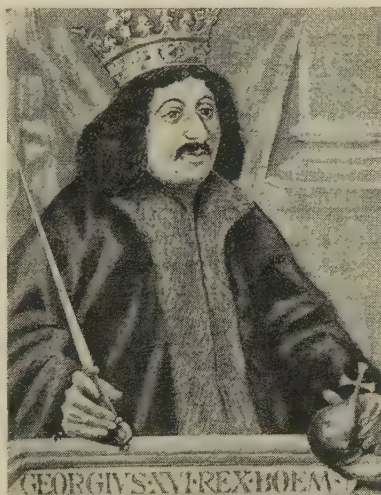
appealed against George Podiebrad declined to take any share in a crusade, partly for reasons of family relationship—(for example, his son-in-law, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary), partly for political reasons (for example, the King of Poland,

**The New Pope
Excommunicates
King George**

and especially the Emperor Frederic III., who was very hard pressed in the years 1462 and 1463).

The emperor even attempted to intervene with the Pope on behalf of George Podiebrad.

In 1464 the situation changed. Paul II., a far more vigorous character than Pius II., occupied the papal chair, while the death of Katherina, the daughter of George Podiebrad, left her husband Matthias Corvinus free to act against his former father-in-law. In 1466 Paul excommunicated George as a heretic, and stirred up war against him in Breslau and Moravia. The Catholic federation of nobles soon made their hostility felt in Bohemia also. However, the king maintained the upper hand against his adversaries in his own country, as long as the rulers of the neighbouring territories held aloof. Only when Matthias of Hungary resolved in 1468 to obey the papal command for a crusade against the Bohemian king, did George lose almost the whole of



PODIEBRAD, THE HUSSITE KING George Podiebrad, who was one of the leaders of the Hussite party, was a statesman of great ability, whose plans were so well laid that on the death of Ladislaus he was able to secure the throne of Bohemia. He died in the year 1476.

Moravia and part of Silesia. However, he soon succeeded in surrounding at Wilmow the Hungarian king, who had advanced too rashly in February, 1469, and Matthias was forced to agree to an armistice with a view to arranging terms of peace. Peace, however, proved impossible in view of the terms demanded by the papal legate and the Bohemian barons, which George could not possibly accept. They even induced Matthias Corvinus to proclaim himself king of Bohemia on May 3rd, 1469, and to receive the homage of Moravia, Silesia and Lausitz.

The natural result was the continuation of the war. George had secured the support of Poland—in return for an

acknowledgment of the Polish prince Vladislav as his successor—and fought with some success; he did not live to see the conclusion of the struggle, in the midst of which he died of an illness on March 22nd, 1471. He had been one of the most extraordinary figures on the throne of Bohemia; neither before nor afterwards did the country see a prince of such humble origin, who rose from the position of a simple party leader to that of viceroy with full powers, and thence to the throne. He had remarkable capacity for government, and found enthusiastic admirers and true friends among his contemporaries. During his reign his territory was in a continual state of war, but the administration was in strong hands. But the religious problem, a bequest from the Hussite period, thwarted his success and undermined the whole of his efforts.

Death of the Hussite King A wholly different character from George was his successor on the Bohemian throne, the Pole Vladislav, who was known as "King Allright," from a favourite and very characteristic expression of his. The war against King Matthias continued for eight years longer, partly on the soil of Bohemia and Moravia, partly in Silesia (Breslau) and partly in Hungary. Fortune favoured now one side and now the other, until financial embarrassments affecting both princes and parties, and the steady approach of the Turkish danger, paved the way for a temporary armistice and eventually for a peace, which was concluded after lengthy negotiations at Olmütz on July 21st, 1479. It was agreed that Vladislav should remain in possession of the title and the kingdom of Bohemia, and that Matthias Corvinus should bear the title of King of Bohemia during his life, and should also remain in possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz; after his death his provinces might be bought back by Vladislav for 400,000 ducats, an exorbitant price for that period. No reference was made to the question of religious unity, or to the bringing back of the Hussites to the Catholic Church, though it was with this object that Rome had stirred up the struggle. Even before his accession King Vladislav had pledged himself to maintain the Compactata. Thus it was inevitable that upon the conclusion of the foreign war the party

struggle between the Catholics and the Hussites should break out again in Bohemia. The movement degenerated into fearful confusion after the autumn of 1483. Councillors were murdered and flung through windows; churches and monasteries were plundered; Germans and Jews were persecuted and robbed as a matter of course. Strangely enough, however, this violent outburst of passion resulted in less than two years in a reconciliation of the two parties (1485); and an agreement was arranged upon the basis of the recognition of the Compactata and of the full equality of the Hussites with the Catholics.

From that moment the influence of the Hussite sect in Bohemia began to diminish. It lost importance the more rapidly as the "Bohemian Brotherhood," which was originally in some connection with it, began a vigorous period of development. The fact that the descendants of the original Hussites were able at this late period to develop a branch of a new doctrine with such vigour, is evidence of the hold which the Hussite theories had

Rise and Fall of Religious Sects gained upon the nation; hence the futility of the many attempts, initiated by Rome, at union between the Hussites and the Catholics of Bohemia, notwithstanding the fact that men of such power as Nicholas of Cusa, John of Capistrano, and Æneas Sylvius applied their energy to the task. An extraordinarily large number of sects rose and disappeared in the course of the fifteenth century, side by side with the main groups in Bohemia and Moravia. Only the Brotherhood became of permanent importance; this sect began with a society of certain members who were dissatisfied with the Hussite doctrine, and its first settlement was made in 1457 at Rumwald, a Bohemian village belonging to King George Podiebrad. The society incurred its share of persecution and martyrdom; its most vigorous opponents were a relation of its founder, Gregor, John of Rokitzan, and the king himself. Nevertheless, they possessed and acquired, even during this period, a wide body of adherents both in Bohemia and Moravia, and the death of these two powerful oppressors, in the year 1471, relieved the brethren of a severe hindrance, especially in Bohemia. The expansion of the sect was never seriously checked, either by its internal quarrels and dissen-

sions, or by the general decree of banishment from Moravia which its members incurred in 1480.

The difference in the treatment of the Brotherhood in Bohemia and in Moravia was due to the separation of this latter country and also of Silesia from the Bohemian crown, and to the wholly different policy followed by Vladislav in Bohemia and by Matthias in Moravia and Silesia. The weakness and good nature of the former allowed the supremacy to fall into the hands of the nobles. Matthias, on the other hand, emphasised from the very outset his royal power as opposed to the claims of the privileged orders. The iron hand of Corvinus was even more strongly felt in Silesia than in Moravia, where Matthias left the government in the hands of the highly capable viceroy Ctibor of Cimburg, who had been occupant of this high position from 1469, retaining it until 1494, long after the death of Matthias.

It is due chiefly to Ctibor that the attempts which had been made during the past century to unite the divided principalities were now consummated by means of a definitely organised administration. The institution of the princely diets and the creation of the central bureaucracy belong to the age of Matthias, and are his work. His government did not enjoy the best of reputations with posterity, owing to the enormous increase in the taxes and imposts, which his continual financial necessities laid upon his subjects; in this matter he was supported, especially in Silesia, by his local governor, George von Stein, and by other faithful servants, in the most irresponsible manner, at the expense of the people.

On April 6th, 1490, Matthias died without legitimate issue, and the Bohemian king, Vladislav, was raised to the throne

of Hungary. In accordance with the previous arrangement, Moravia and Silesia fell into his power, although he never fulfilled the condition by which these lands were to be repurchased at the price of 400,000 ducats, so that the title of the Bohemian crown to these districts was disputed with some show of reason.

The reign of King Vladislav is one of the most unsatisfactory periods in the history of the Bohemian countries. The great economic and religious changes which, at the end of the fifteenth century, denoted the outset of a new era for Europe, found Bohemia and Moravia divided by class dissensions. The hereditary monarchy had been greatly

weakened as a result of events since the Hussite war, and the loss of the great crown demesnes of former times had deprived it of its power and influence. Economically as well as politically, the nobility were supreme in the country; they were, however, filled with a boundless ambition for power, and were ready to pass all limits in their efforts to weaken the monarchy, to oppose the privileges

and freedom of the towns, or to keep down the peasant class in a state of slavery and serfdom.

The highest positions in the country were exclusively in the hands of the nobles and knights; they enjoyed unlimited power in the provincial assemblies, and in 1500 compiled a legal code, the "Ordinances of Vladislav," which was to secure their predominance for ever. The king agreed to the limitations, great and small, which the nobility placed upon his power. The citizen class, however, was determined to oppose these encroachments upon the principles of justice with the more vigour as they found their material welfare greatly injured by the arbitrary rule of the nobles.



DRESS OF A LADY OF PRAGUE AND A MERCHANT'S WIFE IN THE MIDDLE OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The nobles infringed the town monopoly of brewing, forbade the towns to acquire landed property, limited the freedom of the fairs, and so forth. Consequently the towns continually complained to the king.

These complaints produced little effect, for the reason that, after his elevation to the throne of Hungary, Vladislav had removed his capital from Prague to Ofen, and remained absent from Bohemia for years at a time. There were, more-

over, uninterrupted hostilities between the citizens and nobles, who respectively formed federations for continuing their mutual strife. These conditions were in no way altered by the short stay which Vladislav made at Prague in 1502, as the king at once took the side of the nobles and decided the quarrel against the towns, while at a later period he withdrew his decision, though he could not induce the nobility to feel satisfied with his change of attitude. The outrages and aggressions committed by each side increased the bitterness of the struggle, and from year to year the tension grew more severe; but from 1502 to 1509 the king remained in Hungary, and left affairs to take their course in Bohemia and Moravia.

For the history of Silesia the reign of Vladislav was of importance, inasmuch as this prince, who was ever ready to bestow his favours, issued an important constitutional law to the Silesian orders on November 28th, 1498. This was substantially a confirmation of all previous concessions, with certain further additions. The president of the province, that is to say, the governor and highest official in Silesia, was always to be a Silesian prince; the estates also obtained a right of voting taxes, some relief from military service, and a high court of justice, known as the "Court of the Princes," which was composed of the territorial lords, and formed a final court of appeal for every class.

This arrangement might have served as a starting point for the further development of the administration in Silesia. However, in this country also the king's feeble government, which was directed from Ofen, gave rise to disputes of every kind. The bishopric of Breslau had for several years been carrying on a quarrel, which lasted till 1504, with the town of Breslau and some Silesian princes, owing to the election of an unpopular coadjutor. Some

years previously—in 1497—the Duke Nicholas of Oppeln had ended his life on the scaffold in consequence of an act of aggression against the governor, Duke Casimir of Teschen. The town of Breslau was at feud, now with one and now with another of these princes, and marauding raids were of daily occurrence. The king's decree to secure peace and his threats of punishment proved as futile here as they did in the other provinces.

Vladislav enjoyed little personal influence unless when he came forward in person and secured services in return for new privileges. In 1509 he was anxious that his son Lewis, born in 1506, who was already king of Hungary, should be crowned king of Bohemia during his life; he was therefore obliged, after an absence of seven years, to decide upon a journey throughout his remaining territories in order to secure the completion of his project by his personal influence. He soon attained his main object. On February 17th, 1509, he made a state entry into Prague with his children and court; on March 11th, some delay having

been caused by the illness of the young prince, the coronation of Lewis took place. Other difficulties, especially the struggle between the nobles and the towns, were discussed in the course of a series of diets, but no result was secured.

In February, 1510, Vladislav left Bohemia and betook himself to Olmütz, where the Moravian orders did homage to Lewis, upon receipt of the customary privileges; thence the king went to Hungary, and in the winter of 1510 and 1511 again returned with the youthful monarch and the rest of his family to Silesia, where he also secured from the princes and estates the recognition of his son as his successor. The confusion of legal relations which prevailed under King Vladislav is shown by the fact that he received the homage of the Silesians, not as King of Bohemia, but as King of Hungary, though at the same time he had expressly emphasised the fact that Silesia and Moravia belonged to the Bohemian crown, in an imperial letter to the Bohemians during his stay at Prague on January 11th, 1510.

Hardly, however, had the king returned to Hungary when his attention was again occupied by the quarrel between the Orders of Bohemia and Moravia, which was all the more dangerous, as the towns appeared

The King's Feeble Government

to be obstinately resolute. They formed a federation, and on June 20th, 1513, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Duke Bartholomæus of Münsterberg, the grandson of King George Podiebrad, who was to represent their party at the court of King Vladislav. He proved successful in convincing the king and his advisers of the destructive influence upon Bohemia of the dominant party of nobles. Towards the end of the year 1513 Vladislav was persuaded to receive the demands of the towns with more favour than he had previously shown them.

However, his want of determination and his vacillation delayed a definite decision, although after the death of Bartholomæus the office of mediator between the nobles and towns was undertaken with considerable cleverness and success by his cousin Charles of Munsterberg. The struggle was raging with undiminished heat when Vladislav II. died on March 13th, 1516, only a few months after he had concluded the important marriage contract of July, 1515, with the Emperor Maximilian I., between his own children Lewis and Anna, and the grandchildren of the emperor, Ferdinand and Maria; this contract also included a federation in which room was found for King Sigismund of Poland.

King Lewis II. was no more than a child, though already crowned. Hence it was necessary to agree upon some form of regency for the moment. After long negotiation between the orders in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and also in Hungary, the task was entrusted to the German emperor and to the king of Poland. However, these guardians could exercise no immediate influence of any kind upon the provinces inherited by Lewis, and the power of the nobles continued to increase. In Bohemia and Moravia the quarrels between the estates continued as before. The nobles oppressed the towns, travelling merchants and citizens were attacked by

robber knights, and the towns made reprisals upon the nobles and their associates, often executing them without ceremony. Isolated peasant revolts in Bohemia are also reported by the chroniclers. The "Compact of St. Wenzel" of September

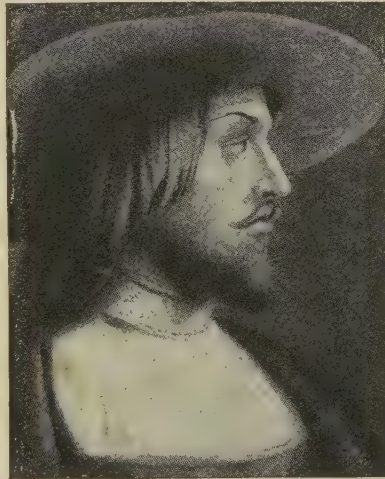
The Great Plague of 1520-I

28th, 1517, in which a partial agreement between the estates was secured by the Moravian baron, William of Pernstein, proves the pressing need of some compromise, however partial. An important point was the definition of the competency of the common law and of the town courts respectively. Disputes of an economic nature and the like were deferred for after consideration. Peace,

indeed, was not finally secured. The weakness of the royal power made a recurrence of the struggle inevitable after a few years. However, the public attention was occupied with other events, such as the plague, which began in Prague in 1520, and ravaged the whole country in 1521, the Lutheran movement, and the Turkish danger.

In the year 1522 King Lewis entered his Bohemian kingdom for the first time as an independent ruler, with the object of putting an end to the arbitrary government of the nobles, as continued to their own advantage for years by

the chief burgrave of Prague, Zdenek Lev of Rozmítal. The real motive for this journey was the unavoidable necessity for seeking help against the Turks outside of Hungary itself. His route first led him to Brünn, where he received the homage of the Moravian orders, and confirmed their rights; he attempted to settle a number of class disputes, and then made his way to the Bohemian frontier, where he was met by the Bohemian ambassadors. After a short stay in some of the more important towns of Bohemia, he reached Prague on March 28th, 1522, and made a solemn entry with his young wife and his friend and tutor the Margrave George of Brandenburg. Difficulties at once arose. A series of troublesome negotiations



THE LAST INDEPENDENT KING Lewis II., who was a mere child when he came to the throne, was the last independent king of Bohemia and Hungary, reigning from 1516 till 1526, when he met his death at the battle of Mohacs against the Turks.

Lewis II. the Boy King

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began forthwith with the estates of the kingdom in reference to the appointment of a new chancellor of Bohemia, and the form of oath to observe the constitution which the king was to take. When the wording of this oath had been once passed, it was to remain in force in Bohemia for centuries. Slow progress also

King Lewis Dismisses His Officials was made with other matters of business—the queen's coronation, the payment of the heavy debts incurred in King Vladisav's time, and the equipment of an auxiliary army against the Turks. In the summer of 1522 violent disorder broke out in Silesia, especially in the town of Schweidnitz. Finally, at the end of the year, relations between King Lewis and the ruling nobles became so strained that, at the diet of February 5th, 1523, the king secured the dismissal of all the existing officials of the country, in particular of Lev of Rozmital, and introduced a constitutional change, chiefly intended to restore the royal power to its rightful position.

Notwithstanding numerous embassies and appeals, no help was to be gained from Hungary or from the king; to the internal troubles of that country the Turkish danger was now added. When the Sultan Suleiman I. started from Constantinople for Hungary with a vast army in April, 1526, the youthful monarch resolved to oppose him. His army, which included Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian mercenaries, was overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Turks; in the Battle of Mohacs, on August 29th, 1526, it was annihilated, and the king was unfortunately drowned in a swamp of the Danube while in flight. The death of the last of the Jagellons on the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, at the age of twenty and childless, forms an event of importance in the world's history, in so far as it occasioned the foundation of the

The Last of the Jagellons Austrian monarchy under the sceptre of the Hapsburgs. Bohemia, the centre of that group of countries the historical development of which has been briefly detailed, may be regarded in 1526 as a kingdom a thousand years old, if we assume its history to begin with the establishment of the Slavs in the province after the Germanic emigration. It is an era rich in examples of national rise and progress. From its own

resources, and building upon foundations hidden in the prehistoric period, Bohemia evolved a constitution which enabled the country to secure and to maintain a definite position among the bodies politic of Central Europe. It produced a royal house of indigenous growth, the Premyslids, whose pride and power raised their prestige to a level with that of any ruling dynasty in Central Europe. Its territorial power increased. It is true that the national dynasty was restricted within definite limits; calamitous failure was the result of the attempt of Ottokar II. to bring German provinces under his power.

The extinction of the native dynasty at the outset of the fourteenth century and the accession of foreigners to the Bohemian throne produced a complete change in the situation. No obstacle prevented a Bohemian king of German nationality from rising to the height of supremacy within the extensive German empire; but the people opposed the transformation of Bohemia into the most important of the German principalities at the expense of the Slav nationality. The national feeling

Foreigners on the Throne of Bohemia

of the Slavs rose in behalf of a reaction and speedily triumphed. But the attempt to construct a national principality upon the basis of home material was also a failure. As under the German kings, so also under the Polish kings, Bohemia found her destiny committed to the care of rulers who pushed her into the background when the possibility of acquiring the crown of Hungary became manifest.

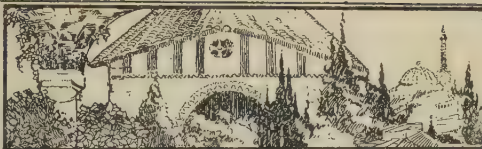
Under such circumstances, and in view of the fact that the constitutional independence of the country and the maintenance of its throne were repeatedly endangered by the secession of the subject provinces, especially of Moravia, it was fortunate for the country that after Lewis's death the crown fell to the powerful Hapsburg dynasty. The result at which the Premyslid Ottokar II. had aimed upon occasion and with incomplete understanding, the result that the far-sighted diplomacy of Charles IV. had marked as the final object of Bohemian policy, the result that had been nominally, at least, attained under Ladislaus Posthumus—became an accomplished fact in the year 1526; the three states of Bohemia, Hungary and Austria were united as one powerful monarchy in South-east Europe. BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ



THE FUNERAL PYRE OF A TENTH CENTURY SLAV CHIEFTAIN IN ORIENTAL RUSSIA

The strange barbaric funeral ceremony of the ancient Russian chiefs, so powerfully painted in this great work of Siemiradzki's, is fully described on pages 3185-6 of the History.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN SLAVS

A PRELIMINARY CHAPTER TO THE HISTORY OF POLAND AND RUSSIA

IF what may be called the Slavonic line serves to mark a genuine division between Western and Eastern Europe, there is another division hardly less definite in Eastern Europe itself. Geographically, this is marked by an irregular line drawn from the Baltic to the western end of the Carpathian mountains, which themselves form the barrier till the Danube district is reached. In other words, the territories now called Poland and Russia are in some sense a region apart. Their peoples do not come into touch with the Teutonic west until the tenth century, though Eastern Byzantium becomes aware of them some hundred years earlier. Even at the outset these peoples emerge in definitely distinguished nationalities, Polish and Russian, though neither of them has at this stage absorbed the non-Slavonic population of the Baltic provinces. Kin as they are to the southern and western Slavs, of whom we have already treated, they nevertheless appear on the scene of history so far separated from these and so far associated with each other, that their origins require a single chapter to themselves, before we embark upon the separate histories of Poland and Russia.

Difference of the Eastern and Western Slavs

Slavonic legends tell of three brothers, Lech, Rus, and Cech, said to have been the founders of three great nations, the Russians, Lechs (Laches, Lechites = Poles), and Czechs (the Bohemian stock). In reality, however, the matter stood otherwise. The Slavonic tribes lived independently of each other. In the course of time one tribe, as happened in the case of the Romans, succeeded in extending its dominion over others, which then adopted its name. The tribe which gave its name to the others need not have been entirely Slavonic; thus the Bulgarians, although of Turkish stock, have become Slavoni-

cised, and have now given their name to the subjugated Slavs. The same thing may in the end have been the case with Rus, Lech, and Cech.

What, then, is the origin of the names? The point has been much discussed among Slavonic and German scholars. The "Russian Chronicle" relates that about the year 859 Varangians (Scandinavians) ruled the north Russian Slavs, but had been subsequently driven out. When quarrels broke out between the Russians, they sent an embassy over the sea to the Varangians, and asked them to rule over them once more. Three brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truvor, of the Varagian tribe of the Ruotsi—that is, Swedes—came to the Slavs, and took up their abode in Old Ladoga, Isborsk, and Bjelosersk. From Rurik, the eldest, was descended the Russian princely house of the Rurikovitch, which is said to have ruled Russia until the end of the sixteenth century.

Descendants of the Great Rurik

The same Chronicle also asserts that the whole of Novgorod was called Rosland, or Russia, from this family. This "Northman," or "Varagian," view has found ardent champions among modern writers. Considerably more than a hundred Scandinavian names are found in very early records; even the names of the rapids in the Dnieper, the old Varagian way to Byzantium, have been declared to be Scandinavian. The opinion is, however, hardly tenable in all its points. Some intimate relations between the Novgorodians, who formed the germ of the Russian state, and the Scandinavians cannot be denied; but it is questionable whether also the name "Rus" is derived from them. The Slavonic tribes round Kiev and the south of Russia, where later the real centre of Russia lay, bore from time immemorial the name of "Russians."

The Germ of the Russian State

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Finally, and this would be the best argument against the theory, the kingdom, which admittedly must have existed there before the Northmen were summoned, must have also borne a name, and a kingdom, except through conquest, seldom changes its name. The south was known to the Arabs as "Russia," and the Black

**Origin
of the Name
"Russia"**

Sea was simply termed the Russian Sea—as, for instance, in Nestor and Masudi—at a time when the Varagian princes were hardly yet familiar with the people of Kiev. We ought at all events not to forget that "Ros" may have been known in Byzantium as merchants even before 840, as is clear from a report of Bishop Prudentius of Troyes and from contemporary Arab accounts. The name probably had been transferred to the whole of Russia by Byzantines, who called the tribes in the south of Russia "Ros." Again, it is suggested that Hros is one of the names of the Herulians, who were once settled on the northern coast of the Black Sea; some of whom, after the defeat of 512 inflicted by the Lombards, went back to Sweden. Thus the otherwise astonishing familiarity of the northern Vikings with South Russia and the waterway of the Volga would be no longer surprising.

The meaning of the names "Pole" and "Lech" is equally obscure. While the name "Polani" may be Slavonic, the name "Lach," or "Lech," seems to be of foreign origin. Some persons have, as in the case of the name "Rus," looked for a Scandinavian etymology and understood northern conquerors by the Lechs. But in this connection they have overlooked the fact that Great Poland, the real mother country, has never been called "Lachia," or "Lechia," but only the Cracow district, and from it North Poland. The name "Lach," "Lech," "Lechi" seems to mean simply "foreigner," and is connected with the names "Walch," "Wlach,"

**Poland
and the
Poles**

"Walach," "Wälsch," applied by Slavs not only to Italians and Roumanians, but to the semi-Slavonic Bulgarians and the Croatians, as well as to the "Little" Poles. On the other hand, Posen and Gnesen, the Polish mother-country, was always called Polonia, which title was then extended to South Poland—that is to say, the subsequently conquered Cracow. Since this name was used officially, it superseded all others, and throughout Europe

the kingdom was finally called Poland. Other peoples—Lithuanians, Finns, Bulgarians, Khayars—to be presently described, have exercised temporary supremacy within what we now call Russian territory. But the Slavonic tribes, who occupied chiefly the centre of the East European plain, found themselves in the majority and unceasingly drove before them the heterogeneous nations, first by peaceful colonisation, and then by the sword. We may assume that all Slavs as a whole had the same customs, the same religion, the same tribal and national institutions. Differences will be apparent only where Nature prescribed other conditions of life or where foreign influence made itself felt.

Thus, the Slavs on the sea-coast lived in one way, those on the steppes or in the forests in another. Although they originally appeared in Europe as a united nation with similar customs, ideas, language, traditions, and government, yet the different natural surroundings soon impressed a distinctive stamp on the principal tribes and guided social, religious,

**Life in
the Plains
and Forests**

and legal life into different paths. The nomads of the steppes can hardly have held the same faith as the dwellers on the sea-coast. Again, while the forest-dwellers paid their tribute in furs and honey, the tribes of the lowlands discharged it in horses or cattle. If the large clan community was the natural form of life among the dwellers on the fertile plains with their agriculture, in the forests the families were forced to separate one from another.

Further differences were produced by the influence of neighbours; thus the northern Slavs, who lived near the Teutons, had a kindred religion and mythology. The change of language was closely connected with this, since to express new ideas, new words had to be invented or borrowed from other tribes.

An attempt has been made to draw a general picture of the life of all the Slavonic tribes, but in doing so the fact has been overlooked that such a picture can be true only of a time when the Slavs still formed a single united people—the time, that is, before the Christian era. Our authorities, however, dating from an era five hundred, or possibly a thousand years later, are extremely defective, and it is not surprising that the results of such



THE SCANDINAVIAN HERO, RURIK, THE FIRST OF THE RUSSIANS

A daring sea-rover, Rurik the Ra'sen or Oorisian landed, in 862, on the Russian shore of the Baltic, and, with his followers, Sliedrs and Truvor, subjugated the country from Novgorod to the Volga. From Rurik, who died in 879, came the princely house of the Rurikovich, which is said to have ruled Russia until the end of the sixteenth century.

imperfect investigations are conflicting. It is asserted that all Slavs were agriculturists at the period when they came into the light of history. Can that assertion hold good of the forest-dwellers or the inhabitants of the lakes and swamps? Our authorities do not in any way corroborate it. A writer of the twelfth century relates in astonishment that he heard of a man in the Arctic regions who had lived all his life on fish. That would hardly be an isolated case. Forests, rivers, and swamps then covered at least a tenth of the surface. If the Slavs during their migrations kept to the river valleys we can hardly call this a peculiar characteristic of the race.

The Slavonic pagan religion, about which we know very little, resembles in its main ideas that of India and of other Aryans. The Slavs had the dualism between good and evil deities; they had also their family gods, like the Greeks and Romans. They, too, regarded Nature as animated by various beings, and animals were held sacred by them, as in Greece and other places. It was merely their natural environment which taught men in the northern forests to revere the owl, the wolf (as were-wolf), and, on the plains, the horse. The Slavs, too, honoured the sun, moon, and stars, thunder and lightning; they were also fire-worshippers. But inquiry has not told us in what the true Slavonic element—that is, the innovation—really consists.

The same holds good of the legal and social conditions of the Slavs. The family was the foundation of their national and religious life. The eldest of the family was the supreme lawgiver, judge, and priest. Since the knowledge of the laws, customs, and ritual could be transmitted only orally, this naturally fluctuating tradition was all important. The Slavs, divided into separate independent tribes, could not but diverge more widely from each other in their methods of life. The separate districts were called Zupas, Opole, or Wolost.

We cannot decide whether the Zupa is genuinely Slavonic or is to be compared with, for example, the old Germanic Goba. The centre of a district was the Grad (*gorod* = borough), where the tribal sanctuary stood. The ancient places, where once a gorod stood, were called *gorodysce*. But it cannot be settled whether gorod

is peculiar to the Slavs only, or whether it is identical with the old Gothic words *garde* (watch) and *garder* (to watch). Everywhere in Slavonic countries a definite district was surrounded with a boundary fence, while the roads were watched and defended with palisades, which were called *preseka*; at suitable points guards were posted on watch-towers, called *straza*. Before the ninth century a brisk trade passed through Russia from the Gulf of Finland past the Lake of Ilmen to the Dwina, and then down the Dnieper over the Black Sea into Greece. The oldest wooden towns, originally trading stations, lay on this celebrated route from the Varagian country to Byzantium. A frequented trade route from the Black Sea to the Baltic led up the Dniester to the river San, then down that river and the Vistula. While the first became the main trade route of Russia, the other became the chief highroad to Poland; both, perhaps, date from Phœnician times. The vessels and their cargoes were hauled up from one river system to the other; for example, from the Dniester to the San; hence the name *wolok*, *wolocyska* (haul-ages). The trading stations grew into towns, since the country people flocked into them for greater security. The public affairs of the town and the surrounding district were organised in these markets at assemblies which were called *wece*. The meeting was summoned by the circulation of a token, or, as later, by the tolling of a bell.

Differences in the administration of law and justice must have been noticeable in the various districts, while the conditions in the same tribe would naturally alter during the course of centuries. Persons who speak in general terms about the Slavonic laws and customs of that age are only deluding themselves, as much as if they spoke of contemporary universal Germanic customs. Distinctions must inevitably have prevailed. The truth is that hitherto it has been impossible to pronounce any deliberate opinion about the religion, mythology, laws, family life, or civilisation of the ancient pagan Slavs. It is on this most slippery soil of national peculiarities, where the inquirer oscillates between self-glorification and unwarranted depreciation of his neighbour, that a fabric has been built

The Traders of the Plains and Rivers

Slavonic Customs Not Universal

THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN SLAVS

up out of most untenable assertions. The occasional accounts given by old writers are noteworthy, especially since Slavonic paganism lingered on for centuries after the Christian era. Jordanes, in 550 A.D., says of the Slavs "morasses and forests are their towns"; Procopius tells us that they lived in dirty, scattered

The Defensive Devices of the Slavs

huts, and easily shifted their abode. The Emperor Maurice relates, in the year 600, that they lived in forests, near rivers, marshes, and lakes, which were difficult to approach. They made many exits from their houses, in order to escape any possible dangers. They buried all their property in the ground, and in order to frustrate any hostile attacks nothing but bare necessities were left visible. Helmold of Bosau, in 1170, gives a similar account at the end of his *Chronicle of the Slavs*: "They take little trouble about building their houses; they quickly plait twigs together into huts which supply a bare shelter against storm and rain. So soon as the call to arms is heard, they collect their stores of corn, bury them together with their gold, silver, and other valuables, and conduct their wives and children into the fortresses or the forests. Nothing is left for the enemy but the hut, whose loss is easily repaired."

"When they go into battle," says Procopius, "they attack the enemy on foot, holding shield and spear in their hands. They do not wear armour; they have neither cloaks nor shirts, but advance to the fight clad only in trousers." The wives, as among the Teutons, occupied an honourable position; they held property of their own, although, as in other countries, polygamy prevailed and wives were carried off by force. The Russian *Chronicle* relates of the Drewljans that they lived like cattle, knew nothing of marriage, but carried off the maidens on the rivers. It is recorded of certain tribes that no

Primitive Marriage Customs

marriages took place but games in the middle of the village. The people assembled for the games, danced, and indulged in every sort of debauchery, and each man carried off the woman to whom he was betrothed. This was the case among other peoples also. Bretislav I. Achilles, so Cosmas of Prague records, in 1125, carried off his bride Judith from Schweinfurt. Until quite recently the *otmiza*, or capture of wives, was customary among

the Serbs. Many instances of the gentle disposition of the Slavs are mentioned by the old chroniclers. Procopius says: "covetousness and deceit are unknown among them." Maurice extols their hospitality. Helmold records of the Ranes (Ruanians, or Rügen): "Although they are more hostile to Christians and also more superstitious than the other Slavs, they possess many good qualities. They are extremely hospitable and show great respect to their parents. Neither beggars nor paupers are found among them. A man who is feeble through sickness or advanced age is entrusted to the care of his heir. The virtues most highly esteemed among the Slavs are hospitality and filial regard." The man who refused hospitality had his house burned down. It was permissible to steal in order to provide food for a traveller.

Theophylactus Simocattes, in the first half of the seventh century, relates the following anecdote: As the emperor Maurice was on his way to Thrace to prepare for war against the Avars, the escort of the emperor seized three men who

Music

Among the Slavs

carried zithers. When asked to what race they belonged, they replied that they were Slavs and lived on the western ocean; the Khagan had sent envoys to the princes of their country, with many presents, to solicit help. When they heard that the Romans had reached the highest stage of power and culture, they escaped and reached Thrace. They carried zithers because they were unfamiliar with arms, since no iron was found in their country. The Arabs also testify that music was practised by the Slavs.

A noteworthy account of the funeral customs of a Slavonic tribe is furnished by the ambassador of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, Ahman ibn Fadlan. When a poor man died, they built a small boat for him, placed him in it, and burnt it. This was customary among the North Germanic tribes. On the death of a rich man they collected his possessions and divided them into three parts. The one part was reserved for his family; with the second they prepared an outfit for him, and with the remaining part they bought intoxicating drinks to be drunk on the day when the slave-girl consents to be a victim and is burnt with her master. "When, indeed, a chief dies, the family ask his bondmen and bondwomen: 'Which of you is willing

to die with him?' Then one of them answers: 'I will.' Whoever has uttered this word is bound. But mostly it is a slave-girl. . . . Boat, wood, and girl together with the dead man were soon reduced to ashes. They then raised above the place where the boat, which had been dragged up out of the river, had stood,

The Strange Ritual of a Slav Funeral a sort of round hillock, erected in the middle of it a large beech-trunk, and wrote on it the name of the dead man with the name of the king of the Ros." If we compare this with the account given by Herodotus of the burial of a Scythian king we shall find, in spite of many differences in detail, the same fundamental idea.

These are our materials for estimating the degree of culture which the Slavs of that age had attained. There was not wanting among them a belief in the life after death. They are said to have been acquainted with writing; and in connection with this statement the so-called Runic characters must be taken into account. Traces of music and architecture can be found among them, though in a crude form, and they were lovers of poetry and song. It can hardly be supposed that, as many Slavonic scholars assert, they possessed some astronomical knowledge, and had a civil year with twelve months. The names of the months which are found later among various Slavonic tribes were indubitably first formed by learned priests, on the model of the Greek and Roman names, at that point in the Christian era when the Julian calendar with twelve instead of ten months was coming into general use in Europe. Charles the Great first proposed among the Franks the substituting of German names for the Latin names of the months.

The independent spirit of the Slavs is specially mentioned by German as well as Byzantine writers. Widukind, the

The Slavs' Love of Freedom historian of the first two Saxon emperors, says of them: "The Slavs are a dogged, laborious race, inured to the scantiest food, and they regard as a pleasure what is often a heavy burden to men of our time. They face any privations for their beloved liberty, and in spite of many reverses they are always ready to fight again. The Saxons fight for glory and the expansion of their frontiers, the Slavs for their freedom." Adam of Bremen records a

century later: "I have heard the most truth-loving King Sven of Denmark say repeatedly that the Slavonic peoples could long ago have been converted to Christianity if the greed of the Saxons had not interposed obstacles. These think more of exacting tribute than of converting pagans."

There is a particular appropriateness in the words which the Polish historian, John Dlugosz, wrote about the Poles about 1480, although he is describing his contemporaries: "The Polish nobles thirst for glory and are bent on booty; they despise dangers and death . . . they are devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding; they are courteous and kind towards strangers and guests, and more hospitable than any other people. The peasants shrink from no work or trouble, endure cold and hunger, and are superstitious . . . they care little about the maintenance of their houses, being content with few ornaments; they are spirited and brave to rashness, . . . of high stature, of strong and well proportioned build, with a sometimes fair, sometimes dark

Physique of the Poles complexion." The well-known peaceful disposition of many Slavonic tribes, and, above all, the circumstance that they adhered to the old tribal constitution, which prevented any creation of a state on a large scale, were the causes why the Slavs in their pagan period played no important part, but were first aroused to a new life by their contact with the civilised nations. Christian Rome and Byzantium saw the development of Slavonic kingdoms in the north, after they had to some degree furnished the political germs for that growth.

We may now turn to those non-Slavonic peoples already referred to: in the north, close to the Baltic Sea, the Lithuanians, and further to the north-east, the Finns; on the Volga the Bulgarians; and in the south the Khazars. Of the above mentioned the Lithuanians and the Finns alone have in some degree preserved their individuality.

History finds the Lithuanian tribes settled on the shore of the Baltic between the Vistula and Dwina, and southwards as far as the middle stream of the Bug. In one place only their frontier touches the Finnish Livonians, otherwise they are wedged between Slavonic peoples. They divided into the following tribes in the



A CHARACTERISTIC GROUP OF LITHUANIAN PEASANTS



TYPICAL WOODLAND SCENE WITH GIRLS IN ORDINARY AND GALA DRESS

LITHUANIANS: A SURVIVING RACE OF THE BAL TIC REGION

tenth century. The Wends were settled at the mouth of the Dwina, the Letts on the right bank of the Dwina, bordering on the Livonians; on the left bank of the Dwina were the tribes of the Semgala and the Zelones; the Kurland peninsula was occupied by the Korses or Kurones. The Smudinians and the Lithuanians dwelt

on the Niemen; west of these were settled the eleven Prussian tribes; in the south-west the Yatvings. Since the duty of the Smudinians and Lithuanians who dwelt in the centre of the whole system was to fight for the national freedom, and first of all to found a larger kingdom, Lithuania, all these tribes were finally called Lithuanians. Here, again, was an instance of the name of a part being transferred to the whole.

These tribes, however, formed one nation only in the ethnographical sense; in other respects they lived as separate clans. As early as the thirteenth century Lithuanian leaders, or tribal elders, are mentioned; they exercised authority only over small districts, and were styled "Rikys" by the Prussians, and "Kunigas" by the Lithuanians. It was not until the danger of foreign subjugation threatened them all that they united more or less voluntarily into one state.

The Lithuanians were the last of all the Europeans to adopt Christianity; temporarily converted in 1387, they relapsed, and were again converted in the fifteenth century. Owing to this we have full accounts of their pagan customs. We find among them three chief deities, similar to the Indian Trimurti and the later Greek Tritheism. The place of Zeus was taken in their creed by Perkunas (thunder), represented as a strong man holding a stone hammer or arrow in his hand; Atrimpos, who was conceived in the shape of a sea-serpent twined into a circle, corresponded to Poseidon, while

Poklav, a grey-bearded, pale-faced old man, with his head swathed in linen, was regarded as the god of the Lower World.

Besides these, the sun, moon, stars, animals, birds, snakes, and even frogs were worshipped. The sun-god had various names, for example, Sotwaros; the moon goddess was called Lajama; the rain-deity, Letuwanis. The whole realm of Nature was animated by good and evil divine beings, on which the life of man was

dependent at every turn and step. Among such we find the deities Lel and Lado, who were also known to the Slavs; Ragutis, the deity of joy and marriage; Letuwa, the deity of happiness; also Andaĭ, Diweriks, Mġedġej, Nadġej, and Telawelda. Besides the sun, fire was held in great veneration. The eternal fire of znicz, which was under the protection of the goddess Praurima, burnt in the temple of Perkunas in front of his image. There were sacred lakes and groves, as among the Greeks and the Romans.

The affinity of the Lithuanian with the Slavonic and Germanic religion proves that these nations formerly lived together. But when we discover that the Lithuanians, like the Teutons, worshipped the god of thunder, whose sacred tree was the oak, and whose temples stood in oak groves, we realise how hard it is to single out the genuinely Lithuanian element. The chief shrine of Perkunas was situated somewhere near Romowo, in Prussia; but when Prussia was conquered by the Poles it was removed into the interior, to the confluence of the Dubiġsa and Niemen,

and further east to the Wilġja, in the direction of Kernowo, and lastly to Wilna. The sacerdotal system was highly developed. The high priest, who had his seat at the chief sanctuary, was called Krywe-Kryweġto. Subordinate to him were all the priests, male and female (Wajdelotes), whose principal occupation was to offer sacrifices. A higher grade among them was formed by the Krewy, to whom were entrusted the superintendence and care of the temple; their badge was a stick of peculiar shape. A life of chastity was obligatory to them. The power of the head priest, Krywe-Kryweġto extended over every tribe. High and low bowed before his sign, which he sent by his Wajdelotes. One-third part of the booty taken in war belonged to him.

Ample sacrifices were made to the Lithuanian gods, mostly animals, occasionally prisoners of war. They were always burnt-offerings. The old Krywe-Kryweġto himself, like other old men also, is said not infrequently to have mounted the pyre—so strong was the prevailing belief in the purifying power of fire. The priests also, in default of every sort of political government, disseminated public order and civilisation, the Krywe-Kryweġto being as it were, the head chieftain of all the tribe.



FINNISH MILK-SELLERS IN A CHARACTERISTIC WINTER SCENE



TYPICAL FINNISH MAIDENS



CHILDREN'S FAVOURITE PASTIME

FAMILIAR SCENES AMONG THE FINNISH PEOPLE

A proof that the same system obtained among the Slavs and Teutons is afforded by the word *kunigas* (*kuning* = king), which among the Slavs denotes both prince and priest; or *knjaz* (prince), *knez* (czechish = priest), or in Polish *ksiadz* (priest), and *ksiaz* (prince). The priests were in possession of a method of writing. The chronicler

Writing of the Northern Peoples

of the Teutonic Order, Peter of Dusburg (c. 1326), asserts that writing was unknown to the Lithuanians; but this can be true only of the common people. Traces of a secret writing have been found. The Runic characters were probably familiar to all the northern peoples—Slavs, Teutons, Lithuanians, and Finns.

If Lithuania had not encountered any obstacles in its expansion, a theocratic monarchy would probably have been formed there. External dangers led to the severance of the spiritual from the military power, and thus to the development of a secular government. The legend was current among the people that Widemut—perhaps connected with the lawgiver Odin, common to all Germanic tribes—had laid the foundation of a social and political organisation. Family life was dependent on the priests, who administered justice according to ancient custom. Peter of Dusburg relates that the Lithuanians held meetings in sacred places. They occupied their time in agriculture and cattle breeding, drank mare's milk, and were skilled in brewing beer and mead. Rich men drank from horns, poor men from wooden cups. Autumn was a season of mirth in the villages. Guests were treated with especial attention, hospitably entertained, and not dismissed until they were drunk.

The Lithuanians learnt the art of war by necessity. They fought with bow and arrow, sword and lance, and also with battle-axe and sling. The oldest weapon was an oaken club. The gods

The Art of War in Lithuania

were consulted before every campaign. Clad in the skins of aurochs and bears, with caps on their heads, they marched to battle amid the flare of trumpets, sometimes on foot, sometimes mounted. On their military standards were depicted figures of deities, and men with bears' heads, or two wreaths, blue and yellow; the galloping horseman, who first appears in the coat of arms of Lithuania proper, was ultimately adopted by the whole race.

They contrived to cross the rivers in boats made of the hides of aurochs, or by holding on to the tails of their horses, as we are told the Hungarians and Tartars did. The home-coming warriors, if victors, were received by the women and girls with dance and song, but were treated with contempt after a defeat, while fugitives were punished by death. The Lithuanians also believed in a life after death. They equipped the dead man with all that he had required on earth—weapons, ornaments, and clothes, horses, hawks, slaves, and wives. They were then all burnt, and their ashes laid in the grave. A funeral feast was held in commemoration.

The Finns of the Ugrian-Mongol stock occupied originally the entire north of modern Russia. Their various tribes were settled as easterly neighbours of the Lithuanians between the White Sea, the Ural, and the Volga. The river Dwina can be roughly regarded as the boundary between Lithuanians and Finns, although some Lithuanians were to be found on the right bank of the Dwina. On the shores

Livonians and Esthonians

of the Baltic were settled the Livonians and the Esthonians, who still survive in Livonia and Esthonia. Besides these chief tribes, Wesses or Besses, Meren, Muro-mians, Tcheremisses, Jamen, Mordwinen, Tchuden, Permians, and others are mentioned in the Russian chronicles; they were settled more to the south, and were called Tchuden by the Slavs. Here once lay the Finnish kingdom of Biarmia, probably the modern Perm.

We possess very scanty information, derived from the Scandinavian Vikings who made their way there, about this kingdom so famous in northern legends. At the time of Alfred the Great, Otter was the first to come into these regions; then Wulstan. In the days of St. Olaf (1026) the Vikings Karli and Torer Hund followed. They professed to be merchants, brought furs, and then apparently withdrew, in order to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. In reality, however, they were preparing for a raid, which Torer conducted, as an expert in Finnish magic. Their goal was the tombs of the Biarmians and the temple of their chief god Jumala. Marking their path by stripping the bark from the trees, they reached the meadow where the temple stood, surrounded by a high wooden



AN ESTHONIAN PEASANT GIRL IN HER NATIVE WOODLAND



PEASANT CHILDREN



WOMEN OF THE FARMING CLASS

ESTHONIANS: AN ANCIENT PEOPLE OF THE BALTIC SEA COAST

paling; the guardians had gone away. The Vikings dug up the sepulchral mounds and found a quantity of gold. There stood in the temple an image of Jumala, on whose knees was placed a plate filled with gold; this Torer carried off. Karli, however, struck off the head of the idol, in order to seize its golden necklace. The guards rushed

up at the noise, blew their horns, and the Vikings escaped their pursuers with difficulty. This is almost the only account we have of Finnish Biarmia. Its history is then merged in that of Novgorod.

The Finnish tribes could not resist the advance of the Slavs. The Esthonians alone were able to maintain their nationality. Mordvinnic princes are mentioned by the Russian chroniclers even in the fourteenth century. The Finns, especially the Permians, carried on a modest trade; they were glad to take sabres from Mohammedan countries in exchange for furs. They also engaged in agriculture. Their religion resembled the Lithuanian. The Finns also were widely famed as soothsayers and magicians. This ice-bound country was otherwise little known or explored. Kaswini, who died in 1283, relates how the Bulgarians on the Kama and Volga traded with the Finns in dumb show. The Bulgarian brought his goods, pointed to them, and left them on the ground. He then came back, and found on the same spot such commodities as were used in the country. If he was satisfied with them he exchanged his goods for those deposited by the strangers; if he was dissatisfied, he took his own wares away again.

We have almost as little information about the Bulgarians, that nation of horse-men on the Volga, and even that only after the tenth century, when their prince Almys went over to Islam shortly before 921. We are indebted to this circumstance for the before-mentioned report of Ahmad

How They Dealt

With "Witches" ben Fadlan (ibn Fadhlan, or Foslan), who entered the capital, Bulgar, on May 11th, 922, as the envoy of the Caliph. The Spanish Abu Hamid, who visited Great Bulgaria in the twelfth century, reports: "Every twenty years the old women of this country are suspected of witchcraft, and great excitement prevails among the people. The old women are then collected, their feet and hands are bound, and they are thrown into a

great river that flows past. Those who swim are considered to be witches, and are burnt; those who sink are regarded as innocent, and are rescued." Human sacrifices were not infrequent in those days. We come upon instances among the Herulians (Procopius and Ennodius) and the Ros (ibn Rusta), among the Wends or Sorbs (Bonifatius) and the pagan Poles (Thietmar), the Radimici, Wjatici, and Sewerane (Nestor), and even among the eastern Slavs. Most of the instances described were cases of the burning of widows. Some Slavonic tribes paid the Bulgarians a tribute in horses, furs, and other articles, such as an ox-hide, from every house.

At this same era the West Turkish nation of the Khazars, of whom we have evidence after the second century A.D., was settled in the south of Russia between the Caspian and Black Seas. The most flourishing period of the Khazar Empire seems to have been in the seventh century, after the fall of the Hun Empire. Their most important towns were: Saryg-sar, on the west bank of the Volga (yellow town; later Itil, now Astrachan), and

When the Khazars Flourished

Khamlikh, or Khazaran, which lay opposite; also Samandar, or Smendr (now Tarchu, east of Temirchan-Schura, on the west shore of the Caspian Sea), and the fortress of Sarkel at the mouth of the Danube, built under the Emperor Theophilus in 833-835 by the Greek Petronas (in Nestor: Belaweza; destroyed by Sviatoslav); a second Khazar fortress of some temporary importance was Balangar, in the Caucasus.

The Khazars carried on an extensive trade with Bulgaria, Russia, Persia, and Byzantium. The half-nomadic population still lived partly in those Wojlok-Jurtes which we find at the present day among the Kirghiz. Only the richer men built themselves mud huts, and the Khagan alone had high tiled houses. The Khagan was the supreme head in religion, while a Veg stood at the head of military affairs. Under the Khagan Bulan—traditionally about 740; more correctly shortly after 860—the Khazars, after a temporary conversion to Christianity, partly adopted the Jewish faith. They were completely subjugated by Russia about 969. Remnants of the Khazars long remained in the Crimea and the Caucasus; some memories of them still survive in the names of a few towns.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION THE OLD POLISH EMPIRE AND THE MEN WHO SHAPED ITS DESTINIES

THE waves of Slavonic migration, which surged to and fro in the Far East of Europe, had from an early date come into contact with the peoples of Western Europe; but there were as yet only tribes and no large empire. The tidings first came to Constantinople in the ninth century that a large Russian Empire existed in the north. A hundred years later a powerful Polish Empire was discovered in the north-west. The credit of this discovery belongs to Germany. War had been raging between the two races since the middle of the eighth century, on the line of the Elbe, at the point where the Slavonic and German tribes came into contact with each other. But while the Germans won political unity through Charles the Great, assimilated Roman culture and adopted Christianity, the Slavs were still disunited, and were inimical to Western views on politics, religion, and culture. A bitter contest was waged for these principles, and finally for freedom. In the course of a hundred years the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder were subjugated; the Slavs on the Oder also were now engaged

**Poland in
Contact with
the West**

in a desperate struggle, more especially since they were torn by internal feuds. It then happened that the Wends chose the Saxon Count Wichmann, who died in 967, and who had quarrelled with the German Empire, as their leader against the neighbouring Lisikaviki. Wichmann inflicted, in 962, two defeats on Misako—Miseko, or Mesko, a diminutive of Mstislav—and killed his brother; Mesko, in consequence, submitted to the Margrave Gero,

who was then stationed with an army on the Polish frontier, and agreed to pay a tribute for the country between the Oder and the Warthe. That was the first contact of Poland with the West.

In 965 the Spanish Jew Ibrahim ibn-Jacob travelled through Germany for trading purposes and made his way to

**An Observant
Trader
1,000 Years Ago**

Merseburg and Prague, where he became acquainted with the Slavs. "There are now," he wrote, "four princes among them," of whom he names "Mshka," i.e., Mesko, as "Prince of the North." "As regards the country of Mshka, it is the largest of the Slavonic countries. It is rich in corn, flesh, honey, and pasturage. The taxes, which he levies, are paid in Byzantine *Mitkal*; they serve to maintain his people. . . . He has 3,000 *Dsra* (Duzina, or bodyguard suite) . . . ; he gives them armour and horses, arms, and whatever they need. The Russians live to the East of Mshka and the Prussians in the north."

The above-named Misako, or Mesko, is, therefore, the first Polish prince who is authenticated by history. The later tradition relates that he was descended from the family of the Piast of Krushwitz; it speaks of a dynasty of the Piasts, and can give some account of his ancestors. *Piast* in Polish means much the same as tutor or guardian. In connection with the legendary narrative it is conjectured that a court official of the royal family, who filled the post of teacher to the children, resembling, therefore, a Frankish majordomo, overthrew the old dynasty

and obtained the throne. The Piast family ruled in Poland until 1370.

Poland comes into history at the time when Germany revived the claim of the Roman Empire to rule over all lands and peoples, and showed the strength necessary to enforce the claim. The Slavonic tribes, which adjoined on the east, although they obstinately defended their liberty, must have heard of these alleged claims of sovereignty, since they soon reconciled themselves to the position of vassals of the Holy Roman Empire. This empire, like the whole West, was dominated then by the Christian idea. To disseminate it was the noblest task, and the Church, which put forward legal claims, supplied the power and authority for it. The heathen Slavs in the East thus offered a wide field to German missionary enterprise; and with this purpose an archbishopric was founded in Magdeburg. The conversion of Poland to Christianity was, under these conditions, only a question of time.

Some years after the first contact with Germany Mesko married the daughter of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I., by name Dubrava. At her persuasion he and all his nobles are said to have accepted Christianity in 966. The political consideration that this was the only way to assert, even partially, his independence, must have turned the scale. He must have seen that Rome was the powerful head of the Christian world, and that upon Rome even Germany was, in a sense, dependent. In 968 a bishopric for the Polish territory was founded in Posen, under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Jordan was the first Bishop of Posen.

This was the turning-point in the history of the Polish tribes; they began a new chapter of life with their connection with the West. Poland first grew into a powerful empire under the guidance of the Christian Church. For this reason Mesko must be regarded as the real founder of Poland.

He cemented more closely his amicable relations with the German Empire by wedding Oda, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich, after the death of his Bohemian consort in 977. He took part, however, in the conspiracy of Henry of Bavaria against the Emperor Otto II., in the year 976, and had to be reminded of his duties as a vassal in 979; nevertheless,

on the death of Otto II., in 983, the Poles once more sided with the rebellious Henry. It was only in 985 that Mesko loyally shared the campaigns of Germany against the Wends, and actually fought, in 990, against Boleslav of Bohemia, the brother of his deceased wife.

Mesko died in 992, and left several children by both wives, who, according to Slavonic law, were all entitled to inherit. Possibly he had contemplated some division of his inheritance. But the sovereignty over the whole empire was seized by Boleslav I., the son of the Bohemian mother; later called "Chabri" the Valiant. A man of unusual ability, he anticipated in some degree the results that coming centuries were destined to effect, and to some extent himself attained the objects for which the nation subsequently struggled. Cunning and brave, an admirable politician and administrator, possessed of indefatigable energy, he was superior to all who had dealings with him. A true appreciation of existing needs and the forces actually available prevented him from ever attempting the impossible. The nation did not prosper when it went outside the circle which he drew round it. At the very beginning of his reign he marched northwards and conquered Pomerania and the Prussian territory, and in the south Chrobatia with Cracow, and Moravia with Slovakia, as far as the Danube.

Martyrdom of Bishop Adalbert

Just at this time Bishop Adalbert, who had been banished from Prague, went northwards to preach the Gospel to the pagan Prussians, and died a martyr's death there in 997. Boleslav ransomed his bones from the pagans and buried them in Gnesen. He knew that the bones of a saint were necessary for the founding of churches, and that high respect was then paid to relics. Adalbert thus became the patron of the Polish realm. Churches were built in his honour. The standard of the corps which the prince himself commanded bore as a badge the figure of Adalbert, and the military standard of the whole Polish army displayed his portrait. Boleslav must have already been negotiating with the emperor and the Pope on the subject of new bishoprics, for we find by the year 999 an organised body of clergy in Poland. Gaudentius, brother of Adalbert, was nominated to be Archbishop of Gnesen, distinct from

THE OLD POLISH EMPIRE

Madgeburg; he was given as suffragans the Bishop of Cracow for Chrobatia, the Bishop of Breslau for Silesia, and the Bishop of Kolberg for Pomerania. Posen still remained under Mainz.

Thus an independent church of Poland was established as a foundation for the later political independence. In the year 1000, when, according to the teaching of the Chiliasts the end of the world ought to have come, the fanatical Emperor Otto III. went to Gnesen, in order to pray at the tomb of the saint, to whom he was also related. He had a brilliant reception; but the political advantages which the Pole was able to obtain were not small. Otto approved of the ecclesiastical system of Poland, and promoted the prince, whom hitherto he had reckoned as the vassal of the German Empire, to be brother, friend, and ally under the title of Patricius. In his pursuit of the dream of a world-empire, Otto III. had lost his footing on the soil of fact. "May Heaven forgive the emperor," exclaimed Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg about 1018 discontentedly, "for

**Church Unity
Strengthens the
Polish Empire** having made a sovereign out of the Duke of Poland, who hitherto was a tributary, and for having exalted him so high that he soon sought to bring beneath his rule and degrade to servitude those who were once his superiors." It was shown afterwards that, in the days of the civil wars and disintegration, the solidarity of the Polish Empire was safeguarded and strengthened only by the unity of the Church.

The growth of the power of Poland caused alarm in Germany. Matters culminated in a war under Otto's successor, the Emperor Henry II., since Boleslav at the beginning of 1003 had annexed Bohemia also. Henry II. for many years waged war with great energy against the Duke of Poland, supported by Bohemia, which had been evacuated by Boleslav in 1004, and by the heathen Liutizes—an alliance which horrified the pious German clergy—but could effect nothing. Boleslav had his supporters everywhere, and roused up enemies on all sides for the emperor, even in Germany. The political and military superiority of Boleslav now showed itself in the clearest colours.

In the year 1005, Henry was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace at Bautzen, while the treaty of Madgeburg,

in 1013, ratified the Pole's claim to all the conquests made in the East at the cost of Germany. Boleslav, indeed, in return did homage to the emperor at Merseburg, because he wished at the same time to turn against Russia. Being now recognised as an ally, he was accompanied on his Russian campaign by 300 German warriors, but obtained little success. In 1015 the war with Germany began afresh; it was not until 1018 that a second peace was concluded at Bautzen. The Elbe once more was the western frontier of Poland. Boleslav took Kiev on August 14th, 1018, and reinstated his exiled son-in-law Svia-topolk.

Although the union of Bohemia and Poland had not been successfully carried out, Boleslav had united most of the west Slavs, who were still independent of Germany, under his own sceptre, and had founded an empire which stretched from the Elster and the Elbe to the Dniester. He also emphasised the Slavonic as opposed to the Germanic features of national life. His name has thus become the banner of Polish patriotism. After so many successes the Polish duke solicited the title of king, and with this object sent an embassy to Rome. This was intercepted by the emperor, but after the death of Henry, in 1024, Boleslav placed the crown on his own head. He died in the year 1025 at the age of fifty-eight.

Under the first successors of the greatest Polish king the situation was at once changed; not one of the conquests of Boleslav could be retained. In the first place, the empire, according to custom, had to be divided between the heirs; but Boleslav I. had already decided that one of his sons should rule over the whole realm, and the other petty princes should be subordinate to him. Mesko II. did, in fact, assume the government with the crown, while we find his brothers and kinsmen as petty princes.

**Quarrels that
Weakened
Polish Power** Quarrels naturally broke out, which weakened the power of Poland. The Bohemian prince

Bretislav conquered Moravia in 1029; Stefan of Hungary, Slovakia; Canute the Dane, Pomerania; and Jaroslav of Russia, the eastern half of Galicia. It was a more momentous matter that relations with Germany grew worse. Emperor Conrad II., who had been closely bound by ties of friendship with the Danish king

since 1025, adopted Besprim, the exiled elder brother of Mesko. He must also have considered the coronation of Mesko an insult. Mesko, indeed, valiantly held his ground and ravaged Saxony and other districts with the utmost ferocity in 1028 and 1030. Finally he was forced to succumb, to resign Lusatia once more, and

in the Merseburg treaty of 1033 to recognise in explicit terms the German suzerainty; probably also to pay tribute. The splendour which Poland had reached under Boleslav I. was completely gone. The conditions of a vassal state existed for centuries, and were more or less burdensome. We are nowhere distinctly told what constituted the duties of vassals; we may, however, consider it as certain that the Polish princes were bound to attend certain court ceremonies, to provide tribute or presents, and on the occasion of coronation journeys to Rome to supply an escort of 500, or, later, 300 soldiers. So long as ambitious ideas of empire dominated the German kings, they actually claimed the feudal rights of suzerains over Poland. It was only about the end of the thirteenth century that Poland was once for all recognised and treated as an independent state.

The political efforts of the Polish princes were naturally directed to shake off that yoke. When a favourable opportunity offered, they revolted, refused military services and tribute, seldom appeared at the court ceremonies, and here and there assumed the royal title, although in the German Empire they were styled merely "duces," or dukes. The country reached the zenith of independence under Boleslav II. at the time of Henry IV., while it sank to the lowest depth during the rule of Frederic Barbarossa and Rudolf of Hapsburg.

When Mesko II. died, in 1034, complete confusion ensued. Slaves rose against free-

Paganism
Revives With
Civil War

men, the semi-serfs against the nobles; churches and monasteries were plundered, and the bishops killed or banished. Richenza, Mesko's widow, a daughter of Hermann II. of Suabia and sister of the Empress Gisela, was forced to leave Poland with her little son Casimir, and went to her home to implore help from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Conrad. The old pagan faith seems then to have once more proudly raised its head. To

fill up the cup of misery, the surrounding nations attacked and pillaged the country. Besides this Bretislav Achilles of Bohemia in 1039 carried off from Gnesen to Prague the bones of St. Adalbert, doubtless next to the booty the main object of his campaign. Boleslav I. had built up the Polish Church over the tomb of the Bohemian martyr and had deprived Bohemia of the glory of the martyrdom. How important the event was for both sides is proved by the lamentations of the Polish chroniclers, the joy with which the relics of the national saint were received at Prague, and the long trial which was held about them at Rome. Cosmas of Prague cannot find language enough to praise the prince. The holy Adalbert now became, equally with the holy Wenzel, the patron saint of Bohemia; the chief military standard of the country bore his image. Now that he possessed these relics, the Bohemian duke contemplated founding an archbishopric in Prague. It was only in the thirteenth century that Poland was able to acquire a new national saint—Stanislav.

Casimir, meanwhile, remained in Germany. In the reign of the Emperor Henry III., who gladly seized the opportunity of once again asserting imperial claims upon the East, he marched, in 1040, with 500 men to Poland in order to win back his inheritance. He found the country ruined. Wild animals had their lairs where once the cathedral of Gnesen stood. The nobles had established independent lordships in the provinces. Casimir, in order to be able to carry on war successfully, married a Russian wife and made an alliance with Hungary. The war against Bohemia was conducted with unusual energy on account of Moravia and Silesia, as well as of the plundering of the church of Gnesen.

When, by the help of Russia Casimir had won back Masovia and also Silesia, he proceeded to re-establish the decayed Polish Church. He renewed the bishoprics, and conferred the archbishopric upon his kinsman Aaron, who resided at Cracow so long as the road to Gnesen was blocked. Casimir successfully accomplished his plans by the help of Germany, whose suzerainty he acknowledged. He died in 1058. The distress and misery which Poland suffered in the first years after Mesko's death never occurred again down to the time of its overthrow. Casimir, therefore, for

his services in the restoration of the empire has been given the honourable title of "Restaurator."

The empire owes to him also a second change. Hitherto, the Polish duke had no permanent abode; he journeyed from country to country, in order to administer justice personally in every place. The duke had his throne in the town where he preferred to live. When Casimir came to Poland he took up his quarters in Cracow, since other provinces were still to be conquered. From that time Cracow remained the residence of the duke and was, down to the sixteenth century, the political centre. This was not any advantage for the development of the empire. Posen or Gnesen would indisputably have better answered the purpose, since both lay nearer to Pomerania and the sea,

In conformity with the order of succession, introduced probably by Boleslav as king, the eldest of four sons, Boleslav II., subsequently called by the Chroniclers "the Bold," assumed the reins of government on the death of Casimir. His courage and ambitious plans recalled the memory of Boleslav I. The political situation on his accession was peculiarly



CRACOW CASTLE IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

From the time of Casimir, who restored the Polish power in the middle of the eleventh century, until the sixteenth century, Cracow was the political centre.

to which, indeed, the future of Poland pointed. With Cracow as capital, Poland came into the disturbing vicinity of Bohemia and Hungary, and was distracted from her true aims. Apart from this disadvantage, the West Slavs were in this way more easily Germanised. The remoteness from the sea was partially remedied by the removal of the court to Warsaw.

murdered with his own hands before the altar. This tragedy was the theme of many writers. It is also said to have been the cause of Boleslav being forced to go into exile; but the story is improbable. He died in 1081, but the place of his death is unknown. Many churches were built in honour of the murdered bishop, who was promoted in the thirteenth century

AT THE PRESENT DAY

favourable; the dispute about the right of investiture between Henry IV. and the Pope left a free hand to the Polish duke. Boleslav actually took the side of Henry's enemies, and had himself crowned at Christmas, 1076. But the scene of the struggle of the Salian with the rival kingdom was mostly the valley of the Main.

Fraught with greater consequences was Boleslav's attitude towards Stanislaw, Bishop of Cracow, whom the king, for reasons unknown to us,

to be the first patron saint of Poland. Boleslav's successor, until 1103, at first only in Posen, while Cracow belonged to Bohemia, was his brother Vladislav Hermann, a weakling in brain and body. He was unable to take up any firm attitude either towards the nobles or his own sons, or even the Church, to which he is

**A Feud
Between
Two Brothers**

said to have granted certain privileges. He divided the empire, during his lifetime; while he himself retained the supreme authority, Boleslav received Masovia, Gnesen, and Posen, and his illegitimate son Sbignev Cracow and Silesia.

The smouldering feud between the two brothers burnt the more fiercely after Hermann's death, until Boleslav III. Krzywousty (Crooked Mouth) had conquered his brother's share. In spite of numerous frontier wars—for example, in 1109 the defence of Glogau against the Emperor Henry V. and Svatopluk of Olmütz—Boleslav did not secure any lasting advantage. Nor does his important place in the history of Poland depend upon the fact that he re-subjugated Pomerania and won it for Christianity by his missionaries, especially Bishop Otto of Bamberg, formerly chaplain of Vladislav Hermann; for by his very choice of a German bishop to evangelise Pomerania the Germanisation and hence the loss of Pomerania were hastened. But the Church paid him an appropriate tribute of thanks for what he had done. A priest, probably a Venetian, erroneously known by the name of Martinus Gallus, wrote in glorification of Boleslav III. the "*Chronica Polonorum*," reaching down to 1113—the oldest chronicle of Poland, and the earliest literary monument belonging to the country. The campaigns in Pomerania and the conversion of the land had the same value for Poland as the Crusades for the West. Bohemia and Poland in

**Cracow
Becomes the
Official Centre**

return for their often rather forcible missionary work in pagan Pomerania and Prussia were released from the obligation of sharing in the expeditions to Palestine. The importance of Boleslav III. for Poland consists chiefly in his settlement of the order of succession to the throne. He divided his empire before his death in the following way: Vladislav, the eldest son, inherited Silesia with Glatz; Boleslav, Masovia and Kujavia with Dobrzyn;

Mesko, Gnesen and Posen with Pomerania; Henry, Sandomir; Casimir, a posthumous son, came off empty-handed. The eldest of the family was always to be Grand Duke, and reside in Cracow; to him were assigned the district of Cracow with Lenčzyca and Sieradz, besides the tribute from Pomerania and the region beyond the Oder, so that he might be superior in possessions to all other petty princes. Cracow thus became an official centre.

It is persistently asserted that Boleslav introduced with this measure the custom of seniority, according to which the eldest Piast for the time being should be the supreme head of the whole kingdom. But that is hardly correct. In the old days there was no distinction between public and private law. His scheme for the succession was not, therefore, new. Further, when, in 1054, the Bohemian duke Bretislav Achilles and Jaroslav of Kiev introduced the seniority, they only applied to the royal power the old Slavonic custom of family inheritance. The Polish duke, therefore, made use of the experience which had been gained in Bohemia and

**The Wars
of Boleslav's
Descendants**

Russia. The conference of Russian princes at Lubetch, in 1097, had already declared that the petty principalities were hereditary. Boleslav now adopted this principle for his realm. The only new feature in Boleslav's scheme for the succession was that the district of Cracow remained as an appanage of the Grand Duke without any hereditary rights.

The consequences of Boleslav's settlement of the succession were the same in Poland as in Bohemia and Russia. The office of Grand Duke became, it is true, the badge and guarantee of national unity. But it also became an apple of discord among the Piasts. The sanguinary wars, which lasted among the descendants of Boleslav almost unceasingly down to the year 1333, are full of petty incidents which possess no significance in universal history; but nevertheless, like the similar wars in the families of the Premyslids, Rurikovitches, and Arpades, they supply a fresh proof that the rule of seniority was destructive to the state. When men notice that a law produces in different places the same disastrous effects, they must arrive at the consciousness that it is bad; but they have simultaneously taken a step forward. But from the circumstance that Bohemia was able to

THE OLD POLISH EMPIRE

abolish the rule of seniority in 1216, and Poland and Russia only in the fourteenth century, it may be gathered how tenaciously mankind clings to one idea, and how hard it is to strike out a new path. We also learn from it that Bohemia was more than a hundred years ahead of the above-named states in political development.

The oldest period of Polish history, when the young realm, guided mostly by strong hands and sound at the core, turned its strength toward the outside world, ends with Boleslav III., who had done homage again in 1135 to the Emperor Lothar, and died in 1138. The course of events after 1138 was exactly opposite. While the Piasts disputed among themselves for the seniority, they regarded only themselves, and lost sight of the common Polish interests in the outside world. The dispute among the sons broke out soon after the death of the father. The Grand Duke Vladislav II., of Cracow, wished once more to restore unity at the expense of his brothers.

But the threatened princes combined and asserted their claims; the law, indeed, spoke for them. Boleslav IV. (Curly-head), the eldest but one of the brothers, ascended the grand-ducal throne in the place of Vladislav, who was deprived of his share in the inheritance in 1146; and maintained his position until his death in 1173, notwithstanding that the exiled monarch sought to recover his sovereignty by the aid of Germany. After him, the third brother, Mesko III. (the Elder), became Grand Duke; and finally, after his banishment by the nobles, the originally excluded Casimir

Casimir the Just Comes to the Throne II. the Just (1179 to 1194), came to the throne, since Henry of Sandomir had already fallen. The Pope and the emperor had approved of this choice. Matters so far had gone smoothly with the succession to the throne. But the fruit

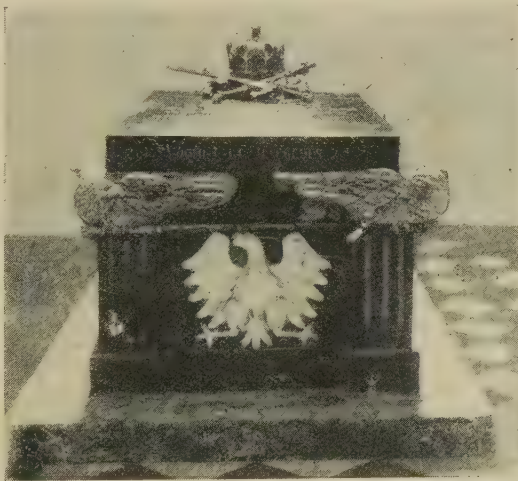
of the new order of things had already been tasted; thus Leszko I., the White, a son of Casimir, disputed the grand-ducal throne with his uncle Mesko III. Vladislav III., Longshanks, a son of Mesko III., who resided at Cracow, 1202-1206, must have equally recognised the evil latent in that law. Even the sons of the deposed Vladislav II.—Boleslav I. the Tall of Breslau, Mesko of Ratibor, and Conrad of Glogau—came forward with their claims, and not without success, after they had previously, with the help of Germany, taken possession of their inheritance.

The empire, owing to this, could not but lose all prestige with the outside world. The banished or defrauded Piasts

sought help on every side, especially in Germany; each promised and performed all that was required of him in return. The dukes Vladislav II., Boleslav IV., and Mesko III., appeared in deepest submission before the German emperor; they paid tribute and fines, and furnished hostages. The Bohemian duke was, as it were, their mediator with the emperor, who

usually received him with great respect. The conquests in the north also were lost. The German princes Albert the Bear and Henry the Lion of Saxony had, in alliance with the Danish king Waldemar I., finally subjugated the north and west Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder, and had secured their territory, after 1150, by the new margraviate of Brandenburg. Not far from the place where the Slavonic Brennaburg stood, Berlin arose at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Pomeranian princes, who were once tributaries of Poland, were now forced to acknowledge the German sovereignty. Bogislav II. of Stettin was raised by Frederic Barbarossa, in the summer of 1181, to the dignity of a prince of the



A POLISH ROYAL TOMB IN PLOCK CATHEDRAL

empire. Only a part of Pomerania was still left for a time to Poland. For that reason also the empire would have required a free hand in order to be able to defend its interests against Russia, which was at a low ebb owing to civil wars. But thus it lost not merely the East Galician towns which Boleslav I.

The Great Power of the Nobility

and Boleslav II. had once conquered, but allowed a strong Russian principality to be formed on the Dniester. The events of domestic history were far more momentous. First and foremost the power of the nobility, which composed the fighting strength, rose to an unforeseen height. The *Slachta*—the noblesse—forced even the vigorous Boleslav II. to leave the country, as his father Casimir had been obliged to do. Under Boleslav III., who was an able soldier, his Palatine Skarbimir rebelled, and was blinded as a punishment in 1117. In 1171 the nobility, under the leadership of Jakva of Miechow, rose against Boleslav IV. in order to put his brother Casimir in his place; this was the first great rebellion of the *Slachta*. Mesko the Elder fought for the princely rights in Poland, just as the son and grandson of Vladimir Monomach did in Susdal; though repeatedly driven from the throne, he mounted it again.

Besides the nobility, a second power arose in the empire—the Church. The storm of the Investitures Controversy had passed over Poland in the eleventh century almost without leaving a trace, so little power had the hierarchy in those parts; Boleslav had entered the lists against Henry IV. merely on political grounds. If we assume, with the clerical chroniclers, that Boleslav was forced to go into exile for the murder of Bishop Stanislaw, we are regarding that event from the standpoint of the thirteenth century—in the eleventh century the Polish Church was still too young to be

Christianity Strikes Root in Poland

capable of such a vengeance. The pious historian of the thirteenth century pictured to himself that the wanton crime must have been expiated in some way or other. The Christian religion only slowly struck root in Poland. The first prince who was obedient to the Church was Boleslav III.; he took interest in the missions, and himself made pilgrimages to France to the tomb of St. Ægidius. During his reign the first papal legate came

to Poland in 1123-1125—from which period dates the oldest Polish document—in order to settle the boundaries of the dioceses there, establish the cathedral chapters in the sees, etc. The Polish clergy still recognised no rule of celibacy, and the prince alone nominated the bishops and removed them at his own discretion; and this state of things continued for a long time. No bishop would then have been able to oppose the prince. It was only at the period of the civil wars that the Church acquired an increasing reputation. Vladislav III. Longshanks, son of Mesko the Elder, suspecting the latent danger, obstinately resisted the claims of the clergy.

The conviction was at last brought home to the Poles, as it had been to the Bohemians and the Russians, that the only salvation for the empire lay in a hereditary monarchy. Since each of the petty princes wished to become hereditary ruler, and no one of them would give way, for a time the evil grew only worse. The ablest statesman among the Piasts of the time was undoubtedly Casimir II.

Brought up in the German school, he grasped the true state of affairs, and therefore allied himself with the newly arisen forces, the nobility and the clergy, in order to reach his goal. Immediately after his elevation to the Grand Dukedom, probably in 1179, he convened an imperial assembly at Lenczyca, at which the clergy appeared as well as the nobles.

This was the first imperial assembly of Poland, and at the same time its first synod. Here the Church obtained the important privilege of exemption from payment of imposts and taxes to the princes. The power of the princes was checked. By this policy Casimir placed himself in opposition to the conservative line of Great Poland, which would not hear of any concessions to the Church. Casimir acted here in the same way as the Ottos when they provided a counterpoise to the dukes by the creation of the imperial ecclesiastical offices; he must have fully understood that he was dependent on the nobility. But the result was that he was supported in his efforts by the grateful Church.

Casimir also took the precaution of having his title confirmed by the Pope and the emperor; in this policy he seems to have been the model for the Bohemian dukes.

He was now able to think how to make the grand-ducal power hereditary in his family, an arrangement which was also the ambition of the Premyslids. Thus he and Mesko III. represented two opposite political schools, and friction was inevitable. But when Casimir died in 1194, it was seen that matters were in a favourable position for his children.

Vincentius, Bishop of Cracow—later surnamed Kadlubek—who voluntarily became a monk at Jedrzejow in 1218, and died in 1223, records that the clergy and nobility met in 1195 at Cracow in order to settle the question of the throne. Who had summoned them? The Chronicle does not tell us. We learn only that the Church sided there with the house of Casimir. At the instance of Bishop Fulko of Cracow, who adroitly adduced as an argument the preference given by Pope and emperor to Casimir over Mesko, Casimir's elder son, Leszko I. (the White) was summoned to Cracow.

It was the first election of a prince in Poland; though only, as in Bohemia, from among the members of the already ruling family, the Piasts. Henceforward, with little interruption, Cracow remained until 1370—when the family died out—in the hands of the descendants of Casimir, although the hereditary monarchy had not yet been formally legalised, and contests for the throne were frequent. But it was the will of the Church and of the nobility of Cracow. This struggle for a satisfactory constitution progressed slowly; Russia and Bohemia had not escaped it. It is an important feature in the present case that it was the Church

which solved the problem; it must have been already very powerful in Poland in the first half of the thirteenth century. Leszko, it is true, had not been able to gain any success against Mesko. But after the latter's death, in 1202, Leszko was summoned by the nobles of Cracow, and the only condition imposed upon him was

that he should remove the Palatine Govorko of Sandomir. That, instead of doing so, he preferred to abdicate the throne in favour of the son of Mesko, Vladislav Longshanks, proves how well

**Conflict of
Temporal and
Spiritual Power**

designed was the policy of the royal house. Vladislav, however, being an enemy of the Church, could not hold his own. Just at this time Henry Kietlicz, a Silesian by birth, was elected Archbishop of Poland. He had formerly studied theology at the Sorbonne in Paris with Count Lothar Conti, who mounted the papal throne on January 8th, 1198, as Innocent III.; and he had been steeped in the plans of this mighty Pope. When placed on the archbishop's throne at Gnesen, he did not demand privileges but rights for the Polish Church. Then, for the first time there, a conflict between the temporal and spiritual powers broke out. Kietlicz was obdurate, and for the first time in Poland, apart from the dubious case of Boleslav II., launched the ban at the Grand Duke. He was forced, indeed, to flee the country, but the duke also had to leave Cracow, since the nobles of Cracow, incited by Bishop Fulko, left him in the lurch.

Leszko was then—in 1206—recalled. And he now took decisive measures for the succession. Since he first, following the example of many princes of the time—for example, Premysl Ottokar I. of Bohemia, 1204—declared his country to be a papal fief, and then gave his brother, Conrad, Masovia and Kujavia, he contrived, with the assent of the clergy and the nobility, that Cracow and Sandomir should remain an inheritance of his family. This arrangement was confirmed by the Pope. And by it the law of seniority of Boleslav III. was formally repealed. But since this was not done with the approval of all the Piasts, the civil wars still continued. The result of the enactment, on the contrary, was that the provinces felt themselves independent of Cracow, and the unity of



POLISH WARRIOR OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

**The Power
of
the Church**

the empire seemed imperilled; but this danger was averted by the Church. Archbishop Kietlicz soon came back from Rome, and summoned a synod at Gnesen. The rule of celibacy was here introduced; and a special jurisdiction and other rights were conferred on the Church. Vladislav was therefore forced to give way. The remaining petty princes followed his example. But in all these events the Archbishop of Gnesen played an inferior part to the Bishop of Cracow, for Gnesen was in another country. The wish, however, of the bishops of Cracow that the archbishopric should be removed from Gnesen to their court was not gratified.

Under the Banner of the Christian Faith

Poland in the thirteenth century stood already definitely under the banner of the Christian faith, and the princes acknowledged the power of the Church. Casimir had made an alliance with it in 1180, and solicited Pope Alexander III. to confirm him in his title. Now, also, the canonisation of Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, was completed, in order that the country might have its own patron saint; with this object the old Chronicles had to be purposely falsified. Churches and monasteries sprang up everywhere. The influence of the Church was felt in every domain of public life. Boleslav, Leszko's son, practised deeds of piety and acts of penance. The princesses took the veil and won for themselves the saintly nimbus. It was Leszko's brother Conrad who fought against the pagan Prussians and summoned the order of Teutonic knights, and by so doing later brought great danger upon Poland.

When Leszko died, in 1227, and Conrad of Masovia assumed the government in the name of his infant son Boleslav the Shamefaced, or Modest, the nobles conspired against him. They made use of the Silesian Piasts, whose head at that time was Henry I. the Bearded, grandson of that Vladislav who had been expelled in 1146 from Cracow. The nobility of Cracow supported Henry, who, in spite of his piety, was at variance with the clergy. The princes of Silesia, as well as of Great Poland, seem to have agreed together about him. Vladislav, in opposition to whom his own son Vladislav Odonicz came forward as a champion of the Church, actually designated the Silesian Henry as heir to Great Poland.

Under such circumstances Henry succeeded in uniting in his hands the greater part of the Polish dominions. It would have been a good thing for Poland if the Silesian Piasts had been able permanently to hold Cracow. But Henry I. died early in 1238; and his son Henry II., the Pious, fell gloriously on the battlefield at Liegnitz, on April 9th, 1241, in a campaign against the Mongols.

An Obstinate Struggle for Cracow

Thus once more an obstinate struggle for Cracow was kindled. Three lines of Piasts—the Silesian, the Great Polish, and the Casimirid—entered the lists. The weakest of all, Casimir's grandson, Boleslav Vstydlivy, substantiated his claim; the bishops, who were on his side, married him to a Hungarian princess, so that he was supported also by Hungary. On his death without issue the grandsons of Conrad of Masovia, Leszko the Black and Vladislav Lokietek, both of whom had estates only in Kujavia, came forward as claimants to the throne. Leszko maintained his position until 1288. The internal feuds were then at their height; each province had its own prince, who, though himself too weak, was still at war with his neighbour. After Vladislav Lokietek, who reigned only a short time, another Silesian prince, Henry IV. Probus of Breslau, took possession of Cracow (1289–1290). In the true spirit of patriotism he selected Przemyslav of Great Poland, a grandson of Odonicz, to inherit his dominions. But others came forward as rivals. The most dangerous was the Bohemian king Wenzel II. He married, in 1287, as his first wife, Jutta, a daughter of the German king Rudolf I. of Hapsburg; perhaps the object in view was a union of Poland with Bohemia under the overlordship of Germany. Cracow was taken by Bohemia in the year 1291. Przemyslav, it is true, in order to notify the independence of the crown of all the Poles, had himself crowned king of Poland at Gnesen in 1295; but he died the next year, 1296. Wenzel conquered Great Poland, and had himself crowned king of Poland in 1300. His death, in 1305, alone saved the independence of Poland; but the kings of Bohemia henceforward bore the title of "Rex Poloniae." The native candidates for the throne were finally beaten by Vladislav Lokietek, brother of Leszko the Black. When he was himself crowned at Gnesen, in January, 1320, with the consent

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of the Pope, the union of Poland was once more safeguarded, and with it the era of hereditary monarchy had dawned. More than two hundred years had elapsed before the Polish nation, by great sacrifices and hard struggles, had won the suitable form of government.

The Polish nation, which had bled to gratify the ambition of her princes, while defiant nobles claimed a share in the government, had seen her most prosperous days irrevocably ruined through civil wars. We can best estimate her loss by her relations to her neighbours.

The position of Poland towards Germany had become unfavourable. It was only when Germany, weakened by long wars, had, under Rudolf I. of Hapsburg, abandoned all notions of world empire, that a more prosperous era dawned for Poland. It was only to the turn of events in other countries, and to the battles which had been fought in the West between emperor and Pope, and not to their own efficiency, that the Piasts of Poland owed their independence from Germany. The Bohemian relations of Poland were important,

The Common Menace of Germany and, in fact, decisive for her policy. We first find the two states in friendly relations one to the other;

Mesko I. married a Bohemian princess. The common menace of Germany had probably brought them closer together. It then happened that the two princes quarrelled with each other because the Polish prince had robbed the Bohemian of a province (Moravia or Cracow). The emperor, it is true, decided in favour of Bohemia, but could not force Poland to accept his arbitration.

This mutual hostility forms a pivot of the future policy of Bohemia and Poland. Bohemia openly joined the German Empire, and, relying on this, wished to make conquests; the only place left for Poland was in the camp of its enemies. In the year 1003 Boleslav I. of Poland succeeded in making himself master of Bohemia. The union of these two kingdoms would have been of far-reaching importance for the whole Slavonic world, but Germany could not and would not tolerate the subjugation of her vassal. Poland was forced to liberate Bohemia.

The capture of Prague only increased the hatred of the two nations. Bretislav of Bohemia then conquered Moravia, and carried off to Prague the bones of

St. Adalbert. Silesia and Cracow fell for a time under Bohemian rule. Polish refugees were welcomed in Bohemia, and those of Bohemia in Poland. There was almost uninterrupted fighting in the forests on the Silesian frontier. The same jealousy was apparent in the ecclesiastical domain. Bohemia wished to have its

Rivalries of Poland and Bohemia archbishopric, like Poland. Bohemia took part in Prussian missionary work, but only in rivalry with Poland. The words, therefore, of the Polish Chronicle of the so-called Martinus Gallus, "the Bohemians are the worst enemies of Poland," have a deep significance.

It was only in the thirteenth century that this hostility decreased, principally through the efforts of Premysl Ottokar II. The hatred of Germany had now brought the two countries together. It was Ottokar who first appealed to the Slavonic fellow-sympathies of the Poles when he prepared for a decisive campaign against Germany. But Bohemia was too closely associated with the empire, and already too far removed from the Slavonic spirit, for this step to have any prospect of success. Poland was weaker, but since she was always opposed to Germany, the day of her independence would eventually dawn. While Bohemia, however, in connection with Germany, developed more peacefully and under able kings attained some importance, Poland sank deeper and deeper. Poland formerly had assumed the aggressive towards Bohemia, but now the two neighbours had exchanged their rôles. Bohemia obtained Moravia and extended her influence over Silesia. In fact, Bohemia, the direction of whose plans was defined by the northern course of the Elbe and Oder, had formed still wider plans. If the Bohemian princes repeatedly warred with Prussia, and if Wenzel II. conquered Cracow, the incentive to such action must have been the Baltic. Poland barred the way thither.

Relations of Poland and Hungary The relations of Poland and Hungary were quite different.

Once only had the sovereigns of the two kingdoms faced each other as foes—when Boleslav I. took Slovakia, and at the same time contested with Stefan in Rome for the royal crown. In later times the interests of the two countries seldom conflicted. Hungary went down the Danube south-eastwards; Poland struggled to reach the Baltic.

Owing to this divergence of their aims, quite friendly relations were often afterwards developed.

The state of things on the Baltic Sea became dangerous for Poland at the time of the civil wars. The Polish princes of Kujavia and Masovia were unable to defend themselves against the pagan Prussians. The popes, indeed, were solicitous about their conversion; crusades were preached, and an order of knights was founded in Dobrzyn. But that was of little avail. Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia, therefore, summoned the Teutonic knights and assigned to them some districts in 1226. Hermann of Salza did not, however, content himself with the deed of gift of the Piast, but obtained that district as a fief from the Emperor Frederic II. and Pope Gregory IX.; the latter, in fact, freed the territory of the Order from all except papal overlordship.

Thus secured on all sides the Order began the war with the Prussians, supported by the knights of Western Europe, and especially those of Germany; the princes of Bohemia, Poland, and Pomerania also sent help. Success came rapidly; Prussia was soon conquered and secured by fortresses. But it was soon apparent that the Order had its own interests, not those of Poland, in view. Duke Svatopluk of Pomerania soon confronted the Order and protected Prussia. The Polish princes, however, had claimed the help of the knights against Brandenburg, which wished to have Pomerania. But the Order, when once brought into Pomerania, was unwilling to evacuate the country. In the same year, 1309, the Teutonic knights removed their chief centre from Venice to Marienburg. Thus there arose here a dangerous neighbour, supported by Germany and the Pope, which threatened to cut off Poland from the sea. The only hope left was, that now Lithuania was

**Irresponsibility
of the Polish
Sovereign**

developing to the east of the Order, it certainly lay with Poland to make the best use of this turn of events.

Poland was equally unable to guard her interests in Russia. This position was now all the more dangerous, since after the subjugation of her eastern neighbour by the Tartars, the way to Poland lay open to the latter, and often enough have the Tartars ravaged Polish countries. Equally gloomy was the position at that

time of the internal state of Poland, both in respect of legal and economic developments and with regard to general culture. The person of the prince and his court constituted the centre of public life. The prince was the supreme administrator, judge, and general; he was formally absolute and irresponsible. He nominated the higher officials, who represented his rights; such were the court-judge and under-court-judge, the marshal and under-marshal, the chamberlain and under-chamberlain, seneschal and under-seneschal, carver, etc. At their head stood the palatine, or *wojewoda*. It cannot now be determined which offices dated from the pagan times and how far the court may have been altered later; the offices of chancellor and court secretary were certainly only creations of the Christian age.

The administration was simple. The country was divided into Castellannies: each Castellan exercised in his own division all the rights of the prince. The Castellannies were divided into smaller districts, or *opola*, which, probably dating

**Grievous
Pressure of
Taxation**

from the oldest time, continued in existence until the thirteenth century. But more important for the people were the treasury and the law court. It is difficult to distinguish accurately between the fiscal dues which the freemen and serfs, who resided on the crown lands, were required to pay, and those which were payable to the royal coffers from other lands. The dues required consisted of payments in kind and in compulsory services, and there was a long list. A plough tax, a court tax, and a peace tax are first mentioned; we find also dues on honey, corn, cows, oxen, sheep, swine, etc. The subjects had to discharge public duties; they were, for instance, bound to build and restore the castles and bridges, and compelled to dig moats, mount watch in the castles and courts, furnish the prince and his officials with horses and carriages, guides and escorts, to hunt down criminals and clear the forests, and so forth.

Most burdensome was the obligation to receive and board messengers and officials, hunters, falconers, the keepers of the royal horses and hounds, their brewers, bakers, fishermen, etc., and supply food for the hounds and fodder for the horses. Even the butchers were bound

to hand over to the royal falconers the livers of the animals which they slaughtered. Besides this the prince claimed all unoccupied lands, all hunting-grounds and fisheries, all castles and towns, tolls and coinage rights, mills and the sale of salt, markets and court fees, etc. No considerable deviations from the oppressive burdens of the feudal system in Western Europe are observable. If we bear in mind also that abuses in the system occurred, that, for instance, when horses were required, they were taken from any place, but were often not restored, we shall understand that the people were completely at the mercy of the prince and his officials.

Equally unfavourable to the people was the judicial system. The inhabitants of each district, or *opole*, were collectively responsible for any crimes, and in the event of a murder which had been committed on its soil it paid the indemnity, and also was under the obligation of prosecuting the criminals. Since, with the exception of the death penalty or mutilation, there were only fines, that is to say, court dues,

Oppression by Provincial Princes the courts themselves became a sort of fiscal institution. As long as the kingdom was still undivided and large, all burdens were still more or less endurable. But the position became worse, and finally intolerable, when after the partition every prince kept up in his own province a court with a crowd of officials. To crown all, the nobles and clergy struggled more and more, as time went on, to free themselves from these obligations, while they obtained the corresponding privileges. They released themselves from the system of the *opole*, and, by so doing, from its collective responsibility, jurisdiction, and taxation. In this way private lordships, almost tax free as regards the treasury, with their own jurisdiction, and their own system of taxation, were formed by the side of the *opole*. The whole burden of the kingdom was shifted on to the peasants. The clergy and nobility became rich, while the people and the peasantry were impoverished.

The old Slavonic law and the earlier enactments were so riddled by these privileges that they became almost impracticable. The necessary change came in the shape of the German colonisation. The circumstance that the Piasts, especially in Silesia, married German

princesses, who came to Poland with a German suite, must have contributed to increase the German element in Poland, just as in the adjoining country of Hungary. The economic distress, however, was the decisive cause. In order to fill the treasury, princes, as well as monasteries and nobles, brought into the country

Success of German Settlers German settlers from the more densely inhabited West in order to gather the produce of the fields. The superiority and the lasting influence of the foreign colonists lay less in the fact that the Germans knew better how to cultivate the soil rather than in their more favourable legal position. The colonists, who were brought into the country by a contractor, received a plot of ground as an hereditary property, with certain minor rights and privileges, and had in return merely to pay a definite annual sum to the lord of the manor.

This privileged position was bound to promote their prosperity and to strengthen in them that feeling of self-reliance which they had brought with them as subjects of the German Empire, to which Poland was tributary. The relation of the immigrant to the native was the same in Bohemia and Russia. The strong political position of Germany benefited the settlers of that day as much as it benefits the German merchants and artisans of our times. Foreigners were promoted by the Slavonic princes to the detriment of their own people. The princes were too short-sighted to see that in this way they fostered in their own people that sense of humiliation which has been felt for centuries and has found its expression in legends, songs, and other forms of literature.

On the other hand, the Germans, who had the means at their disposal, were always in the position to pursue further developments of culture. The feelings of the Slavonic population, mortified and ignored by their own princes, either

The Slavs' Way to Prosperity unburdened themselves in hatred for the quite innocent German element and in rebellions against the authorities, or found a vent in emigration. On the other hand, the people took refuge in the protection of the German law; Polish villages and towns under the Slavonic law wished, in order to increase their prosperity, to be "promoted" to the German law. German customs, language, and culture would obviously spread rapidly under these

conditions. The devastations of the Tartars and the civil wars helped on the German colonisation. Silesia was soon completely Germanised, and in other provinces the German element at any rate grew steadily stronger. If the Silesian Piasts succeeded in temporarily driving the Casimirids from the throne of Cracow,

they owed that in no small degree to the support of their German subjects. A Germanisation of the entire Polish state lay already within the range of probability. A national crisis now took the place of the economic crisis which had been partially relieved by the German colonisation. This was the more dangerous since the Teutonic knights had now formed a third party in the country by the side of the Germans and the empire.

This situation was especially gloomy for Poland and all Slavs, since it was no longer the courts and castles of the ruling class, but rather the towns, that formed the centres of political, economic, and social life. The Slavs had, however, adopted their municipal organisation directly from the Germans, who were far ahead of them in this respect, and they usually found that their requirements in culture were satisfied to a far higher degree among the Teutons than among the Latins.

Such was the state of affairs in Poland when, in 1320, Vladislav Lokietek was crowned king in Cracow. The removal of all abuses in the interior of the realm, the improvement of the administration and judicature, the revision of the system of taxation, the establishment of equitable relations between the various sections of the people, the restraint of the Germanising movement, the encouragement of culture, and the protection of the realm against foreign attacks—such was the task of the restored monarchy. It was the more difficult since Poland had no

friend, or, at the most, some moderate support from the Roman Curia, which was again in conflict with the empire.

Lokietek saw clearly that the Teutonic Order was the most dangerous enemy of Poland. He therefore sued the knights in the Roman Curia respecting Pomerania. He formed an alliance with Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and married his daughter Elizabeth to the Hungarian king, Charles Robert the Angevin. He also succeeded

in gaining the friendship of Lithuanian princes, who were already hostile to the Order. In 1325 he married his son Casimir to Aldona, daughter of the warlike Lithuanian Gedymin. Thus strengthened, he advanced himself against the Order. The first engagements proved favourable to him. But the results were temporarily unimportant; and the Roman suit brought him no advantage. This was due partly to the hostile attitude of King John of Bohemia, who could not disguise his impulse toward the North. John so far accomplished his purpose between the years 1327 and 1331, that most of the Silesian princes did homage to him; and he undertook a campaign against Lithuania, receiving on the way the homage of a Masovian prince. The Hungarian assistance, which Lokietek received, alone checked the Bohemian king from further steps. In spite of all this, the neighbouring states noticed that the position of Poland was strengthened when Lokietek died in 1333.

Work enough was left for his son Casimir. Lokietek had, it is true, already

restored to a large extent the unity of the empire, and its independence was actually acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire. But Poland, which had

hardly been cemented together, was so exhausted that it could be permanently saved only by a strong hand. Casimir proved himself the wished-for strong king. The times had changed. The formerly despotic ruler had now to share his power with the priests and the nobles. By the side of these the towns rose continuously victorious. Chivalry soon lost its peculiar value; on the one hand, firearms had been invented; on the other, the ideas and objects of men changed with the growing prosperity of trades and industries. The laws, the military system, and the government required reform; they were to suit the conditions of a new era.

Casimir was competent for his task; with unerring eye he recognised that chivalry was nearing its end; and he did not fritter his time away in tournaments as King John did, but turned his attention with all the greater zeal to important economic, political, and social questions. Thus, in 1335, making full use of the favourable situation, he concluded with John of Bohemia the treaty of Visegrad. John abandoned his claims on Poland, in

return for which Casimir paid him 120,000 Bohemian groschen, and recognised the Bohemian suzerainty over Silesia and Plock.

Casimir's relations with the Teutonic Order did not turn out so favourably for Poland. The kings of Bohemia and Hungary decided in favour of the knights; the Roman Curia played a double game. Thus Pomerania, which was lost, could be won back only by the sword. Casimir must have been resolved on this, since he concluded a treaty with Charles Robert of Hungary, in 1339, at Visegrád. Having no male issue, he promised the succession in Poland to Lewis, the son of the latter and his own nephew, on the understanding that Lewis would win back the lost provinces, especially Pomerania, would fill the offices and high posts only with Poles, would impose no new taxes, and would respect the ancient privileges. The purport of this hereditary alliance was certainly hostile to the Order. But Casimir's attention was turned in another direction.

When the childless Prince Boleslav Troidenovicz was poisoned in Halicz by the Boyars, Casimir was bound to interfere if he did not wish that the Lithuanians or the Tartars should seize the country and thus become his immediate neighbours. When Casimir took Halicz and Lemberg, in 1340, the Lithuanians occupied Volhynia; an event of the greatest importance for all Eastern Europe. Even the question of the Teutonic Order at once became less weighty and urgent for Poland. In 1343 Casimir concluded a treaty with the knights at Kalisch, by which he ceded to them Pomerania and the region of Michelau and Chelm, while

he recovered only Kujavia and Dobrzyn. Half voluntarily Poland thus barred her own access to the Baltic Sea. But in return there was the glimpse of hope in the future of pressing onwards to the East, of reaching perhaps the Black Sea, and, finally, through the increase of power there acquired, of wreaking vengeance on her old foes, and winning back the provinces lost to Bohemia and the Teutonic Order.

Perhaps this goal hovered before Casimir's eyes when he concluded, in 1339, the settlement of the succession with Hungary; there were then clear signs of ferment in the region of Halicz. At first, however, Casimir was unfortunate; the war with Lithuania and the Tartars was by no means easy. It was only towards 1366 that he permanently secured Lemberg, Halicz, and a part of Volhynia for Poland. Meanwhile he had also reconquered a part of Silesia; the Prince of Masovia also took the oath of fealty to him. He still, however, bore the title "Heir to Pomerania"; a proof that he continued to think about that country.

But it was not in his conquests and his advancement

of his realm that the true greatness of Casimir lay, but in his administration and organisation. He would not have been able to achieve any political successes had he not been intent on internal reform. In the first place, he gave Poland, which had hitherto been only a personal union of distinct countries, a centralised organisation. He unified the administration by creating new imperial offices in addition to the local offices which had existed since the times of the petty principalities. He then proceeded to improve the judicial system. He first of all



CASIMIR THE GREAT OF POLAND

Casimir III. came to the Polish throne at a time when nothing but the iron hand of a strong ruler could have saved the country from disintegration, and proved himself the wished-for man of power. He carried forward many reforms, and greatly advanced his country's prosperity.

**Teutonic
Order and
the King**

ordered the customary law, which was preserved only in oral tradition and naturally was different in the different districts, to be written down, and then had a universal code prepared for all Polish countries. He allowed the flourishing towns which lived according to the code of Kulm or Magdeburg to retain their laws,

Casimir but forbade any appeal to
Fosters National the mother towns outside
Feeling the kingdom. He substituted a superior court of

German law in every district, which decided cases according to the principles of the Magdeburg Code and the Sachsenspiegel; the magistrates of all the German villages were subordinated to this court. As the tribunal of highest instance for all local courts he established the Supreme Court of Justice at Cracow in 1356, at the head of which stood the governor of Cracow and a royal procurator-general, with seven qualified lawyers as assessors. The towns were in this way severed from Germany, and since they gradually lost any tendency to become Germanised, the national feelings of Poland were cautiously fostered and developed.

It seemed as if Casimir from the same motives had specially favoured the nobility, in order to prevent the German town element from acquiring political importance. The arrogance of the *szlachta* certainly increased from the fact of his taking the advice of assemblies of nobles; indeed, there was actually formed among the nobility a league whose head suffered the death penalty by order of the king on account of outrages which had been committed. The king, however, continued to regard the nobles as the advisers of the crown. This tendency was visible in the actions of his successors; the national opposition between Poles and Germans was then very strong.

The reorganisation of the military system was not less important. Hitherto

Poland's only the wealthy nobles had
New Military furnished troops, since the
System cost of equipment was heavy

and the landowning clergy were exempt from the duty. Casimir now decided that for the future, in order to raise the sunken state of the army, the duty of service should be imposed upon all possessors of land. Thus the citizen became equally available for the army; the clergy had to send substitutes. Regulations as to levying troops were also drawn

up. In addition to this he ordered that stone fortresses should be constructed everywhere in place of wooden; he transformed churches into castles—hence the Polish *kosciol*, Bohemian *kostel*, in the sense of church—and built good roads. The later successes of Poland were considerably influenced by these military reforms.

He took steps no less effective to advance the trade of the country, since he conferred special privileges on the towns, guaranteed security of person and property to foreign merchants, and gave them rights, built roads and bridges, founded markets, multiplied the number of fairs, opened up trade-routes into the interior, extirpated brigandage, and, what was the most important point, introduced a uniform coinage. The prosperity of the kingdom suddenly revived, and the reputation of the king grew so greatly that he was chosen to arbitrate between the Emperor Charles IV. and King Lewis of Hungary. The former of these sovereigns married at Cracow, as his fourth wife, Casimir's grand-daughter Elizabeth, and

Poland a daughter of Boguslav V.
Rich and of Pomerania. On this
Civilised occasion Casimir gave his guests, the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Cyprus, and Denmark, a brilliant reception. The event is described in the "Chronica Cracoviæ" of John of Czarnek, Archdeacon of Gnesen.

Casimir put the coping-stone on his labours when he founded, in 1364, a university at Cracow. Now, for the first time, Poland entered the ranks of civilised states, and could now perform her duty in the east of Europe. He considered in this scheme the interests of all classes, nations, and creeds. He protected the peasants from the nobles, and was therefore called the Peasants' King. He granted rights to Armenians, Jews, and others. Himself a Roman Catholic, he nevertheless instructed the Byzantine patriarch to found bishoprics in his Russian dominions.

When Casimir died in 1370 the formerly exhausted and despised Poland was a rich and respected civilised state. The old dynasty of the Piasts became extinct with him. And with him also closes the first great era of Polish history. In conformity with the arrangement which had been made respecting the succession, King Lewis of Hungary took over the government. Piasts still ruled, it is



POLAND UNDER HUNGARY: CORONATION AT CRACOW OF THE ANGEVIN KING LEWIS I. OF HUNGARY AS KING OF POLAND

true, in the petty principality of Masovia, but Casimir had been forced to exclude from the succession these ultra-conservative and insignificant relations, in the interests of the realm, which could attain greater importance only in alliance with a second power. The reign of the Angevin Lewis brought no prosperity to the country of Poland, which was regarded merely as an appanage of Hungary.

After his coronation in Cracow Lewis returned home with the Polish royal insignia, and sent his mother Elizabeth, the sister of Casimir, to Poland to act as his regent. He thought only of securing the crown of Poland for one of his daughters, since he had no male heirs, who alone were regarded in the succession treaty by Casimir. The agreement with the Polish nobles was signed at Kaschau in 1374. The king, in return, pledged himself to reconquer the lost Polish provinces, to remit the dues of the nobility except the sum of two groschen from each plough, to confer all offices only on Poles of the district concerned, and to give special pay to the military for service

rendered outside the borders of the country. He was not concerned by the thought that the military and fiscal strength of Poland was thus much reduced and that the nobility were expressly recognised as the dominant influence; indeed, he actually united Red Russia with the Hungarian throne, and sent his own governor thither. He it was, also, who largely promoted the Roman Catholic propaganda in the Russian territory, and thus generated a movement which not only cost Hungary Red Russia, but later proved most disastrous to Poland also.

The arrogance of the nobility increased during his reign, and with it disorders in the country, so much that there was no longer any justice. The property of the poor was continually plundered by the Captains and Burgraves. And when, after large payments to the Chancery, a petitioner came back from Hungary with a royal letter, the noble brigands took no notice of it at all. Merchants and travellers were continually robbed and plundered on the high-roads without the slightest interference on the part of the Captains.



GROUP OF POLISH PEASANTS AND OTHER NATIVES OF POLAND



WHEN KNIGHTHOOD WAS IN FLOWER LITHUANIA TO THE UNION WITH POLAND

ON the southern shores of the Baltic, where Nature has not marked any sharply defined limits landwards, the Slavs, Finns, and Lithuanians influenced each other reciprocally. In the first place, the Slavs, who were the earliest to found states in those parts, ruled the others. Thus, Poland, following the course of the Vistula, turned against the Prussian Lithuanians in order to set foot on the Baltic. We find the Finnish Livonians at an early period of history the vassals of the Russian princes of Polock, who ruled the whole course of the Dwina as far as the sea. The Esthonians finally became dependent on the Novgorodian Slavs on the Lake of Ilmen, who founded there Jurjev, or Dorpat, and other towns.

But when Russia became weakened by civil wars, and the princes of Polock could not, therefore, assert their authority over the tribes on the Dwina, other nations tried to gain a firm footing there. The country was more accessible from the sea than from the interior of the continent of

**Danes and
Swedes
in Livonia**

Eastern Europe, and could not escape the influence of those nations who navigated the Baltic Sea. The Danes were the first to try to settle in Livonia. The Swedes also, who navigated the whole Baltic coast and established a large emporium at Wisby on the island of Gotland, came into contact with the Finnish tribes in Livonia and Esthonia. But even they failed to achieve permanent successes.

The situation changed only when the German trading towns of the North came into prominence. Lübeck also possessed an emporium and trading factories at Wisby, but then tried to come into direct communication with the Finnish tribes without Swedish intervention. The German ship that had sailed to seek out these tribes was driven by a storm into the Gulf of Riga. The natives flocked together, as the older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle tells us, and attacked the

Germans: But when they were beaten off, they proffered peace and began to trade by barter. The founding of the castle Uxküll, usually assigned to the year 1143, really dates from four decades later. This first contact of Germans with

**The Grandeur
of the Great
Bishop Otto**

Livonians, Lithuanians, and Slavs was due purely to a commercial policy. But it did not continue so. The races of Western Europe were then permeated by a deep religious feeling. The paganism of the Finnish and Lithuanian tribes attracted attention. The awakening missionary zeal found supporters in Germany the more readily since it promised to be remunerative both in its political and economic aspects.

The first missionary of the Prussians was St. Adalbert, who enjoyed the protection of Poland. Twelve years after him, St. Bruno of Querfurt also found a martyr's death there. Boleslav III. Krzywousty carried on the work of conversion in Pomerania and Prussia on a larger scale. The man in whom he confided, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, in contrast to other missionaries who went barefooted and shabbily dressed, appeared among the Pomeranians as a mighty prince, with a brilliant suite, and supported by the Polish army. He gave beautiful clothes and other presents to the newly baptised, and met with great success.

Henry Zdik, Bishop of Olmütz, then resolved to preach the Gospel to the Prussians in the footsteps of St. Adalbert, and applied to the Curia in 1140. But it

**Converting
the
Prussians**

was not until 1144, when preparations were being made for the Second Crusade, that Pope Lucius II. negotiated with Henry about a Prussian mission. It was then determined that Bohemia, Poland, and other northern kingdoms should not be obliged to join expeditions to the Holy Land, but should undertake the conversion of the Prussians instead. The

Moravian princes, therefore, undertook, with Bishop Henry, a crusade against the Prussians in 1147. They were joined by German and Polish princes. This event may have ripened the plans at the Bohemian court for expanding in a northerly direction at the cost of Poland, and obtaining a footing on the Baltic by building castles, etc. The Prussians obstinately defended their old gods and their liberty. They improved their methods of warfare, and even ventured on invading Kujavia and Masovia.

Prussia's Preference for Its Old Gods

During the course of these events the Danes turned their attention to the Wends, and the Swedes to Finland, Livonia and Esthonia. Abbot Peter of Rheims marked out for the Finnish mission his pupil Fulko, who was consecrated bishop by the Archbishop of Lund. Pope Alexander III. gave his sanction to the plan in 1169, and conferred indulgences on all Scandinavians who would join the war against the Esthonians. Fulko was not, however, adequately supported by either side. The Christian propaganda of the Scandinavians generally met with no success.

Abbot Arnold of Lübeck, who is generally supposed to have continued the Slavonic Chronicle of Helmod, relates that Meinhard, a priest, came with the Germans to Livonia, and was the first to try to preach the Gospel to the Livonians. When he found that the harvest was good, he applied to the Archbishop of Bremen, in 1186, to inaugurate a mission on a grand scale; he also asked the Prince of Polock to allow the mission. As a reward for his successful energy in building a church and a castle at Uxküll, founding of convents, etc., the Archbishop of Bremen consecrated him Bishop of Uxküll. But when tithes were exacted from the Livonians, and they noticed their dependence on Bremen, they attacked Uxküll and dived

Livonians Abandon Christianity

into the Dwina to wash off their baptism. Meinhard, who could not leave the castle, sent his vicar, Dietrich, as an envoy to Rome, and died in 1196. His successor, Berthold, reached Livonia with an army of Crusaders, but was defeated by the Livonians in 1198.

All the baptised Livonians abandoned Christianity; they threw into the sea a wooden image which they thought to be the German god of destruction.

The Archbishop of Bremen now sent Albert of Bukshövden, in 1198, as bishop to Uxküll. King Canute of Denmark, Pope Innocent III., and several princes supported him. A crusading force of twenty-three ships now came to Livonia. The Livonians assumed the defensive, but Albert had recourse to stratagem. After concluding an armistice, he invited the oldest Livonians to a banquet, and did not let them go free until they gave their children as hostages, and promised acceptance of Christianity. The opposition of the Livonians was broken down, the children were sent to Bremen to be educated, and the Gospel was preached everywhere. In 1201, for greater security, he removed the bishopric from Uxküll to the town of Riga, which had been newly fortified by him, and lay nearer to the sea.

He then, in order to create a fighting force for himself, divided the land as fiefs among such Crusaders as were willing to settle there. When the news of the founding of Riga was spread, Esthonians, Livonians, Courlanders, and Lithuanians came to conclude peace. In order to secure absolutely the work of conversion,

Surrender of Livonia

Albert founded, in 1202, a new knightly order for Livonia on the model of the Templars. These *fratres militiae Christi* wore white cloaks with a red cross and sword on the left breast, and were therefore called *fratres ensiferi*, or *gladiferi*, sword-wielders, the order of the sword. They were subject to the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops of Riga. The master had his seat in the newly built Wenden.

In the year 1207, Albert surrendered Livonia to the Emperor Philip of Suabia as a fief. The real conquest now began. The Livonians first, and then the Letts were subjugated. The Russian principality of Polock, to which the country on the Dwina paid tribute (the two principalities of Kukenojs and Gersike belonged to it), attempted, it is true, to enforce its rights by help of the Esthonians, but it was too weak. Even Kukenojs and Gersike were conquered by the Germans, and the name of the latter soon disappears from history, although Albert agreed to the payment of a tribute for Livonia to Polock.

It was now the turn of Esthonia. The district of Sakkala, with Fellin, was first conquered; then Ungaulia. Here,



THEATRE BOULEVARD, WITH POST OFFICE AND POLICE STATION



THE GREAT PONTOON BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER DWINA



THE ORTHODOX GREEK CATHEDRAL OF RIGA

Founded in 1210, Riga presents a mixture of ancient and modern features. The old town still preserves the aspects of a Mediæval city, and there are to be seen many magnificent buildings of an early date. In 1621, Riga was captured for Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus, and, in 1710, Peter the Great took it for Russia. The illustrations give a good impression of the city and its buildings.

VIEWS OF RIGA THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF LIVONIA

however, Novgorod, to which the Esthonians paid tribute, and which had built Jurjev in those parts in 1030, came into the question. The princes also of Pskow, with the help of Novgorod, inflicted defeats on the Germans. Albert therefore turned, in 1218, to King Waldemar II. of Denmark. The Esthonians were

**The Danes
Founders
of Reval**

beaten in 1219. The Danes founded then the town and castle of Reval, and placed a bishop there, who was subordinate to the Archbishopric of Lund. The Danes and the Germans now vied with each other in the conversion of the country. The Livonian Order protested against the Danish conquest. Albert lodged charges against Waldemar in Rome and before the German Emperor, all in vain. Waldemar offered Esthonia as a fief to the Pope; the Emperor Frederic II. was involved in the preparations for a crusade. Albert was compelled, therefore, to recognise the supremacy of Denmark over Esthonia. But since Waldemar, his attention being engrossed elsewhere, abandoned the conquered countries to their fate, the Germans were able to recover their strength. In the year 1224 they took Jurjev, although it had been obstinately defended by the Prince Wjatko. Albert then conquered the islands of Mon and Oesel. The Order attacked Reval and other Danish possessions. Even the Courlanders and Semgallians on the left bank of the Dwina were subjugated in the lifetime of Albert. The Order received, after the year 1207, a third of the conquered countries for its maintenance. When Albert died, in 1229, the sovereignty of the bishopric and the Order extended over the whole of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

The successes of the Livonian Order drew the attention of all the northern states to it. The Polish prince, Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia, whose dominions had been cruelly raided by the pagan

**Preaching
to the Pagan
Prussians**

Prussians and were being overrun by the Lithuanians, formed a scheme of founding a similar knighthood. At that time Christian, a monk of the Cistercian monastery in Oliva, late Suffragan Bishop of Mainz, was preaching the Gospel to the Prussians. Pope Honorius III., to whom he appealed for assistance, raised him to the Bishopric of Lithuania and recommended him to the Archbishop of Gnesen. On his return to Prussia he could not, however,

maintain his position. Even Conrad was compelled to leave his principality. In his straits he founded an "Order of Christ," and assigned to it the territory of Dobrzyn; hence also the name "Dobrinian Order." But this Order also failed to hold its own.

Conrad now turned to the Teutonic Order, which just at this time, 1225, was expelled from Transylvania by King Andreas of Hungary. The Grand Master Hermann of Salza accepted his offer, and received as territory the district of Kulm and the regions still to be conquered. The Order took all this in 1226 as a fief from the Emperor-Frederic, and thus continued to make itself independent of the Masovian prince.

In the year 1228 Hermann Balk, the first territorial master, appeared in Prussia with a strong force of knights under the banner of the Blessed Virgin. The heathen, who were still disunited and carried on the war in bands, were driven back step by step. Good roads were laid down everywhere, and castles built. Thus, first of all, Thorn arose, then Kulm, Marienwerder and Elbing. The Prussian children were taken away and sent to

**The Teutonic
Order's
Great Power**

Germany to be educated. The pagans offered, indeed, an obstinate resistance. But the German knights were supported by the whole of Europe, while the Prussians found only here and there some slight help from their fellow tribesmen in Lithuania.

While the Teutonic Order thus grew stronger, the news suddenly came from Livonia that the Order in that country, being inadequately supported by the West and threatened by an overwhelming force of Livonians, Danes and Russians, was on the verge of being dissolved. In order to save the new offshoot, it was proposed to combine the two foundations. The Knights of the Sword were incorporated in the Teutonic Order in 1237, adopted its badges and dress, and henceforward formed a province of the Teutonic Order, without, however, disowning their duties toward the Bishop of Riga and the Prince of Polock. The amalgamation was advantageous for both parties. A powerful German state was now formed on the southern coast of the Baltic, to which the Lithuanians, Finns and Slavs were subordinated. Its superiority in culture, warfare, and government soon made the Order a menace to the Russians and the Poles.

LITHUANIA TO THE UNION WITH POLAND

Knights flocked to the territory of the Order from all parts of Europe. Luxury and magnificence, with a constant round of brilliant tournaments and banquets, were the order of the day at Marienburg, the seat of the Grand Master, and in the other castles. Possibly no royal court in Europe, not excepting that of the emperor himself, offered such pleasures and distractions to the knights as the court of Marienburg. This was the training college for the young knights, who naturally went there in preference to Palestine. Every year foreign knights assembled in the domains of the Order to take part in the campaigns. "Journeys" were made to Lithuania, when the lakes and morasses were frozen. The country was completely ravaged, the inhabitants were carried off, and the villages burnt. The Lithuanians then did the same, only in larger

up in consequence of the dissensions of the princely family and with the popular assemblies, the contending parties often called in the help of their neighbours, and in this way Lithuania was drawn into Russian affairs. By the first half of the thirteenth century Lithuanian principalities had arisen on Russian soil. Towards

"Black Russia" the middle of the thirteenth century Mendog, or the Prize Mindove, came into prominence as ruler of Lithuania.

He appears to have been the first who, as "Grand Duke" treated the other petty princes as vassals. But his position was difficult. Not only did the lords of Halicz and Vladimir fight against him for the possession of Black Russia, but his kinsmen pressed on him still more heavily. Even the people, dissatisfied with his imperious policy, turned against him; the



THE CASTLE OF REVAL, THE PRINCIPAL CITY OF ESTHONIA

The history of Reval dates back to the thirteenth century, when it was founded as a Danish town. It was sold, in 1346, to the Teutonic knights by Denmark; it became Swedish in 1561, and in 1710 it was captured by Peter the Great.

numbers, since the domains of the Order were thickly populated and studded with castles. The Teutonic knights succeeded after a time in winning a party for themselves among the Lithuanians; the wealthier and shrewder pagans were forced ultimately to acknowledge that Christianity was better, the culture of the

The Pagans' Tribute to Christianity

Order higher, and their way of life more pleasant. At the moment when the danger from the Teutonic Order was the greatest, Lithuania unexpectedly found a new source of strength in the surrounding Russian territory. The adjoining district of Polock had severed itself earlier than the other Russian principalities from the control of Kiev. Since there also, as formerly in the Russia of the twelfth century, several petty principalities sprang

more so as the prince, although still a pagan, was not disinclined towards the Christian religion, which was introduced there from Russia.

The result was the formation of two parties in Lithuania. The one represented the national element, and defended the national language, customs, and religion; the Christian, which was already the stronger party, inclined toward Russia. At the head of the latter party stood Mendog's son Vojchelk, an enterprising character, who was devoted to the Greek Church with the full zeal of his fiery soul. He entered a convent, and his dearest wish was to end his days on Mount Athos, as many sovereigns of Oriental Christendom had done. But what Mendog wished was some relaxation in the struggle against the

Livonian and Teutonic Orders; instead of which both parties launched him into a still more obstinate war with the Orders, and, in addition, with Russia. Red Russia now entered on the scene against Lithuania with all its forces; a better understanding between it and the Teutonic knights had been effected. Both sides fought for the possession of Black Russia. If the princes of Halicz had succeeded in uniting Black Russia with their possessions, a new power, with the Little Russians for its chief supporters, would have been formed, owing to the internal dissensions of Lithuania and the disintegration with which Russia was threatened from the south-east through the Tartar ascendancy.

But the wily Lithuanian understood how to cripple all his foes. He first professed his willingness to accept Christianity. Innocent IV. sent him the royal crown, and Mendog received it and the rite of baptism at Novgorod, in 1250. In this way a friendly understanding was promoted between him and the Livonian Order. By ceding to the latter the whole region of Smud, he revenged himself also on that national party which refused to recognise his overlordship.

Mendog also concluded a treaty with the Prince of Red Russia in 1255, and ceded Black Russia to him as a fief. His son Vojschelk married a daughter of the prince of the former. The people soon rose in Smud against the Livonian Order, and were willing now to accept Mendog's rule. Mendog vigorously

supported this movement; the Order suffered a decisive defeat, and was compelled once more to cede all the Lithuanian provinces. In this way the power of the Grand Duke in Lithuania was strengthened. For although Mendog was murdered in 1263, others aimed at the position of Grand Duke. Lithuania had now, therefore, to face the same struggle for the constitution as Russia, Poland, and other Slavonic countries.

The family of Mendog had made a power out of Lithuania; but it was the lot of another Lithuanian family to raise Lithuania into a great power—the family, that is, whose representative, Gedymin, was Grand Duke in 1316. The state of Lithuania had already acquired a quite different aspect. Its swamps and lakes were not its only fortifications, but the country was covered with castles and walled towns. An improved method of warfare had been learnt from the Germans. Russian culture permeated public and private life; the Russian language was the language of the



A PILGRIMAGE SCENE AT THE CHAPEL OF OSTRO BRAMA IN WILNA

Church, the court, and the nobility; the princely chancery used no language except Russian; the Lithuanian army consisted to a large extent of Russian troops, and was often led by Russians.

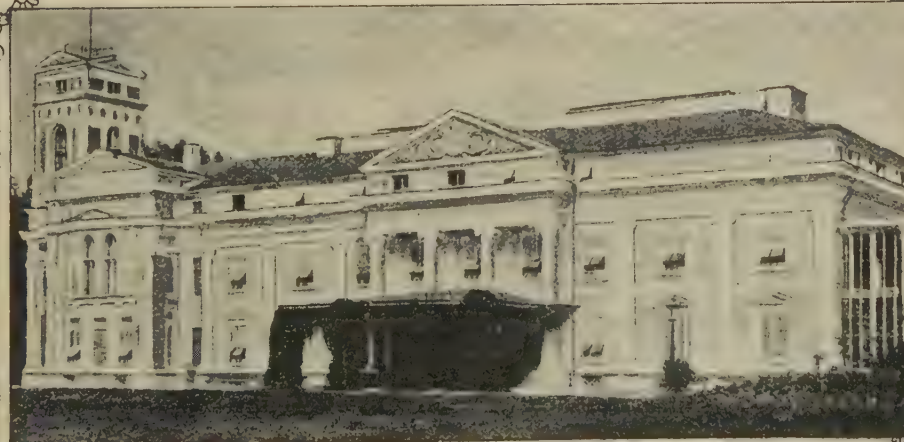
As a sort of Russian state, Lithuania was able to expand more easily on Russian territory. Gedymin had several Russian principalities. His rule was actually greeted with joy in the regions occupied by the Tartars.



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL OF WILNA



GENERAL VIEW SHOWING THE BRIDGE OF ZARETCHIE



PALACE OF WERKI, THE SEAT OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNOR
VIEWS IN WILNA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF LITHUANIA

The Lithuanians defeated even the dreaded Mongols, who were reckoned invincible. Kiev itself oscillated now between the Lithuanian and the Tartar ruler. Russian districts composed with it the predominant part of the Lithuanian state, which, under Gedymin, was the first power of Eastern Europe. Although still

The Founding of Lithuania's Capital City a pagan, Gedymin married Russian princesses, and allowed them to live according to the Christian faith and

educate their children in it. He married his son Olgerd to a princess of Witebsk, his second son to a princess of Volhynia; one daughter to Prince Symeon of Moscow, and another to the Prince of Tver. Aldona wedded Casimir of Poland; the fourth daughter, Boleslav Trojdenovicz of Masovia. He sent colonists into the wide deserts, and built towns and villages, to which he gave privileges of the German type.

He founded Wilna, the future capital of Lithuania, transferred the pagan sanctuary thither in 1322, and had the sacred fire kindled there before the altar of Perkunas. At the same time he entered into negotiations with the Pope, obviously only to hold the Teutonic Order in check. In 1336 the Grand Master Dietrich of Altenburg (1335-1341) once more organised a great "journey" to Lithuania. The knights marched on Smud; and Pillene, where some four thousand Lithuanians, with their wives and children, were shut in, was besieged. Fire decided the fate of the wooden fortress and its valiant defenders.

Gedymin met his death in 1340 or 1341, at the fortress of Welona when it was besieged by the Germans, having been struck by a cannon-ball; use was therefore made of the invention of gunpowder earlier than at Crecy in 1346. Following the precedent of Russia, Gedymin had legalised the dignity of Grand Duke, and attached it to the possession of Wilna.

Pagan Burial for a Christian Leader Javnut was marked out to be Grand Duke. His other six sons—Monvid, Narymunt, Koriat, Olgerd,

Kejstut and Lubart—divided the rest of the kingdom between them. Olgerd and Kejstut stood out conspicuously among them. The former obtained Lithuania proper, with Krevo and the territory of Witebsk; Kejstut, on the other hand, obtained Smud, with Troki as capital, Grodno, and Berestie in Black Russia.

Olgerd was a strong and handsome man, of fine intellect and political insight, and, what was rare in his days, sober and abstemious. He understood several languages, and was not addicted to play. A crafty leader, he did not even inform his troops on the march to what goal he was leading them. Olgerd was the representative of the Christian party among the Russians. His wives and children were Christians. According to Russian authorities he was a Christian himself, although the foreign chroniclers assert that his corpse was burnt on a funeral pyre; perhaps the pagan priests wished this to be so.

Kejstut, an honest nature, a typical knight in every sense, and an impetuous spirit, was deified by the people as the representative of the national paganism. He unselfishly helped his brother to obtain the grand-ducal power, and was his most loyal subject, friend and guardian. Himself a pagan by honest conviction, he was the last Lithuanian prince who was buried according to heathen customs. Both added to the greatness and fame of Lithuania. While Olgerd as Grand Duke united Russian principalities with Lithuania, conquered Kiev itself, and so advanced the frontiers as far south as the Tartar tribes of the Black Sea and eastward beyond the Dnieper, Kejstut took over the protection of the western frontier and the war with the combined knightly Orders.

The chroniclers record many noble features in the life of this great hero. Kejstut rescued by his intercession the commandant of a castle of the Order who was sentenced by the Lithuanians to be burnt; he also forcibly expressed his displeasure when corpses were wantonly mutilated on the battlefield. If he planned an attack into the knights' country he used to announce his intention to their commanders, and he naturally expected similar chivalrous treatment from the Order. When Covno was suddenly attacked by the knights in 1362, he lodged a protest against such conduct before the far-famed Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351-1382). On one occasion, being made prisoner and brought to Marienburg, he was recognised and secretly liberated by Alf, the servant assigned to him, a Lithuanian by birth. Kejstut was almost beloved by the Order on account of his chivalrous spirit. Once,

when, after the unsuccessful siege of a castle, he was compelled to cross a river and was nearly drowned, the marshal Henning Schindekopf drew him out of the water and refused to make him prisoner.

For forty years Kejstut unweariedly defended Lithuania, by the people of which he was extolled as their first national hero. The Order was not able to make any conquests there in his time. In spite of his support of paganism, Christianity itself continued to make greater and greater progress in Kejstut's dominions, although there were naturally many martyrs. Roman Catholicism alone could strike no root there. Both the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, which had existed in Wilna under Gedymin, were suspended under Olgerd. When, then, they were revived by the Boyar Gastold, who went over to Catholicism to please his wife, a band of pagans attacked Gastold's house and killed seven monks; the others were crucified and thrown into the river.

Lithuania in its victorious career was bound sooner or later to come into contact with Moscow and the Tartars; both, indeed, aimed at the same goal—the union of Russia in their hands. If Olgerd beat the Tartars, his success could find only a joyful response in the hearts of the Russians. It was therefore easy for him to subjugate one Russian district after another. There was no fundamental distinction between Russia and Lithuania under Olgerd's régime. Only in Moscow existed any dangerous rival to the Lithuanian princes. Olgerd was able to postpone the decisive blow. He died, however, in 1377.

After Olgerd, Kejstut, as the senior of the family, ought to have mounted the grand ducal throne; but in accordance with a wish of his brother, he renounced his claim in favour of his nephew Jagiello. The latter was of a different disposition from his father, Olgerd. He dragged on a dull existence without lofty aspirations. Contrary to precedent, Jagiello allied himself with the Tartars, nominally in order to confront Moscow with their help. He then, by an equally gross breach with the traditions of his house, made secret overtures to the Teutonic Order. He was assisted in this by one of his crown councillors named Vojdylo, whom Kejstut

had offended on some occasion. Jagiello did not concern himself about the repeated attacks of the knights; in fact, he concluded with the Order a secret treaty which was aimed at Kejstut.

Kejstut, greatly annoyed, surprised Wilna, took his nephew prisoner, and discovered the original text of the treaty with the Order. He then mounted the grand ducal throne himself, gave Witebsk and Krevo to Jagiello, and then set him completely at liberty, with no other condition than that he should hang the traitor Vojdylo. Then a second relation, Dmitri Korybut, rose against Kejstut. Jagiello brought up his forces, nominally to the aid of Kejstut, but led them against Wilna and took it. The knights of the Order, who were allied with Jagiello, soon advanced. Troki, Kejstut's residence, was taken and sacked. Kejstut quickly collected forces to save his castles. Jagiello then implored Kejstut's son Witold, a friend of his, to intervene, since he did not wish to shed blood. Kejstut and Witold went, on the guarantee of a third person, into the camp of Jagiello, and were then thrown into chains. Cast into a gloomy dungeon at Krewo, Kejstut was found strangled there on the fifth day, in 1382. His body was burnt according to pagan rites.

Witold, who had made good his escape, went to Masovia and thence to the territory of the Order. Baptised according to Catholic rites, he took the name of his sponsor, Wigand, commander of Ragnit, 1383. The Order, to which Witold-Wigand promised to cede Saimaiten, north of the river Memel, in the event of his having no issue, welcomed the new ally. But in the latter the old, and therefore more intense, hatred for the Teutonic knights quickly overpowered his momentary thirst for vengeance. He had barely concluded the treaty with the Order when he sought and obtained a reconciliation with Jagiello. The most salient feature of Witold's character was a pronounced sympathy with Lithuania. If he could not reach the desired goal by the straight road, he did not, on occasion, hesitate at dubious methods. Here, however, the separate history of Lithuania closes. In 1386 Jagiello was baptised, and wedded Hedwig of Poland. The union of the crowns merges Lithuania into Poland.

**National
Hero's
Tragic End**

**Lithuania's
Career
of Victory**

**Union of
Lithuania
and Poland**



HISTORICAL MAPS OF POLAND AND WESTERN RUSSIA FROM THE YEAR 1300 TILL 1660



UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

STAGES IN THE NATION'S DEVELOPMENT

WHEN King Lewis I. of Hungary and Poland died at Tyrnau, on September 11th, 1382, according to the tenor of the treaty of Kashau, concluded in 1374, one of his daughters was to obtain the Polish crown. He had three daughters—Catharine, Maria, and Hedwig. Catharine was originally intended for Poland, Maria was wedded to Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Hedwig was betrothed to Duke William of Austria. When Catharine had predeceased her father, the Polish succession was proposed for Maria. But this was hardly acceptable for Poland. Since Poland had been greatly neglected by Lewis, it wished to acknowledge only that one of his daughters who would pledge herself to reside with her husband in the country. Sigismund, the prospective king of Hungary, could not possibly consent to such an arrangement. Casimir the Great had

Candidates for the Polish Crown

wished first to strengthen his country economically, in order to be able to show a bolder front against the Teutonic Order—the most dangerous of Poland's foes, since it was supported by all Western Europe; with this object he had concluded a series of treaties with his neighbours. When he concluded the succession treaty with his nephew Lewis of Hungary, the latter had to give a pledge that he would reconquer the lost provinces of Poland with his own forces. From whom? Obviously only from the Order. But Lewis had procrastinated; the Polish atmosphere did not please him. The Order thus increased, and with it the German element. As a result of this, the national feeling and the hatred of the Germans grew so strong, both in Poland and Lithuania, that any candidate would have been more acceptable to the Poles and Lithuanians than the Margrave of Brandenburg. The Polish statesmen were aware that if Sigismund obtained the crown of Poland this would involve the

loss of its independence. When, even in the lifetime of his father-in-law, he had come to Poland at the head of a small army in order to receive homage, his entry into Cracow was barred; only the towns, where the German element predominated, received him cordially. Sigismund was compelled, therefore, to leave Poland without having achieved his purpose. And so the matter rested, since he could not obtain any firm footing at first even in Hungary.

Sigismund's Thwarted Purpose

The Polish throne was thus once more regarded as vacant. Prince Ziemko of Masovia soon came forward, supported by a large party and the Archbishop Bodzanta of Gnesen, who actually proclaimed him king when the envoys of the queen mother Elizabeth—who died in 1387—appeared, with the declaration that Hedwig, who was born in 1369, and who was destined for the Polish throne, would soon come to Cracow for coronation. But after vainly waiting a long time for Hedwig, the Poles began to lose patience. The matter was not so simple. In the first place, the queen widow was herself in danger. Next, Hedwig, although just thirteen years old, was betrothed to William of Austria, whom the Poles could never accept, and who would not consent to give up Hedwig. Only after a declaration that the claims of Hedwig on the Polish crown would be regarded as waived if she did not appear within two

A Girl of Fifteen on the Throne

months in Poland, did Elizabeth resolve to send her daughter to Poland. Hedwig, now a child of barely fifteen years, came to Cracow at the beginning of October, 1384, accompanied by the Archbishop of Gran and the Bishop of Csanad, and was crowned on October 15th. The first important step taken by the Polish statesmen had succeeded. The question now remained to find a suitable husband for the young queen.

National and religious considerations led the Poles to Lithuania. Poland as well as Lithuania fought against the Teutonic Order as their common and deadly enemy. Only by combined efforts could they hope to crush it. At the same time the thought of a union was not new. Vladislav Lokietok, when pressed hard

**Lithuania
in the Grip
of Germans**

by the Knights, had married his son Casimir to Aldona, a daughter of Gedymin. The idea then still prevailed that even single-handed they were a match for the Germans. But Lithuania was now torn by party feuds. New and stronger German castles arose on its soil and gripped it with iron arms. Another circumstance also favoured the rapprochement. Lithuania had been zealously addicted to paganism, but the number of the Christians now increased continually. Kejstut, the last pagan on the throne, was now dead. Lithuania was thus, from political and religious reasons, ripe for a union with Poland, and it is easy for two nations to form a sincere alliance when a great danger threatens both.

We do not know from which side the suggestion came. But since the prospect of missionary work on a large scale in Lithuania and the whole East was thus opened up to the Catholic Church of Poland, and since Kmita, the provincial friend of Jagiello, we may suppose that apart from the nobility of Little Poland, who turned the scale and zealously advocated the union of the two states—the Franciscans chiefly prepared the ground in Lithuania. The view that paganism could nowhere be tolerated was then very strong in Europe; the Order owed to it the friendship of Western Europe. But if this pretext, which furnished its chief source of strength in the struggle against Lithuania, were to be cut away, Lithuania must inevitably accept Christianity. Then

**The Wooing
of Poland's
Young Queen**

only could the power of the Roman Church, which was still the decisive force in Europe, be made useful. The fact that Jagiello with his whole people resolved to accept Christianity shows that, in spite of his low moral character, he was a far-sighted statesman, with a clear notion of diplomacy.

In the early days of the year 1385 a Lithuanian embassy to Cracow formally asked Hedwig's hand for their prince

Jagiello. No decision could be made without consulting Hedwig's mother; and messengers were, therefore, sent to Elizabeth. The dislike felt by the Magyars for Sigismund and William caused a decision in favour of Jagiello. It was certainly withdrawn again, and William himself appeared in Cracow, where romantic love passages took place between him and the young queen. But any opposition was wrecked on the firmness of the Polish grandees.

On February 12th, 1386, Jagiello made his entry into Cracow after he had accepted all the conditions proposed. He promised to throw himself into the bosom of the Catholic Church with all his still unbaptised brothers and relations, all the nobles, and all the inhabitants of his country, rich or poor, and to devote his treasures to the use of both kingdoms. Further, he promised to pay Duke William of Austria the forfeit of 200,000 gulden, which was entailed by the repudiation of the marriage contract, to make good at his own cost all the encroachments and curtailments to which the Polish Empire had been subjected, to

**A Series
of Royal
Marriages**

release all Polish prisoners of both sexes, and to unite forever his Lithuanian and Russian dominions with the Polish crown. Everything now depended on Hedwig. It was plainly put to her that she would not only serve her own country, but would perform a meritorious action in the sight of God, if a whole region was won for Christianity through her instrumentality. Besides this, the news from Hungary must have forced Hedwig to come to a determination, where the royal power was grievously imperilled, and her mother's life in danger. On February 15th, Jagiello was baptised, together with those of his brothers and kinsmen who were present. The office of sponsor, which had been declined by the Grand Master Conrad of Rotenstein (1382-1390), fell to Vladislav of Oppeln, whence Jagiello received in baptism the name of Vladislav II. Then followed the marriage and the coronation, on March 4th, 1386. After that, Wigand, the king's brother, married the daughter of Vladislav of Oppeln, Prince Janusz of Ratibor married Helene, niece of the king, and Prince Ziemko of Masovia the king's sister, Alexandra. Vladislav II., Jagiello of Lithuania, was not at first hereditary monarch of Poland, but merely

UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

prince consort and regent of the empire. The name of his dynasty is perhaps more familiar in the form Jagellon.

There is no more important event in the history of the Polish people, with the exception of the conversion to Christianity, than the union of Lithuania with Poland, which was completed in the year 1386. It gave a quite different aspect to the Eastern question, and completely changed

the course of history. Poland, itself too small to play any part in the midst of powerful neighbours, had first leaned upon Hungary. But that policy had not proved to her advantage; Polish interests, especially as against the Order, had been neglected, whereas Poland and Lithuania had now hardly anything more to fear from the Teutonic Knights. Indeed, the Order, when dealing with a Christianised Lithuania, lost its *raison d'être*. Soon not merely the emperor, but the Pope, declared publicly that the Order had now fulfilled its task. Later Popes forbade the expeditions among the heathen and any injury to Lithuania; a century had hardly elapsed after the baptism of Jagiello when it was proposed that the Knights should be transplanted to Podolia, and be employed in the war against the Turks and Tartars. Besides this, the position of Poland in the new treaty with Lithuania was far more favourable than had been the case in the treaty with Hungary. Poland, as a result of these changes, now stood higher

in every respect than Lithuania. Further, Jagiello, a thoroughly selfish character, had, in return for the crown of Poland, formally given up his country to the Poles. Poland was the recipient, Lithuania the donor, if we disregard the free constitution, the new religion, and the culture which the Poles had to give to the Lithuanians. Henceforward the will of the Polish king was all important in

Lithuania, or rather, since he himself was of little consequence, the will of the Polish nobles and the Catholic priesthood. Lithuania, three times as large as Poland, sank into an appanage of the Polish crown. Hitherto there had been in Eastern Europe three political centres, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, not to speak of the Tartars, but now the largest of them, Lithuania, suddenly ceased to exist. Henceforward only Poland and Russia confronted each other, and the time was approaching when the question would be decided which of the two was to dominate Eastern Europe.



VLADISLAV III. THE BOY KING OF HUNGARY & POLAND

Brief, but stirring, was the reign of this youthful monarch. He was barely fifteen years of age when, in 1440, a Hungarian embassy arriving in Poland, offered him the throne of his late father, Vladislav II. Fighting against the Turks, the young king fell at Varna in 1444.

When the first frosts came in the winter of 1386-1387, Jagiello, accompanied by princes and *grandeess*, and by numerous priests and Franciscan monks as spiritual leaders of the undertaking, marched to his home in order, according to his promise, to baptise his subjects. At the beginning of January, 1387, when the ice built firm bridges everywhere in that country of rivers, lakes, and marshes, the Polish mission appeared at Wilna. It was just

after the long autumn festivities, a time when the supplies of the Lithuanians began to fail. The missionaries, however, brought a quantity of corn, new white linen robes, and other presents for those about to be baptised, and appeared in state just as Otto, the apostle of Pomerania, had formerly done. The will of the prince had still more weight in Lithuania. Besides this, Vladislav Jagiello, in order to win over the nobles, conferred on all Catholic Boyars, as from February 20th, 1387, the "Polish right"—that is, all the liberties which the Polish nobility possessed.

This was the first charter of Lithuania. Concurrently, the Catholic Church was organised by the creation and splendid endowment of a bishopric at Wilna, with seven parish churches at Miednicki, Meszagole, Wilkomierz, Krevo, Niemerczyn, Hajnovo, and Obolcza. The first bishop was the Franciscan Vasylo, a Pole, formerly confessor of Queen Elizabeth, and then Bishop of Sereth. The wooden image of the god Perkunas stood on the highest summit of the town of Wilna. The flames of the unapproachable Znicz still darted forth on the oak-planted square as the missionary procession came up the hill, singing holy songs. The sacred oaks were felled, the "eternal" fire was quenched. A thundering Te Deum announced to the people the dawn of a new era. Not a hand was raised to protect the old gods. Men and women were then led to the river, and whole companies received a Christian name—one to each batch. Distinguished Boyars had the honour of separate baptism.

The same ceremony was performed in the surrounding country. The number of those who were then baptised is put at 30,000. By the end of July, 1387, Jagiello was again in Cracow, and informed the Pope that Lithuania was converted. "Among all kings of the world

Lithuania thou, dear son, holdest the first
Adopts place in our heart," answered
Christianity Urban VI., whose sternness in 1378 caused the great schism.

But when he further said, "Rejoice, my son, that thou hast been found again like a hidden treasure and hast escaped destruction," these words, transferred to the political world, aptly represented the true state of affairs. Even in Germany there was a prophecy that all states would disappear except Poland and Lithuania.

Various petty states of Eastern Europe now sought support from the newly created empire of Poland-Lithuania; Hungary, for example, was just then crippled by internal disturbances. Soon after the coronation the petty princes of North Russia, mostly vassals of Lithuania, began to do homage to the now powerful Grand Duke. While Vladislav Jagiello still remained in Lithuania, Hedwig personally received the homage of Red Russia, which, since the times of Casimir the Great, belonged half to the Hungarian, half to the Polish crown, but had received from Lewis the Great a Magyar Starost-General. In Lemberg the brothers Peter and Roman who, as voivodes of Moldavia, were, properly speaking, Hungarian vassals, did homage to the Lithuanian; the Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev read out the formula of the oath according to the orthodox rites. In the year 1390, a second Hungarian vassal, Prince Mircea the Elder of Wallachia, did homage. In the course of the next years the voivodes of Bessarabia and Transylvania did the same, and their successors renewed this oath. In the north

The New the fear of the German-Livonian
Empire's Order and of Moscow, in the
Wide Power south the fear of the Turks, drove those small princes to seek refuge under the great ruler. The sphere of the influence of Poland-Lithuania expanded now from sea to sea.

Meanwhile, the Teutonic Order had acquired more and more territory by purchase and treaty. It roused up opposition against Vladislav Jagiello at Rome and at every European court. The situation became especially grave, since in every negotiation it constantly invoked the intervention of the empire, and required actual obedience from Lithuanian princes. Vladislav of Oppeln submitted to the Grand Master of Wallenrod himself (1391-1393) a scheme for the partition of Poland. Poland-Lithuania was, however, not free from blame. In dire straits treaties were made with the Knights, and some territory was actually ceded; but there was bitter feeling against every arbitrator who assigned the land in question to the Germans. There was no rupture to be feared in the lifetime of Hedwig, whose father, Lewis, had been a patron of the Order. But after her death, in 1399, the decision could not long be postponed. Witold, Jagiello's cousin, was especially eager for war.

UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

In the year 1410, Germany had three kings or emperors, Wenzel, Jost, and Sigismund, and would therefore bring no help to the Order. Lithuania enlisted Bohemian mercenaries and secured the aid of the Tartars. Witold incited the Samaiten country to revolt, although he had previously given 150 hostages to the Order. There was nothing left for these poor wretches except to hang themselves on the doors of their prisons. The Russian vassals of Lithuania marched also to their assistance. Nevertheless, the operations were by no means easy.

and Zbigniew Olesnicki, later Bishop of Cracow and first statesman of Poland, took part in the battle. Contemporaries probably realised the far-reaching effects of this event more than the writers of the present day; John Dlugosz, soon after 1457, urged that the spoils should be kept for ever in the Church, and that the anniversary should be commemorated in perpetuity.

The Order, it is true, tried its fortune repeatedly afterwards, but always without success. If Vladislav II. Jagiello had been a true soldier he could easily have



ARMED POLISH NOBLEMAN AND A "HAIDUK" OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Teutonic Order, then the only power in Europe which could mobilise its forces in a fortnight, had splendid artillery, excellent cavalry, and a large body of mercenaries at its disposal. In culture it stood on a distinctly higher level than Poland.

The Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen anticipated Poland with a declaration of war. The first engagement took place in the territory of the Order at Grünwald and Tannenberg, on July 15th, 1410; the army of the Order was annihilated. The Polish army for the first time sang the *Te Deum* in the Polish language. The chief credit of the victory belongs to Witold. Dlugosz, father of the celebrated historian,

made himself master of Marienburg, for treachery was rife. Many of the Knights collected their money and goods and fled to Germany. The writer who completed the "Chronicle of the Land of Prussia," which had been commenced by Johann von Posilge, an official of Riesenbourg, deceased in 1405, laments the fact. In spite of the comparatively favourable treaty of Thorn on February 1st, 1411, the fall of the Teutonic Order was inevitable. The Electoral College recommended the protection of the Order to the Emperor Sigismund, and Charles VI. of France issued a warning to Poland; but such steps were of little avail.

With the collapse of the power of the Order, the influence of Germany, both national and political on Eastern Europe was broken. The empire lost its magic charm there, while Poland became a great European power; the Hussite movement, for example, became possible only after 1410. The Slavonic spirit grew so strong that even German culture could not hold its own. The effect of the year 1386, enhanced by the year 1410, thus signifies an important crisis for the Western and Northern Slavs, whose subjugation would certainly otherwise have been accomplished, as well as a revival of the Slavonic movement.

Vladislav II. Jagiello and Hedwig had done great services in raising the level of Polish civilisation. Hedwig first endowed a college at the University of Prague for such Lithuanians as studied theology there, and then obtained permission from Pope Boniface IX. to found a theological faculty in Cracow. Finally she left her fortune to the University of Cracow, so that in the year 1400 it was able to leave the hamlet of Bawol, near Cracow, and settle in its own buildings in the city. The king himself and the highest officials registered their names as the first among 200 students. Peter Wysz began with lectures in the presence of the king. After 1410 it was possible to equip the university still better, and it soon flourished. Nicholas Copernicus studied theology, medicine, mathematics and astronomy there in 1491. Schools were provided, churches built, art studied.

The Pomeranian duke Boguslav, formerly an ally of the Order, now did homage to the Polish king. Duke Ernest the Iron of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a brother of that William who met with such humiliating treatment in 1385, went to Cracow in 1412, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Poland, and married a niece of the

**The Beautiful
Ancestress of
the Hapsburgs**

king, the daughter of Ziemko of Masovia, Cimburbis, or Cecilia, who created a sensation by her physical strength, her beauty, and her "large lips." She became in 1415 the mother of Emperor Frederic III., and thus—after the hereditary Countess Johanna von Pfirtdt, who died in 1351—the second great ancestress of the house of Hapsburg; at the same time she attained a similarly high dignity in

house of Wettin, since her daughter the Margaretha, who died in 1486, was married to the elector Frederic II. the Clement. The Emperor Sigismund himself, who even before Tannenberg had invaded the Cracovian territory, concluded a truce with Poland, and from November 8th, 1412, pledged the thirteen towns of the Zips district to Vladislav Jagiello. In fact, just when the Hussite movement was at its height, embassies appeared several times in Cracow to offer the crown of Bohemia also to the Polish king.

But this scheme, like the further progress of Poland, was wrecked on the personality of the king. Vladislav II. Jagiello, uneducated and sensual, without energy and deficient in military ability, was not the man who might have served a great empire, burdened with a difficult constitution in critical times, although from his position as Grand Duke of Lithuania he was invaluable as a visible sign of the union, and was clever enough to adapt himself to the new situation. He was, besides, too indifferent in most matters. His nobles, especially the bishops, managed everything. Nevertheless,

**Vladislav II.
Cultured but
Effeminate**

a certain progress is observable in him if we picture to ourselves how he once had governed despotically as a pagan; while he now had to rule a Catholic people within almost constitutional limits. Transplanted to another soil, his disposition underwent a change; from a rude barbarian he became a soft-hearted and absolutely effeminate character. He towered above the princes of Moscow, for example, in culture. Illuminated by the glory of a great victory, and as the suzerain of many princes, he loved to appear in magnificent state, like his brother-in-law Sigismund, for whom he always showed a certain weakness. He rode with a suite of 100 knights and an escort of 6,000 or 8,000 horse. He was so generous that the story ran in the territory of the Order that he had won the Polish crown by bribery, and his successors completely squandered the crown lands. Vladislav Jagiello was four times married. After the death of Hedwig in 1399 he married the daughter of the Count of Cilli, a granddaughter of Casimir the Great and sister of that Barbara who, having married, as her second husband, Sigismund in 1408, died as empress widow in 1451; next, Elizabeth Granovska; and, finally, in 1422, he

UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

espoused, through the mediation of Witold, the Russian princess Sofie Oltzanska of Kiev, who died in 1461. He died on May 31st, 1434, at Grodek, having almost attained the age of eighty-six years.

His successors, called after him Jagellons, ruled in Poland until 1572 as elective, not hereditary, kings. In the fifteenth century Poland reached the highest point in her political history, while in the sixteenth her civilisation was at its zenith.

Some years after the death of Vladislav II. Jagiello, who had left two sons, Vladislav (III.) and Casimir IV. (Andreas), a Hungarian embassy appeared in Poland in 1440, which offered the crown of St. Stefan to Vladislav III., a boy of barely fifteen years. Fear of the Turks had caused this recourse to powerful Poland. This time not merely the notables of the national party, but also the bishops, even Olesnicki of Cracow, the all-powerful leader of Polish policy, counselled acceptance of the offer. It was worth the struggle against the unbelievers. Poland also had interests in the south. This led, therefore, to the first war against the Otto-

Young King Falls Fighting the Ottomans mans. The young king fell at Varna on November 10th, 1444. The Hungarians had, it is true, chosen Matthias Corvinus king in 1458, and the Bohemians, George of Podiebrad. But after the death of the two, the Bohemians first, and then the Hungarians, by the choice of Vladimír (II.), a son of Casimir, fell back upon the house of the Jagellons. This family retained the crowns of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia until 1526, when Lewis, son of Vladislav II., fell as the last of the Bohemian-Hungarian branch at Mohacs.

More important for the Polish Empire than the acquisition of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary was the victorious advance to the Baltic. The Teutonic Knights had often tried after 1410 to retrieve their losses. Poland was compelled to wage a tedious war against them during the years 1420-1430; the campaign flagged greatly. But the dissolution of the Order could not be staved off. The estates of the country, dissatisfied with the rule of the Knights, took up a hostile attitude; the "Lizard League" founded in 1397, and the Prussian League of 1440, were openly and secretly aimed against the Order. Men once more took courage and tried to effect a rupture.

After the Emperor Frederic III. in 1453 had issued the command that the league was to be dissolved, the latter resolved to submit to the Polish king, Casimir IV. Andreas. In February, 1454, twelve members of the league appeared in Cracow and offered the Polish king the possession of Prussia. Cardinal Olesnicki tried to dissuade him. But Casimir accepted it without hesitation, and immediately nominated the spokesman of the Knights of the Lizard, Hans von Baisen, to be governor, awarded to the Prussian estates the rights of salvage, etc., and freed the towns from the harbour dues known as poundage. The Order, defeated and actually driven out of Marienburg, was forced to accept on October 19th, 1466, the unpalatable second treaty of Thorn.

The whole of Western Prussia, with Marienburg, Thorn, Danzig, Elbing, and Kulm, fell to Poland, and Ludwig von Ehrlichshausen (1449-1469) was compelled to take the oath of fealty to the King of Poland for East Prussia. Every Grand Master, six months after election, was to swear the oath of loyalty to the king for himself and his followers. The Master was to recognise no superior—Poland excepted—but the Pope, and to conclude no alliances or treaties without the sanction of the king. Prussia and Poland were to remain united for ever. Immediately afterwards "suitable persons" from the subjects of the Polish kingdom were added to the Prussian houses of the Teutonic Order, on condition that they should not compose more than half the members of the Order, but should be also eligible to half its offices. The Grand Master further could not be deprived of his office without the king's knowledge. A long chapter in Polish history was thus closed. "With reluctance I saw," said Dlugosz, "how Polish territory hitherto was divided among different nations, and I count myself and my contemporaries happy in having been allowed to live to see this territory won back again."

Poland's Lost Territory Won Back

Poland thus obtained a large town population, of which she had long and deeply felt the want. The possession of the mouth of the Vistula and a firm foothold on the Baltic Sea was of inestimable value to Poland, although she did not make full use of it for the development of her trade, or succeed in making the townsfolk Polish.



THE WEDDING TOILET OF A YOUNG LADY OF THE BOYARS
From the painting by C. G. Makowsky.



THE NEW DOMINION OF POLAND LITHUANIA'S PLACE IN THE DUAL MONARCHY

MORE important for Poland than its foreign relations was the internal development—that is, the development of the constitution in the young dual monarchy and the other relations between Poland and Lithuania. The chief task was to secure for all future time the union which had early been accompanied by such great successes. The solution of this and many other problems devolved upon Poland.

There could be no doubt as to the foundation on which the constitution was to be based. The Catholic religion was certainly the standard by which all reforms must be tested. This fundamental idea had already been expressed in the document of February 20th, 1387, in which the Polish rights were only granted to Catholic Lithuanians; a special article went so far as to assert that any man who

left the Catholic faith should *ipso facto* lose all privileges. In order that the Church might grow in the future, marriage between the Roman Catholic Lithuanians and members of the Greek Orthodox faith was forbidden; if, however, the parties had secretly married, the Greek party was to be compelled to accept conversion. The non-Catholic population was excluded, therefore, from all privileges.

But this policy of depressing the non-Catholic population, intelligible and wise as it was in itself, provoked bitterness in the Lithuania and Russian districts and commotions in the adjoining states. When Jagiello was in Cracow in 1386 he had, in order to secure Lithuania, transferred the grand ducal office to his brother Skirgello. One danger threatened, however: his cousin Witold, who had only obtained Grodno, seemed eminently dissatisfied with the new turn of events. He entered into secret connections not only with the Order, but also with the Grand Duke Vassilij Dmitrijevitch of Moscow, and was a suitor for the hand of his sister Sophia.

The cousin brought his Russian bride home in the face of the express prohibition of the king.

An alliance of Lithuania with Moscow influenced for the first time Polish and Lithuanian relations. The distinction

Schemes and Schemers in High Places

between the Roman and the Greek faith became the more noticeable, since Lithuania definitely inclined toward the side of the latter. Witold wished to take the opportunity of his marriage to surprise Wilna. Jagiello, who suspected even his brother, who belonged to the Greek faith, thought it best to win over Witold to his plans. The latter happened to be in the territory of the Order when Bishop Henry of Plock came to him on a secret mission from Jagiello. Witold accepted the offer, effected a reconciliation with Jagiello and Hedwig at Ostrov in Volhynia, and received the grand ducal title, while Skirgello was sent to Kiev. From that day Witold remained so loyal, to the Catholic Church at least, that Pope John XXIII. conferred on him later the title of "Vicar of the Church."

The case was different with his loyalty to the Polish crown. The subordinate position which his native land now took as regards Poland, and perhaps also the slight inflicted upon the Orthodox Church, in which he was brought up, must have chagrined a typical Lithuanian like Witold. The great campaign which he prepared against the Tartars throws a peculiar light on his political plans. He fed himself with

Great Campaign Against the Tartars

the thought of bringing the Russian principalities under his supremacy in order finally to make even Poland dependent on Lithuania. But if he wished to subjugate Moscow, which was then growing, the Tartar power must first be crushed. He was defeated, however, on the Vorskla in 1399. His hopes, so far as they had travelled in that direction,

were buried in that reverse. The battle on the Vorskla was therefore momentous not only for Poland and Lithuania, but also for all Eastern Europe. Above all, it placed Lithuania in a lower position towards Poland. The depressed Witold now resolved to tighten the bond with Poland, and hurried to the king at

Poland and Lithuania Amalgamate

Cracow. Now for the first time the amalgamation of the two countries was seriously carried out. At the beginning of 1401 Witold assembled his Boyars and Russian vassal princes at Wilna; they all pledged themselves to help Poland with all their forces and take measures that, if Witold died, the whole dominions, inherited and acquired, might devolve on Vladislav Jagiello.

Witold renewed his oath of homage, and the other princes followed his lead; Svidrigello alone appended, as the chronicler of the Order relates, "an illegal seal" to the document in order to testify to his reluctance. Immediately afterwards the Polish dignitaries held an assembly on their side at Radom on March 11th, and equally gave the promise that they would support Lithuania, and after the death of Vladislav Jagiello would not elect a king without Witold's knowledge. If a personal union was concluded in 1386, a constitutional union of the two kingdoms was now effected. The advantage lay with Poland; Lithuania was to be independent only during the lifetime of Witold, and would then be incorporated with the crown of Poland.

When the common danger threatening from the Teutonic Order had been dispelled after the great victory of 1410, it seemed as if the union would break up, for Witold believed that he was strong enough single-handed. Since the Polish statesmen had at times almost spared the Order, they might nearly be suspected of

Catholicism the Religion of Chivalry

having intentionally wished to keep the necessity of an alliance with Poland continually before the eyes of the Lithuanians. Witold for his part valued Western civilisation too highly not to form a true estimate of its blessings. But if he wished to raise his country to the plane of a European state, it was essential to make his people Catholics. Catholicism had yet another charm for him—it was the religion of chivalry. Witold had

already dubbed several of his men as knights; but now a creation of knights on a large scale was planned.

The Polish and Lithuanian nobles hurried in crowds to Horodlo on the Bug (1413). Each Polish clan adopted a Catholic Lithuanian Boyar, who then received the family name, the arms, and all rights of the members of that Polish family; thus, for example, the palatine of Wilna, Monvid, became a member of the Leliva family, and bore the same arms as Jasko of Tarnow. Witold himself named forty-seven Boyars as the most worthy. The personal union of 1386 and the constitutional union of 1401 were thus followed by the inauguration of brotherhood between the two nations. All earlier enactments were renewed, and the preliminaries of the impending corporation of Lithuania were so far arranged that it was resolved to undertake for administrative purposes a new partition of the Lithuanian territory on the Polish model.

Vladislav II. Jagiello on this occasion increased the fundamental privileges of the nobility by an enactment of great importance for the future. Henceforward all nobles of Poland and Lithuania were to have the right, whenever it was necessary, of holding meetings and parliaments, for the benefit of the realm with the sanction of the king, at Lublin, Parczow, or some other suitable place. By this enactment the Polish parliament, as it is styled in the charter, was legally recognised, and the chief power in the state was placed in the hands of the nobility. While this new parliamentary constitution implied for Poland an enlargement of existing rights, it was something quite new for Lithuania, which had hitherto been governed by an absolute monarch.

The Lithuanians, in return for their adoption of the Catholic religion and the surrender of political independence, received the same liberties and the same constitution as the Poles, whose arms they were permitted to bear as brothers. Their political loss was compensated by their newly acquired influence on the general affairs of the empire. The two other achievements of the Lithuanians, at any rate, proved illusive. The greatest corruption then prevailed in the Roman Catholic Church; the Hussite and the Protestant movements soon disturbed it.



SIXTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR OF A POLISH CHIEFTAIN

The gorgeous panoply of a military commander of the sixteenth century, the fantastic dress being made of numerous small iron scales or plates and the elaborate ornamentation being of copper work covered with gold. From the Museum of Tsarskôe Seloe.

Nevertheless, Christianity had not yet lost all its strength. But chivalry was waning; it had already become untenable on military, economic, and social grounds, and from the advance of civilisation. Lithuania had only just laboriously introduced what Western Europe had already begun to discard. On the other

Contending Religions in Poland

hand, the constitution of Horodlo is of first-class importance from the standpoint of civilisation and history generally. Its most prominent characteristic is the accentuation of Catholicity. The Polish statesmen tried to solve their main constitutional problem by the example of Western Europe. Did they succeed? The constitutions of the West were equally based on a Catholic foundation; but their success was not menaced by the existence of a non-Catholic element. Poland, on the contrary, had two strong religious parties side by side. That no account was taken of the Greek faith was attributable to the ideas of Western Europe; but a political reason for this was adduced. "Difference of faith produces difference of sympathies." But subsequently friction was produced by this, and rebellions broke out. Moscow, seizing on this weak spot in the armour of Poland, proclaimed herself the protector of the Orthodox faith and brought Poland to the ground. Through this vulnerable point of her constitution Poland fell a victim to the prevailing Roman Catholic ideas.

Witold then once more showed that he towered above the Polish politicians in statesmanship. It was clear to him that the gulf must somehow be bridged; he perceived the constitutional humiliation of the Orthodox population, and found the solution in the idea of ecclesiastical union. Rome, if an oppressed sovereign sought her aid, had formerly stipulated for a complete adoption of the Catholic faith,

Dissensions in the Roman Church

even if some occasional exemptions were promised. But now it was resolved to carry out the unification of the two Churches in such a way that the Orthodox population need only accept the Catholic articles of belief and show obedience to the Pope, but in other respects should retain their Greek ritual. Before the spread of the Hussite movement men would hardly have ventured to lay such terms before the Curia. Witold energetically supported the

prosecution of this plan. It was essential that the Russo-Lithuanian district with Kiev should, in Church matters, be made independent of the Metropolitan at Moscow. In the same year that Huss was burnt at the stake at Constance (1415), Witold convened a synod of the Russo-Lithuanian clergy at Novohorodok in Lithuania, and proclaimed the independence of the Russo-Lithuanian Church with Kiev as its centre. Gregor Camblak, raised to be Metropolitan of Kiev, went in 1418 with eighteen suffragan bishops to Constance, at the command of the Grand Duke, in order to conclude there the union with the Roman Church. On account of the dissensions in the bosom of the Roman Church the negotiations fell through.

But the idea of union remained. Thus, the union concluded at Florence in the reign of Vladislav III. is, properly speaking, the sequel of those efforts. The plan was resumed in the year 1596 under Sigismund III., when a union was agreed upon at Berest; and so again later. But there is a vast difference between the plan of Witold and the later unions. Witold

The Polish Nationality Strengthened

contemplated only a constitutional equalisation of the Russo-Lithuanian and Catholic population, in which connection he, as a statesman, laid no special weight on creeds, and even protected the Jews; while later the only wish was to promote the Roman Catholic Church and the spread of the Polish element.

The second chief characteristic of the Polish constitution of 1413 is the stress laid on nationality. The Piast constitution had taken no account of other races because it had no cause to do so. But when in 1291 the Bohemian king Wenzel II. became King of Poland also, the Polish nobility, following a precedent under Henry II. of Silesia in the year 1239, drew up a charter that the king should confer offices on Poles alone. The same thing occurred when King Lewis of Hungary reigned in Poland, and again at the election of Jagiello. This article of the constitution raised a barrier between the Poles and the other nations, and thus strengthened the consciousness of Polish nationality.

A third peculiar feature of the Polish constitution was its republican spirit. Since in Horodlo it was only said generally that nobles might meet in suitable

localities, but was not precisely laid down by whom or how often they were to be summoned and how many might be present, the republican character of the constitution was emphasised. Wherever several nobles met they had, *ipso facto*, the right to decide on affairs of state; this was the source of the later Sejmiki and confederations. The unity of the constitution was destroyed by it. When an attempt was made, in 1540, in the imperial diet, to fix at least the number of their

deputies, the nobility did not even concede that point. Every noble was a deputy by birth and had a share in the imperial government. The anarchy of the falling empire had its origin at Horodlo. Two classes now guided the destinies of Poland—the Catholic priesthood and the nobility. The peasant population and the citizens of the towns had no place by the side of these two. The impoverishment which the privileged orders brought upon the middle class had a most disastrous effect on industry and trade. The peasantry, however, were bound to retrograde in every sense. The two powerful parties were naturally anxious to increase their privileges still more. When Vladislav Jagiello in 1425 wished to secure the succession of his sons, the stipulation was required in return that for the

future only men of noble birth should be admitted to spiritual dignities. This stipulation was not granted, because it ran counter to the custom of the Roman Church itself; but henceforward priests from the common people were to be excluded at any rate from the cathedral chapters at Cracow and Gnesen. Jagiello conferred a new favour on the nobility at Jedno in the year 1430, and in 1433 at Cracow: "We promise and vow that

we will not allow any property-owning Pole to be imprisoned for any crime, or any penalty to be inflicted upon him before he has been assigned to and brought before some court; excepting thieves and criminals caught red-handed, as well as persons who cannot or will not give any security. Nobody shall be deprived of his goods by the king, but only by the sentence of the barons."

This was the Polish act of Habeas Corpus. In Lithuania people had long been

discontented with the state of things created by the union with Poland. Chiefly belonging to the Orthodox communion, they felt their religious and political degradation the more keenly, since they were socially and economically prejudiced by it, and their culture must in the long run inevitably be stunted. In fine, it was felt that Lithuania was in an inferior position as regards Poland. This was perceived with the greater bitterness, since before 1386 Lithuania contained three times as much territory as Poland. At first the opposition massed itself round Witold. The Poles won him over. Then he wished to equalise the differences in a constitutional way by the union. But he could not overcome the politically inferior position of Lithuania. In a letter to Vladislav Jagiello he declared

that the Emperor Sigismund (Poland's evil genius, in whose power it lay to break up the union) had suggested to him the idea of aiming at the royal crown for Lithuania. Witold, in fact, staked everything upon obtaining his coronation. He had already invited Jagiello and many neighbouring princes to Luck. The imperial embassy, which was to bring him the crown, had reached the Polish frontier when the Poles barred the way. Sigismund



CASIMIR IV: POLAND'S POWERFUL KING
When he ascended the throne of Poland, in 1447, Casimir attempted to curtail the excessive power of the Catholic ecclesiastical princes, and forced the Pope to renounce the exclusive right of nominating these dignitaries. He died in 1492.



THE CHRISTMAS STAR: A PRETTY POLISH CUSTOM

At the Christmas season the Polish peasants go round the villages, carrying a huge lighted star, symbolising the Star of Bethlehem. Three boys impersonate the three kings of the East, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar. They also carry a little puppet-show, in which the drama of the Nativity and other Scripture incidents are performed.



CHRISTMAS IN POLAND: THE STORK AS CAROL-SINGER

In commemoration of the legend that tells how the birds and beasts of the field came to worship the Infant Jesus, the young Polish peasants dress up as various creatures, such as the stork and the bear, and go round the houses singing traditional carols. They are paid with gifts of cakes and sausages. The ceremony is practised also during the Carnival.

and Jagiello were at Luck, when Witold died unexpectedly (October 27th, 1430). The danger thus disappeared. Witold probably did not aim at a complete severance of Lithuania from Poland or at the status (which Sigismund designed imposing on him) of a vassal of the German emperor, but rather intended to place

Poland's Yoke Presses on Lithuania

Lithuania on an equal footing with Poland, and wished to employ Germany for the purpose. The Polish yoke grew heavier after Witold's death. Thus, for example, Polish garrisons were thrown into Kamienec and other Podolian fortresses without any warning, and Sigismund, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was forced in the name of Lithuania to waive all claim to Podolia, and actually to surrender the most important fortresses of Volhynia. Nor was that all. The Poles demanded that all fresh acquisitions of territory should be made in the name of the crown of Poland alone. Finally, in all negotiations and treaties with foreign countries Lithuania was almost completely ignored. The malcontents grouped themselves round the person of Svidrigello, and the opposition found support in Moscow. Then war was determined upon in Poland. Svidrigello, defeated in 1435 on the River Svienta, was forced to recognise the suzerainty of Poland. But the opposition was not yet crushed by this defeat, and now the Grand Duke Casimir himself, brother of King Vladislav III., put himself at its head. The union of Florence in 1439, the arrangements of which were promoted by the Polish statesmen (Bishop Olesnicki received for his services a cardinal's hat), could not but make the more bad blood in the Russo-Lithuanian districts, since King Vladislav III. at the suggestion of the cardinal conferred on the united clergy the same rights which the Latin clergy enjoyed. Casimir IV.

Casimir IV. and the Church

Andreas, even after he had become King of Poland in 1447, did not alter his Lithuanian proclivities. On the contrary, he endeavoured to change the constitution, the defects of which he had clearly recognised. His greatest anxiety was due to the excessive power of the Catholic ecclesiastical princes, especially the haughty behaviour of Olesnicki, who, being the real originator of that constitution, tried to overshadow the crown itself.

Casimir, adroitly making full use of the schism which then divided the Roman Church, forced the anti-Pope Felix V. to renounce the exclusive right of nominating the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his empire; henceforward the king had for six years to fill ninety first places. By this plan the election of the chapters became invalid, and only persons acceptable to the king could be nominated to high offices. Casimir IV. also passed the enactment that the prelates as landowners should be liable to military service, by which means the military constitution of Casimir the Great was completed.

The king also planned to break down the excessive power of the nobility. He was at the same time firmly resolved not to allow Lithuania to be overshadowed by Poland; he resided by preference in the former country and surrounded himself with Lithuanians. When we hear what his attitude towards Bohemia and the Hussites was, how in 1449, in his capacity as Grand Duke of Lithuania, he made an alliance with Grand Duke Vasilij Vasiljevitch against common enemies—the second treaty of Lithuania with Moscow,

Lithuania Threatens to Revolt

made in the spirit of Witold—how they mutually secured the guardianship of their children and allowed free trading facilities, and how cautious was Casimir in settling the frontier on the side of Moscow, we may fairly suppose that Casimir courted connections with Moscow in order to show a bolder front against the Poles, and then to be able to reform the constitution.

He delayed to confirm the Polish privileges, wished to institute a trial for high treason against the cardinal, surrounded himself with younger men of his own views, and published pamphlets on the necessity of constitutional reform; in fact, he did not shrink from employing the headsman's axe in order to show the great officials that they were not masters of the state. He began by favouring the lesser nobility, in order to pit them against the magnates. This policy led later to the change in the constitution.

There was popular talk in Lithuania of conquering Podolia by force of arms, and the bitterness between Lithuania and Poland soon reached such a pitch that an open revolt of Lithuania threatened in 1456. If Casimir had persevered in his action



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF WARSAW



MONUMENT TO KING SIGISMUND AND THE MARKET PLACE



THE PALACE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNOR

SCENES IN WARSAW, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF POLAND

he would certainly have gained his end. But financial straits forced him to concessions. Poland was confronted with a war against the Order. The Slachta, which met at Cerekwica, refused to take the field before their privileges had been confirmed. Casimir himself required money, since he wished to marry Elizabeth,

The King in Financial Difficulties the sister of the Hungarian king, Ladislaus Posthumus; and since according to the laws the country had to furnish the dowry for the queen, the king was forced in 1453 to give way, and at the imperial diet at Piotrkov, in the presence of twelve knights and twelve barons, took the constitutional oath at the hands of the cardinal whom he detested. The regal power was still more restricted by the appointment of four councillors as assessors to the king, without whose consent no ordinance of the king should have the force of law. This first defeat of the crown was followed by others under Casimir's successors.

From the time of Casimir onwards we can notice two currents in the national life of Poland: the majority of the nobles worked for the enlargement of their privileges, while the second party aimed at the strengthening of the royal power and a restriction of personal liberty. This division of aims was to be found in every state of Europe. A contemporary of Casimir was the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), who, in his "Principe," which was addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1514, published a treatise for the guidance of princes, to whom he wished to communicate the art of attaining an unrestricted authority. And at the court of Poland lived a representative of this school, the humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known under the Latin name of Callimachus Experiens, to whom, together with John Dlugosz, Casimir had entrusted the education of his children.

Opposing Forces at Work in Poland But while in many European countries the imperialistic party won the day, the republican party in Poland continuously gained the upper hand.

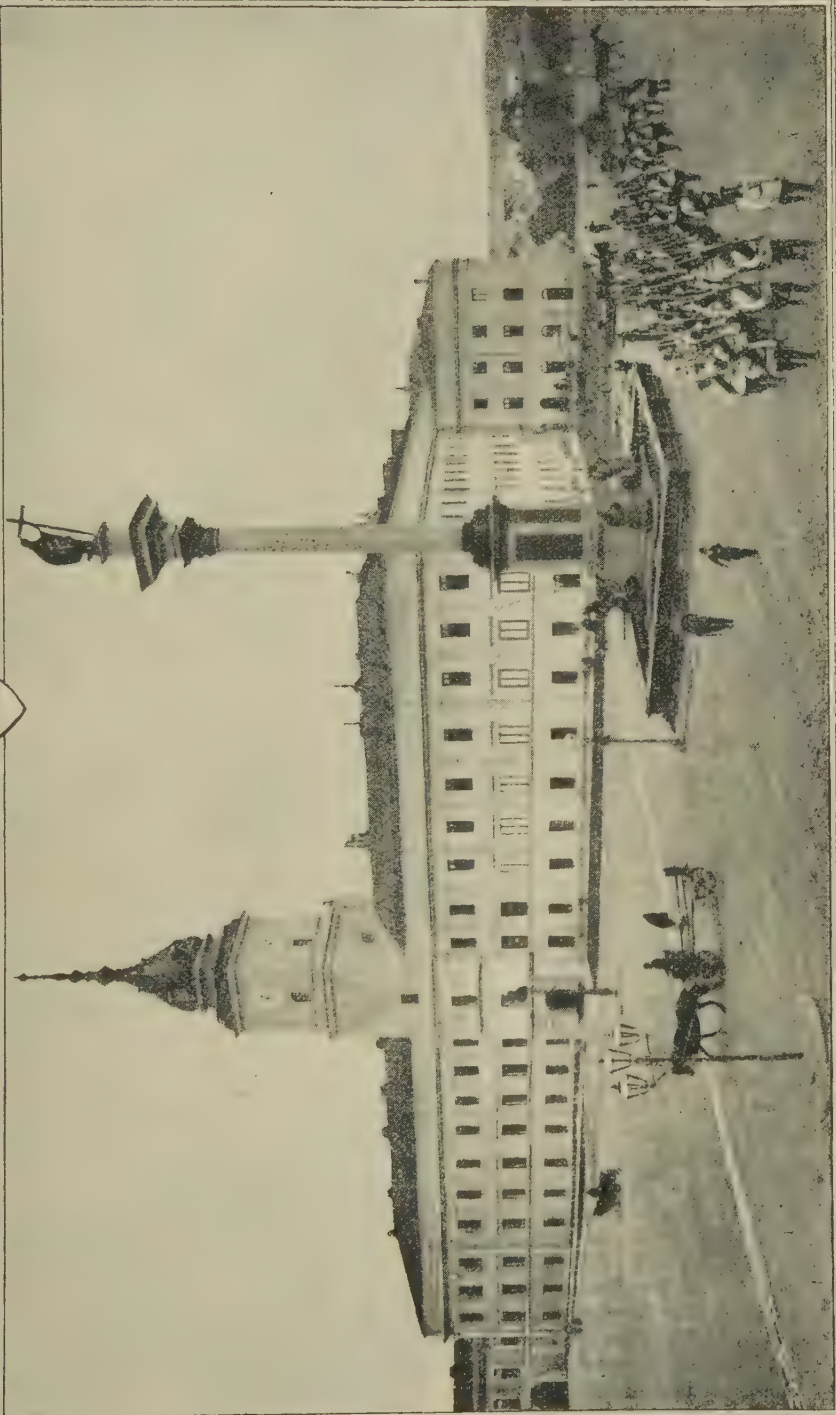
Casimir's son and successor, John I. Albert (1492-1501) vigorously prosecuted his father's plan, but in the end, like him, had to acknowledge failure. He is said to have planned nothing less than a coup d'état in order to overthrow the nobles and strengthen the monarchical power.

He governed without the senate. When the primate Olesnicki died, John Albert set his brother Frederic on the archiepiscopal throne. He introduced greater magnificence at court and made difficulties, whenever possible, about the admission of the magnates. He concluded a treaty with his brother Vladislav (II.) of Bohemia and Hungary in which they pledged themselves to help each other "in case of any rebellion of their subjects or any attempt by them to restrict the monarchical power."

The most certain means of increasing his power seemed to him to be a victorious war; he proposed to conquer Moldavia for his youngest brother Sigismund. All the Jagellons, with the exception of Alexander of Lithuania, assembled at Leutschau in Hungary in 1494 to discuss that campaign. They had, besides, every cause to join forces, since the Hapsburgs had concluded an alliance with Moscow against Poland. Preparations were made under pretext of a war against the Turks. Then the same situation came about as under Casimir—the nobles would not vote any supplies, and

The Nobility Defeats the Crown Albert saw himself compelled to grant extensive concessions to the nobility at the diet at Piotrkov in 1496. Besides this, he suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1497 at Cozmin in the Bukovina.

The new, and at the same time monstrous feature, of the legislation of John Albert, extorted in 1496 by the Slachta, was that it formally surrendered the peasant population to the nobility. The pressure of the Slachta must have been great indeed when it could be complained in the diet that the country-folk left their fields in crowds and that the villages were empty. On the basis of the enactments of Casimir the Great (who had checked emigration so far that only a peasant who had more than one son should be allowed to send one to school or to business in the town, and then only on a certificate from his lord) it was enacted that henceforward in every year only one peasant might leave his village. This restriction was not modified until 1501. In another article townfolk were prohibited from acquiring and owning property according to provincial law. Further, the admission of non-nobles into the ecclesiastical hierarchy was restricted. Formerly, indeed, no



A MEMORIAL OF A LOST INDEPENDENCE: THE PALACE OF THE KINGS OF POLAND AT WARSAW

non-nobles were admitted to the higher offices in the cathedrals at Gnesen, Cracow, Posen, and Plock, but now the superior posts generally, to the exclusion of foreigners, were reserved for natives of noble birth alone. These two provisions were ostensibly designed to increase the military force. If, according to the tenor of the military system of Casimir the Great, only land-owning nobles were under any obligations of military service, in the interests of public defence the admission of non-nobles to ecclesiastical offices ought to be prevented, and the sale of "noble" property to them forbidden, because they were exempt from military service. Only certain benefices might be conferred upon "plebeians."

The articles concerning workmen were equally harsh: they were forbidden to go to Prussia and Silesia to work at harvest-time, in order that there might be no want of labour in Poland and that the wages might not need to be raised. The destitute were to be employed on the construction of fortresses on the Turkish or Tartar frontiers. The statute of 1496 significantly recounts that there were more beggars in the realm of Poland than anywhere else. The poor population, therefore, took refuge by hundreds in those ownerless districts on the Dnieper where freedom and a less degrading existence were still to be found, and they found a suitable employment in campaigns against Ottomans and Tartars. From these people arose the avengers of Polish oppression. The same characteristics are shown by the laws passed under Albert's brothers, Alexander I. (1501-1506), and Sigismund the Elder or the Great (1506-1548). The imperial diets were bent on further restricting the royal power. Thus we may call attention to the provision that the king had not to decide anything by himself, but merely to lead the deliberations of the senate; for "an oligarchical government was better than a monarchical." Further, the famous statute *Nihil novi* declared that the king henceforth might not introduce any new measure without

the assent of the senate and the provincial deputies; this strengthened the provisions of 1453 and 1454. High offices were to be conferred according to length of service and not at the caprice of the monarch. Grave consequences ensued from the decree of the diet of 1504, by which the king might not pledge or give away crown lands except with the knowledge of the diet and the assent of the senate. The legislative proposals which aimed at the increase of the defensive powers of the realm are noteworthy, and they would doubtless have achieved their purpose had they been carried out. According

to them, not merely were the townsfolk who owned landed property liable to military service, but every tenth man from the country population was to be drafted into the militia, which was intended to form the basis of the nation's military organisation.

The diets under Sigismund frequently occupied themselves with this question. Under him the liberty of the peasants to leave their homes was still more restricted, since they were made solely and absolutely dependent on the lord, while the rights of private jurisdiction were extended. In the legislative enactments of Melnik, of 1501, which, however, are not to be found in the "*Volumina legum*" of Jan Laski (John a Lasco; 1466-1531), it is laid down that, in case the king should prosecute any innocent person, or not conform to the enactments of the council, and act contrary to the well-being of the empire, the whole empire was released from the oath of loyalty and might regard the king as a tyrant and a foe.

Such proceedings could not produce any good impression in Lithuania. When John Albert's brother, Alexander, became Grand Duke of Lithuania, this was done without the assent of Poland. The union, therefore, was formally non-existent. Alexander, in fact, trod in the footsteps of Witold and Casimir, since he similarly entered into alliance with Moscow. Only the war against the Order brought both parties quickly together again.



SWORD OF THE
POLISH KINGS



POLAND UNDER THE JAGELLONS SEEDS OF DECAY IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

WHEN Sigismund, Casimir's son, mounted the throne of Poland in 1506 Eastern Europe presented a very different political picture from that of a hundred years before. The hardest task of Poland in the course of the three last centuries, the suppression, that is, of the Teutonic Knights in order to occupy the coast of the Baltic, had been performed in 1466. It was high time, for a few decades later it would hardly have been possible.

Threatening clouds gathered in the east and west of Poland just at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. On the one hand Moscow was arming for an attack on Poland-Lithuania; on the other side the Ottomans were pressing with increasing power. Poland had long enjoyed tranquillity on the side of Moscow, which, groaning under the Tartar rule, had been unable to move. But when Ivan III.

Ivan the Champion of the Orthodox

had shaken off the Mongol yoke and had his hands free, he formed comprehensive schemes. He worked for the unification of Russia with skill and good fortune. One district after another was brought over to him.

When he married in 1472 the Byzantine princess Sophia (Zoë), daughter of the despot Thomas of Morea, the last of the race of the Palæologi, he assumed the Byzantine imperial arms, the double-headed eagle, and claimed from Rome the title of Emperor of Russia. He also laid claim to the Russian districts of Poland. The current of anti-Polish feeling in Lithuania was perceived by Ivan III. He therefore came forward as the champion of the Orthodox population of Poland. The Russian party in Lithuania was always strong; and capable men, such as Michael Glinskij, stood at its head. Even in Casimir's days the political conditions in Eastern Europe seemed to have shifted in favour of Moscow.

Since the year 1481, after the Tartars had been beaten, the Lithuanian princes, hitherto friendly towards Poland, began one after the other to go over to the side of Moscow. Alexander, while Grand Duke of Lithuania, was openly pro-Russian. A rapprochement between him and Ivan took place in 1494. Alexander married the

Princess Helene and waived his claim to a series of towns in favour of his father-in-law. In

the marriage contract he pledged himself not to force Helene to go over to the Catholic religion, and in fact not to allow her to do so "voluntarily." He built a chapel for her in Wilna, and surrounded her only with people of her own creed. We learn from these stipulations that the detrimental influence of the Roman Catholic Church on public policy, against which a stand was being made in Poland, was already recognised in Moscow. Alexander confirmed in 1499 the old rights of the Orthodox Church.

Ivan also knew how to stir up hostility on every side against Poland, and to organise a menacing league against it. He married his son Vasilij to a daughter of Stefan the Great of Moldavia, and thus drew this country into the sphere of his interests. He was allied with the Teutonic Order and friendly with the Tartar Khan Mengli Giray I. (1469-1474 and 1478-1515); he observed an amicable attitude towards Turkey, and would not

entertain any idea of a league with Poland and Hungary against Turkey. His son Vasilij observed the same policy.

In this attitude towards Poland the Russian princes were met by the German emperor Maximilian, who, as an opponent of the Jagellons in the contest for the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, found a welcome ally in the Muscovite grand duke. This was the first time that Germany entered into relations with Moscow.

Equally threatening was the attitude of the Sublime Porte. It was the zenith of Ottoman power. Moldavia and Wallachia already wavered in their loyalty as allies of Poland; if they were lost, it would be the turn of the Dniester district. Finally, it lay with the Jagellons to defend the Hungarian crown. This state of things

League Against Poland

drove Poland also towards the south and provoked hostilities with Germany. The Hapsburgs, therefore, were eager, in league with Moscow and the Teutonic Order, to close the circle of the enemies of Poland; besides these, Maximilian won over the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Denmark, for the combination against Poland, as well as a distinct party in Poland itself.

It was thus high time for Sigismund to act. He had concluded an alliance with Hungary in 1507, had renounced Moldavia in favour of Hungary, and married Barbara, sister of John Zapolya, besides winning over Mengli Giray, the Tartar Khan, by "yearly presents" of 15,000 gulden—everything in order to show a bolder front to Maximilian and others—when he suddenly changed his views. Sigismund could not, of course, wage war with all his enemies at one and the same time, and was forced, therefore, to decide whether to turn toward the West or the East. But Maximilian also had cause to seek a peace with Poland. The great struggle between the Hapsburgs and Valois then began. The succession in Milan and Naples aroused this struggle, and both antagonists fought in every part of the world where they could inflict damage on each other.

Sigismund decided for the contest with the East and for the alliance with Maximilian. His brother Ladislaus (Vladislay) II. of Hungary was the intermediary. Thus, on July 22nd, 1515, that memorable treaty

The World Power of the Hapsburgs

between the three monarchs as to the succession, which was decisive not merely for the history of Poland, was arranged in Vienna. The granddaughter of the emperor, Maria, was to marry Lewis, the son of Ladislaus, and Anna, his daughter, was to wed one of the two grandsons of the emperor, Charles or Ferdinand; the emperor went through the form of betrothal with Anna in the name of the not yet selected grandson, in the church

of St. Stephen. It was further decided that, in the event of Lewis dying without issue, the Hungarian crown should devolve on his sister Anna.

This treaty meant the renunciation by the Jagellons of their claims to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and therefore to any power in the West, and founded the world power of the house of Hapsburg, just as it laid the foundations of the later empire of Austria. The day which saw the last Hungarian Jagellon fall at Mohacs, August 29th, 1526, was the birthday of the Austrian monarchy.

But this treaty, on the other side, brought advantages to Poland. The emperor no longer supported the Teutonic Order, and did not aim at an armed alliance with the Grand Duke of Moscow, but left Poland a free hand. The situation that had been prepared and created by the battle at Tanenberg was formally recognised and confirmed by Germany so far as such treaties can be binding. The year 1515 forms the last stage in the development of the conditions created by the year 1410. Poland thus entered upon a new chapter

New Chapter in Polish Development

of her historical development. The empire, which had hitherto turned its face toward the west, now turned toward the east—namely, toward Moscow. The contest with this power fills the pages of the history of Poland for the succeeding centuries and decides her fate. Poland, indeed, only gradually recognised the necessity of the struggle. Even Sigismund did not keep this goal steadily before him, though he wavered in his loyalty to Germany.

The Poles, whose country lay on the upper courses of the Oder and the Vistula, must have always struggled to reach the Baltic. This motive, indeed, led to the union with Lithuania, which equally was drawn toward the Baltic. For this reason the Lithuano-Polish union was maintained in the face of all hindrances. In the second treaty of Thorn of 1466 the Poles had reached the goal which the course of their rivers clearly indicated. The same physical necessity caused the change of front in the year 1515. Poland never found the partnership with Hungary profitable; the connection was physically impossible, since a chain of mountains raised a barrier between them. Bohemia and Hungary especially had greater interests in common with Austria than with Poland, which lay on another line.

POLAND UNDER THE JAGELLONS

There the Danube created out of all the surrounding regions a new state, Austria, the necessity of which was proved by the joint wars against the Turks, who wished to dispute with it the possession of the Danube. The influence of geography therefore kept Poland aloof from Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and indicated to her that abandonment of all interests in Hungary which forms the one side of the treaty of 1515.

But the other side of the treaty, the advance against the East, was qualified by physical conditions. While Western Europe is divided by mountain ranges into many distinct and separate parts, in which individual states could develop apart, since they were protected from their neighbours by Nature, East Europe forms one gigantic plain which, in spite of its expanse, must have favoured the formation of a homogeneous political structure on its whole surface. The waves of nations continually swept on and broke one on the other; the weaker tribes were subjugated, until at last only the strongest survived. Nowhere perhaps has the ethnographical picture changed so often as here—on the sea-coasts, if anywhere.

Many centuries elapsed before a homogeneous political structure arose in this gigantic basin. There were countless tribes there, and countless tribes were fated to fall, until finally, on the question who was to rule over the whole of East Europe, only two nations could come under consideration—the Poles and the Russians. And as soon as they recognised each other as rivals they rushed at each other, just as when in the desert one wild beast crosses the path of another. Properly speaking, the two kindred stocks, since they had similar economic, political, artistic, and even national interests, and to some degree the same enemies, could have quite well united, as was the case with Poland and Lithuania. But it was shown once more how powerfully an idea

dominates man. The two races, educated in different schools, worshipped quite different ideals. It was not the Poles that were fighting against the Russians there, but the Catholic Church against the Orthodox, republicanism against despotism.

What the East European War Meant

Hence the bitterness of this East European war; it was a war of two conflicting principles. Moscow had emerged from the Tartar school hard and barbarised. An implacably stern absolutism had saved Russia from destruction. How, therefore, after this experience, was she to give up her own form of government and join the Western current of ideas? People and prince alike in Russia were so convinced of

the blessing of absolute monarchy that they were readier to go further in that direction rather than to abandon it; especially since in the impending war all the resources of the country stood at the absolute disposal of the despotic ruler, and the nation was so devoted to him that it hardly ventured to murmur under the heaviest oppression. A glance at the development of things in Poland could only strengthen Moscow in this conviction.

Just when the struggle between these two nationalities began, the royal power in Poland had gradually sunk into a phantom monarchy; the king and the nobility

seemed to constitute two hostile, opposing parties. The nobility would not undertake anything unless they received in return some concession or other from the king. The *Slachta* decided on war and peace, and obtained pay for the campaigns outside the borders of the empire. The ravages and losses in war had to be made good to them, and their prisoners of war ransomed by the king. The nobility was desirous of paying as few taxes as possible, and of lightening the burden of their other state duties, and naturally saw with pleasure when the king was freehanded. The kings bore the whole load of responsibility, and often rescued the realm from distress merely by the weight of their personality and with



SIGISMUND I.: AN ENERGETIC RULER

During his reign, from 1506 till 1548, Sigismund I. was endeavouring to strengthen the monarchy and to pass wise laws. All his efforts, however, were unable to check the seeds of decay which had taken root in the national soil.

Poles and Russians in Antagonism

their own means. These nobles, again, cared nothing for economy or work; work was the concern of the peasants. These latter, therefore, and the king were the martyrs of the commonweal. And the class which possessed the most power in the state regarded the highest interests of the kingdom as something almost foreign.

Poland's Weakness in Battle How could Poland under such conditions be a strong state? These weaknesses came to light in all the wars which Poland waged in the fifteenth century. The whole management of the war against the Teutonic Order, which, after the year 1410, was enfeebled, was a discredit to Poland as a state; and all the more so since there were brave soldiers and competent officers enough in the country. Nevertheless, the Polish nobility was proud of its imperial constitution and its personal privileges. Its freedom appeared to it in a peculiarly brilliant light when it saw how in the neighbouring kingdom the intellectual life was stunted under the oppression of the despotic tsar.

We see here the strange phenomenon of two nations alarmed at the defects which each noticed in the other, and driven to exaggerate their own good qualities. The Russians enlarged the despotic power of the tsar to a monstrous degree; the Poles strengthened the freedom of the individual so greatly that the unity and liberty of the kingdom were destroyed. The two countries, apart from isolated personalities, who wished now and again to stay the evils, but could not carry their purpose through, did not adopt a middle course between the two extremes or any other solution of the problem.

Let us consider other circumstances in order to determine what were the intentions of each of the two opponents in the impending struggle. Although Poland was weaker as a state, yet it was benefited by the higher civilisation and

Culture and Religion in Poland the support of Rome, so that it came forward in the contest with the East as the representative of Europe in the interests

of culture and religion. It could boast also of the sympathies of Europe, which did not, however, go beyond wordy agreements, and did not prevent the Western Powers from attacking Poland itself on a favourable occasion. Poland at first made great progress. But then only too soon the difficulty of her task was apparent.

If Poland was resolved to carry Roman Catholicism to the East, she was destined to learn that Greek orthodoxy was being organised and grouped round Moscow as its representative. And even those aristocratic liberties which the Poles thought to disseminate in the East were accompanied by conditions which were fatal to them, since a heavy oppression of the country population went hand in hand with them. These two movements, the religious and the social, could not but cause widespread agitation among the population, which led to revolts and the ultimate loss of the Ukraine. The Poles finally became conscious that a concentration of all their energies was necessary in order to face the hard struggle. But it was at this point that the capabilities of the highly gifted and patriotic people failed. The old proverb, "*Rzecz pospolita cnota stoi*" (the republic exists by virtue), was no longer applicable, since civic virtue had disappeared from Poland.

Sigismund and his son, Sigismund Augustus, the last two Jagellons, clearly perceived the root of the malady from which the Polish nation suffered.

The Sigismunds Endeavour to Check Decay The period of their reigns is therefore an unbroken series of attempts to change the

constitution, to stem the arrogance of the nobles, to strengthen the monarchy, and to pass wise laws; and we must admit that they showed abundant proofs of good intentions, energy, perseverance, and self-sacrifice. We see them and their successors continually at war with the disorder and anarchy in the country, but also notice how uselessly they spent their efforts in this unequal contest and were unable, try as they might, to check the universal progress of decay. Sigismund (1506-1548) soon showed his incapacity for the weighty task. Even before 1515 he was involved in war with Moscow, and gained some successes; but the war could no longer be prosecuted energetically. It was the same in the second war, which broke out in 1533. Moldavia was already on the side of Moscow. Sigismund here displayed marked feebleness toward Germany. When, in 1518, he married as his second wife Bona Sforza of Milan, the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo, who died in 1494, and thus became nephew of the Emperor Maximilian, he seems to have let himself be influenced by Germany, as Jagiello once did.

The brilliance of the imperial title induced him to form a friendship with Ferdinand I., and to ask the hand of Elizabeth, the emperor's daughter, for his son Sigismund Augustus. But he did not make full use of this alliance with Germany. Thus, he did not declare war, for example, against the Order, whose Grand Master persistently refused to do homage until after the death of Maximilian in 1519. But even then he did not understand how to retain his advantage. In 1521 a truce for four years was concluded by the good services of the Emperor Charles V., who once more tried to play off the Teutonic Order against Poland.

The Reformation made nowhere such rapid progress as in Prussia under the rule of the monastic knights, and by Luther's advice it was resolved to change the lands of the Order into a secular duchy. The Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, a son of Frederic of Anspach and Sophia, Sigismund's sister, who died in 1513, and therefore a nephew of Sigismund, entered Cracow at the beginning of April, 1525, laid aside the dress of the Order, and did homage to the king on the great square at Cracow as a secular prince and hereditary duke of Prussia. The duke pledged himself to be a loyal vassal to the king, and to aid him in war with a hundred knights, and renounced his right of coinage. He received in return the first place in the Senate at the king's side. On the extinction of his descendants in the male line Prussia was to fall to Poland.

There was little cause for Poland to rejoice at this conclusion of the matter. For now the place of a periodically elected Grand Master was filled by a hereditary German duke, and, what was a far weightier matter, the country, owing to the Reformation, assumed a thoroughly German character. The old enemy reappeared in a form still more dangerous to Poland. So weak and short-sighted was Polish policy, that even after the death

of Duke Albert II. Frederic on August 27th, 1618, the fief was not resumed according to the meaning of the compact, but was transferred to the Kur-Brandenburg elder line of the Hohenzollerns. The complete severance of Prussia from the Polish crown could only be a question of time; it was destined to take place in 1659, when Poland, completely surrounded by enemies, was in the greatest straits, and a formidable danger was threatening from the East. Even now Moscow and Prussia united against Poland, and their friendship soon became traditional.

It was but a slight compensation that Sigismund united the western Masovian principalities with his own crown after the extinction of the Piasts in those parts. It was fortunate for Poland that with true discernment he maintained friendly relations with Turkey.

In spite of his circumspection and foresight Sigismund, though personally an efficient ruler, who reduced to order the chaos of the imperial finances, did not achieve a complete success in any direction. How could the vast empire make a bold show when the nobility evinced no patriotism, but were bent on their own advantages and the increase of their privileges, and only too often prejudiced the respect due to the crown? Even under

Jagiello, the Slachta, when the king had refused to cede some privilege, had hacked in pieces before his eyes the deed of acknowledgment intended for them. They had threatened Casimir, the son of Jagiello, with deposition. The same scenes were repeated now.

Maximilian, who, even before 1515, stood in strained relations with Sigismund, succeeded in bringing over a part of the nobles to his side. The Slachta refused the king the supplies for the war against Moscow. Christopher Szydloviecki, one of the most influential ministers of Sigismund, prided himself on having received from Maximilian 80,000 gulden, without being conscious that he was guilty of high treason.



SIGISMUND II.

He was heir to his father's difficulties as well as to his father's throne, but he was an able ruler, and his governing genius revealed itself in matters of foreign policy. Known also as Augustus I., he reigned from 1548 till 1572.

For the same reasons Sigismund was unable to carry on the war against the Order with the necessary vigour. When, in 1537, he summoned the nobility to a campaign against Moldavia, and some 150,000 men assembled at Lemberg, these masses would not march to the war, but became rebellious and demanded legisla-

**Polish Troops
Become
Rebellious**

tive reforms. An attempt on the king's life was actually made in the diet of 1523. But when in 1538 it was proposed to punish severely the crimes of public outrage and lèse majesté recourse was had to Roman law, since the national code was deficient. It deserves to be specially noticed that the custom now began to develop of allowing no law to pass without the common consent. This fundamental principle led ultimately to the "liberum veto."

This state of things lasted under Sigismund II. Augustus (also called Augustus I.; 1548-1572), son of Sigismund I. He was much wiser than his father, so that he accomplished notable results, both in foreign policy and in the field of internal reforms.

Sigismund Augustus was able to make an important conquest on the Baltic Sea. The Livonian section of the Teutonic Order was then approaching its dissolution, and Poland required to keep watch on the forthcoming negotiations as to the succession. The Order had never reached such power and prosperity in Livonia as in Prussia. For one thing, the stream of immigrating Germans was less full there; for another, the continual struggle between the Order and the archbishopric of Riga prevented any close amalgamation of the estates of the realm. The provincial bishops did not shrink from looking for outside aid. Thus the last Archbishop of Riga allied himself with Poland, and put himself formally under the protection of the Polish king, conduct intensely exasperating to the Order, which had always

**The Baltic
Supremacy in
the Balance**

shown a national spirit. Poland and Russia had a keen interest in the decision of the Livonian question. The possession of this rich and populated country, and through it of an important position on the Baltic, was worth the greatest sacrifices. The supremacy on the Baltic simply depended upon the sovereignty of the old German colony. Russia was still more interested, although in spite of the "historic" rights put forward by the

tsars, no Russian prince ruled on these coasts until 1721. Russia was pressing forward in the sixteenth century with redoubled strength; access to the ocean was essential for her, if she wished to become a great power in Europe.

But Sweden and Denmark had an equally marked interest in the solution of the Livonian question; the former, because she had planted foot on the north and east shores of the Gulf of Finland, and found the advance of Russia a menace to these possessions; the latter, because since the days of Waldemar II. she raised claims to Esthonia. If we reflect that the empire with which Livonia was politically united, and from religious reasons Rome also, must have had interests at stake, we shall comprehend how the Livonian question might grow into a European one.

The prospects of Poland were the most favourable, and the Polish king adopted the most practical measures. Not only had Sigismund I. (who was still on the throne) always opportunity as patron of the archbishopric of Riga to interfere in the internal affairs of Livonia, but he had also

**German Princes
on the
Side of Poland**

a loyal ally in Duke Albert of Prussia, his Hohenzollern vassal, who, as former Grand Master, exercised a great influence on the Order in Livonia, and was willing to employ it for the benefit of Poland. He succeeded in raising his brother William to be coadjutor, and in 1539 to be Archbishop of Riga, and thus strengthened his influence in that direction.

The Curia supported the Polish king in everything; and for this reason Sigismund Augustus was obliged to proceed cautiously in matters of reformation in his empire, and to try and hinder any general defection from Rome. Poland, as well as William himself and his brother Albert of Prussia, entertained the idea of secularising the archbishopric of Riga, as had been the case with Prussia. William selected as the heir to his plans his kinsman, the young Duke Christopher of Mecklenburg, formerly bishop of Ratzeburg, who was also nearly related to the King of Poland.

Thus the most powerful princes of North-Eastern Germany now made common cause with Poland. Christopher, in spite of the protests of the Livonian states, was elevated to the post of coadjutor of the archbishop. Moscow also had achieved some success. In the year 1554 the Livonian Order had

concluded a treaty with Ivan IV., in which it agreed never to enter into an alliance with Poland, and to remain neutral in case of war, besides paying a contribution from the bishopric of Dorpat of one mark per head.

The outbreak of war was brought on in 1556 by an intercepted letter from the bishop to his brother Albert of Prussia, in which there was mention of his plans directed against the Order. The archbishop was arrested as a traitor, his castles and seats were occupied, the archbishopric confiscated, and the management of it handed over to the bishops of Dorpat and Oesel. The outbreak of the war, which, in distinction from that of 1700 to 1718, is usually called the First Northern War, was accelerated, since, on the death of the Grand Master, Heinrich von Galen, Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, a man of warlike propensities, was elected Master (1550). But it was now seen that the days of the Livonian Order were numbered.

While Sigismund Augustus stood with 100,000 men on the frontier of Courland, the Knights were hardly able to put 10,000 men, including land-knechts and peasants, into the field. Internal feuds broke up the forces of the country. The Order was compelled, therefore, to yield without a struggle, to ask the Polish king for forgiveness, and to reinstate the archbishop with his coadjutor. The declaration of war by Moscow was made in November, 1557. And now the general war began. The Knights of the Order and their vassals performed many heroic feats in it, but confusion, discouragement, and treachery prevented the classes agreeing on united action.

As once before in the hour of need in Prussia, so also here a movement was made against the Order, and once more the intrigues were due to the Polish party, who raised their supporter Gotthard Kettler to the Mastership; Poland thus immediately gained a great advantage from the election. Kettler, it is true, wished to preserve his independence, and sought help from the Holy Roman Empire, the Teutonic Order, and other powers, but, as he himself said later, found no consolation from anyone, while the disturbances in the country grew worse.

The Grand Master and the archbishop, weary of the disorders, soon surrendered to the Polish king. The treaty was signed

on November 28th, 1561. The territory of the Order was secularised. Gotthard Kettler returned to secular rank, and received Courland as a fief with the title of the Duke of Courland and Semgallen, and also a seat and vote in the Polish Senate. Mitau, not Riga, was assigned him as residence. All the country beyond the Dwina, Riga included, was incorporated in the Polish Empire, while the king at the same time confirmed all the privileges of the country, secured to it a German government, German language, and the freedom of the Augsburg Confession, and also promised to obtain the sanction of the German Empire to these treaties, by which Livonia was separated from the empire. The government of Livonia was entrusted to the Duke Kettler. On the basis of this *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti* the territory of the Order was able to maintain its German character for 300 years. In the year 1562 all the estates of the realm, and twenty years later Riga, agreed to the treaty.

Poland gained a further advantage by the friendly overtures of Sweden. John III., brother of the Swedish king, Eric XIV., married in 1562 Katherine, the daughter of the Polish king; the son of this marriage became king of Poland as Sigismund III. in 1587. Sweden came into the possession of Reval and Esthonia with the consent of Poland. But even Denmark gained some advantages, for the Danish prince Magnus, obtained the bishopric of Oesel by treachery. Moscow, which persistently continued the war and made devastating inroads, was obliged to be content with Dorpat. But this was ceded to Poland in 1582.

Attempts had been made at numerous imperial diets to reform the judicial system, the common law, the system of taxation, and the constitution of the army, but almost fruitlessly, since often what had been once accepted was again rejected. If we cast our eyes over the legislation of Poland from 1500 to 1560 or so, we are astonished at its sterility; so little was passed, so much was merely discussed. Sigismund Augustus only succeeded in effecting some improvement towards the close of his reign. Even under his father, the nobles in the imperial diets of 1535-1536 had demanded and agreed to a revision of the statute-

**Additions
to the
Empire**

**Poland at
War with
the Knights**

**Poland's
Sterile
Legislation**

book. In the course of time resolutions had been passed by the imperial diets which were contradictory to each other ; thus, for example, the privileges of the monasteries and the clergy, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops and the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the clergy, were inconsistent with the laws of the country affecting the taxation of property, and with the military constitution connected therewith, as well as, on the other hand, with the statute *Neminem Captivabimus* and with the sovereignty of the nobles generally. Even under Casimir III. the *Ślachta* had opposed the privileges of the clerics, and the king thus succeeded in breaking down the excessive power of the Church.

The tendency everywhere was to abolish all privileges, whether belonging to classes or individuals. There was also a general wish to abolish the *Incompatibilia*, or questionable concentration of several offices in one person. It was further important from the standpoint of the royal treasury and national taxation to organise and classify the crown lands which had been pawned or given away in large quantities, and were held on illegal titles. Their occupants were now forced to give them up, and thus a fund was created which was large enough to cover the most necessary outgoings of the kingdom, and by which the nobility could be relieved of their burdens. But the most important reform was to abolish the privileges of individual provinces and to bring them under one law, in order to put an end to their efforts for independence and to the lawless state of things. To these belonged in the first line Lithuania, then Masovia, Prussia, Livonia, and finally Zatoř and Oswiecim (Auschwitz in Galicia), which John Albert had acquired. All these legislative labours were comprised under the name "execution of the laws," and the nobility at every opportunity noisily clamoured for their acceptance. The future political and social structure of the kingdom was dependent on this reform ; so was the solution of the religious question ; for Protestantism at that particular time had received a great stimulus in Poland. The freedom which Poland enjoyed was favourable to the spread of various doctrines. Humanism had found a great response

there ; and with it the Hussite movement, which it fostered, was so widely spread that the Hussites were supported in the towns and even among the nobles. The Lutheran teaching found the ground still better cleared, because the old Hussite doctrine had not yet died out, the power of the clergy was limited, and freedom of conscience was now traditional.

Lutheran ideas were disseminated in Poland as early as the year 1518. In Dantzic the monk Jacob Knade successfully raised his voice against the abuses of the Church. Even in Great and Little Poland, and in other provinces, preachers came forward. Only in ultra-conservative Masovia did the new doctrine find no followers. The nobility greedily grasped at the new teaching, and not less greedily the citizens of the towns. We soon find followers of the Calvinistic teaching, which in Poland was spread perhaps still more successfully, besides Anti-Trinitarians, Socinians, Bohemian Brethren, Arians and others.

Powerful noble families adopted the new doctrines and took them under their protection. They raised centres of the new teaching on their estates. Many priests and monks, and even bishops, opposed the Catholic Church. Religious innovations found patronage even at the royal court, and secret meetings were held at the house of the queen's confessor, a Franciscan. The court preacher was a friend of the movement. The heir to the throne, Sigismund Augustus, at that time still grand duke of Lithuania, was considered a supporter of the new teaching ; it was only towards the end of his life that he came forward as a zealous Catholic.

The king, under the pressure of the bishops and the Curia, was at first moved to adopt severe measures. In the years 1520, 1522 and 1523 he forbade the dissemination of Lutheran books on pain of confiscation of property. The synod in Lenčzyca published in 1523 the bull of excommunication issued by Leo X. against Luther, excommunicated for its own part all heretics, and introduced a clerical censorship by giving priests the right to institute searches in private houses. The king was petitioned to renew the old Hussite statute of Wielun dating from the year 1424, according to which heresy was to be punished as *lèse majesté* and to be subject to episcopal jurisdiction. The

Clerical Privileges Abolished

The Days of Religious Prosperity

King and Pope Against Luther



THE RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION OF THE UNION OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

This interesting event in the history of Eastern Europe was proclaimed on July 1st, 1569. The union was, in fact, an incorporation by Poland of Lithuania, which henceforth ceased to be an independent state. When the oaths to the treaty were administered, the two parties to it shed tears; but while Poland's tears were of joy, those of Lithuania were of sorrow.

From the painting by Matejko.

inquisition was introduced in the year 1527; in 1534, it was forbidden to attend the University of Wittenberg, and in 1541, on pain of loss of nobility, to keep priests who were independent of Rome. And later the episcopate, consolidated by the exclusion of its doubtful members, developed a successful energy, especially when the vigorous Bishop of Ermland, Stanislaus Hosius, took the lead in the Catholic reaction.

Execution the Punishment of Heresy

But all these measures against the new doctrines bore little fruit. King Sigismund had acted with severity only in Dantzic, when he went there in March, 1526, to suppress heresy, and ordered thirteen citizens to be executed in the market-place without a trial; and that though he had earlier sworn "by the king's honour, helmet and sword," and under letter and seal, to shed no blood, but to establish peace and concord. This was indeed of small avail; Prussia remained the first country where the Lutheran doctrine was promoted to be the national religion.

But then the king relaxed in his zeal. When Dr. Johann Eck challenged him to proceed in the spirit of Henry VIII., he answered him, in 1528: "The times are changed, and with them the rulers and the spirit of the legislators; sciences decay and others blossom. King Henry may write against Luther—you will allow me to be king of the sheep as well as of the goats." So he adopted mild measures. His son Sigismund Augustus did the same. One case only is known where Sigismund allowed the burning of a woman, Katharina Malcher; otherwise the bishops at most let some innovators die in prison without a trial. So under Sigismund Augustus, only once was a woman burnt at the stake.

The prohibition on visiting foreign universities was removed in 1543, since it was totally impossible to enforce it. Sigismund Augustus, who often asserted he would be no judge over men's consciences, acted with equal, or, perhaps, greater leniency. The bitterness between the nobility and the clergy meanwhile grew more intense, since the former would not recognise the episcopal jurisdiction.

Nobility and Clergy in Opposition

"We only wish," said Jan Tarnowski, "to submit to the king's court, and if the king merely executed the will of the bishops, our slavery would be worse than the Turkish; for the least suspicion

would suffice to stamp any man as a heretic. No injustice is done to the bishops, for as members of the Senate they will be, in some sort, judges with us in matters of heresy." And when the Bishop of Cracow, Zebrzydowski, answered him, "What shall I be if I am not to be judge over heresy—beadle or bishop?" Tarnowski remarked to him, "It is better for you to be a beadle than for me to be a slave." It is exhilarating to hear with what manly courage the nobles defended their freedom.

The young Rafael Leszczynski once, during Mass in the cathedral, while the king and bishops were kneeling, put his cap on his head. This breach of decorum was aimed at the bishop, not the religion. In Poland, freedom was prized beyond everything, while earthly honours were despised. Things went so far that full liberty of conscience was demanded for the serfs. The Poles showed that they were truly a nation of free men. The young Rafael was then chosen marshal of the imperial diet, in defiance of the bishops who had impeached him before the king. It was wished to abolish the episcopal jurisdiction, in order to bring the clergy under the laws of the country.

The Poles a Nation of Free Men

This was intended to be decided at once as a main feature of the programme of legislative revision.

The matter was not easy, and the king long hesitated. If he decided in favour of the bishops and recognised their jurisdiction, dangerous results would follow; on the other hand, no right of deciding religious questions could be conferred with propriety upon the secular judges. The king, therefore, postponed the decision and resolved to temporise, although in principle, according to the sense of the old laws, he recognised the episcopal jurisdiction. Possibly the Livonian question deterred him from breaking off with the Curia, whose help he required.

In spite of, or rather on account of, this great freedom, Protestantism could not strike root deeply in Poland. In Germany it was a reaction against the encroachments of the Church; there it had sprung up out of the existing conditions, like a wild plant. In Poland the Church could not allow herself any great abuses, and Protestantism was accordingly regarded as an imported luxury. Most people played with it, to show that they were at

liberty to hold different views. When, then, the Catholic Church renewed her vigour at the Council of Trent, and clearly proclaimed her object, the Counter Reformation in Poland had an easy task. While in the West the Reformation had been mostly suppressed with bloodshed, in Poland the Counter Reformation was carried out almost unnoticed; even such influential opponents as Stanislaus Orzechowski turned over again to the Catholic Church. Only the animosity between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodoxy grew more bitter.

A side movement, started by the Reformation, deserves our notice—the wish for a national church. The preachers employed everywhere the popular dialect in spreading their teaching, and thus revived the national languages. This had already been done to some degree in Poland by Hussitism, and Protestantism now developed the Polish language to higher perfection. If the Polish language ousted Latin in Poland in the sixteenth century and created a national literature, this golden age, as elsewhere, was

primarily inaugurated by the Protestant movement. The dialects, now awakened to fresh life, forced their way into the church services. While in the West the opponents of the Catholic Church aimed at extending the independence of their own national churches, while in France the Gallican national church and in England the Anglican national church were founded, Poland also wished for the establishment of a national church with a Slavonic liturgy and more or less complete independence from Rome. And the opposition wished to win the king over to this plan.

But since this would have necessarily brought with it a change of the constitution, this point also formed part of the programme of the Revision or "Execution of the Laws." Finally the king, in 1562, soon after the acquisition of Livonia, determined in favour of the Execution. A start was made with the easiest part of the demands, namely, the crown lands and the Incompatibilia; the *Slachta* understood originally by this the abolition generally of all special privileges. But by the influence of the queen the question of the confiscation of the mortgaged crown lands was first dealt with; she wished by the multiplication of crown lands to

found a dynasty, as had been done in the case of other royal families.

As under Sigismund, a resolution passed by the imperial diet in the year 1504 was chosen as the starting-point, by which the pledging of crown property was made dependent on the sanction of the Senate. Some grandees under Sigismund had torn

their grants of privileges in pieces and thrown them at the king's feet, and there were now some such who resigned their offices if they filled two or more. But when a serious attempt was made to confiscate the crown lands, such difficulties cropped up that the whole scheme melted away.

Sigismund Augustus himself showed the greatest self-sacrifice, since he agreed that a fourth part of the revenues of all the crown lands should be applied to cover the expenses of the army, and took for his share exclusively those estates about which it had not been decided whether they should be confiscated. In the future the management of the army was often assigned to this royal fourth. This, indeed, was estimated at so low a figure that it had later to be doubled.

The question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction then came up. After great discussions the king decided in favour of a compromise, which recognised the jurisdiction of the Church, but withdrew from it the secular arm. This law was so formulated in 1565 that municipal starosts could not be made responsible by the ecclesiastical authorities for the execution of commands. But the party of reform demanded that the clergy and nobility should be placed on a precisely equal footing with regard to the burdens of taxation and military service. Only the presence of the papal legate, Francis Commendone, a skilled diplomat, who knew how to smooth the ruffled waters, spared the Catholic Church in Poland new humiliations. He was vigorously supported by Bishop Hosius of Ermland, who had represented Poland at the Council of Trent in brilliant style, and had composed a new *confessio fidei* adopted by the whole Catholic Church.

Commendone recommended the clergy, in order to preserve their other rights, not to evade the duty of paying taxes; the Church tithe was therefore a tax. The attempt of the legate to introduce into Poland the resolutions of the Council

The King Sacrifices Revenue

Poland's Desire for a National Church

Catholic Church Escapes Humiliations

of Trent met with great difficulties ; a part of the clergy opposed several of the enactments. Thanks only to the good offices of the king, who declared he wished to live and die a Catholic, the Catholic Church finally conquered her opponents, who were in a more unfavourable position from the very first, since they were split up into many parties. All the plans of the opposition—the national church, the national synod, and the complete abolition of clerical jurisdiction—remained unfulfilled, although it tried to win over the king to its cause by meeting his wishes in all his private affairs. On the contrary, he accepted from the hand of the legate the resolutions of the Council of Trent, gave them validity in Poland, and published an ordinance which banished foreign religious innovators from the country ; indeed, he even wished, in concession to the wishes of the legate, to allow no religious discussions between the Catholics and the zealous reformers. The Catholic Church did not approve of disputations, judging correctly that they could not be profitable to the faith.

How the Catholic Church Triumphed

The laws as to the Incompatibilia, as well as that touching the duty of an official to reside on the scene of his duties, were once more strictly enforced, both for secular office-holders, and, in the meaning of the resolutions of Trent, also for spiritual dignitaries.

But the revision affected also the privileges of the towns, since the export of goods to foreign countries was prohibited—a prohibition which was certain to undermine the welfare not only of the towns, but also of the whole empire. The nobility alone were to be permitted to export raw materials. Since the importation of foreign goods was still allowed, it will be understood how the development of home industries was thus sapped.

Poland never understood how to honour sufficiently this important branch of human energy and national prosperity. The prejudiced notion that work is unworthy of a nobleman, and that trade and industrial undertakings are ignoble, has survived there until modern times.

Polish Industries Sapped

In Poland the value of the towns and their importance for culture and industry was not recognised till it was too late. In a dialogue, written about this time by Lucas Gornicki, between a Pole and an

Italian, the Pole will not allow himself to be convinced of the necessity for towns, which became everywhere the centres of political and social life and of culture, and points to the Tartars, who, indeed, had no towns. Towns and the citizen class were never able to develop in Poland. Owing to the depression in trade and industries which then set in, wealthy citizens began to have recourse to agriculture. Poland did not rise beyond an agrarian standpoint, and was therefore exploited by Italian, English, and Scottish traders. No sufficient use was made of her position on the Baltic. Instead of favouring the Baltic trade, the Poles burdened Dantzic with taxes, and brought matters to such a pitch that this busy town often looked round for other patrons. No one in Poland took any interest in commerce.

All these enactments, by which the privileges of the magnates, the bishops, and the towns were partly limited, partly abolished, made the chamber of provincial deputies the most powerful institution in the state—a circumstance which, in view of the low education of the Slachta and the one-sided representation of their

Lithuania's Independent Position

class rights, could not conduce to the national prosperity. In 1563 an important ordinance was passed by which the Orthodox Greek nobility in Lithuania were conceded the same rights which the Catholics possessed ; henceforward any Boyar was admissible to any office. The nobility, incensed at the connection of the king with the Catholic Church, refused other important proposals of the king, such as the reform of the army and finance, the order of the election to the throne, and others.

A complete unification of the empire in place of loosely compacted unions was the more urgently demanded ; the king, with the prospect of a dangerous war with Moscow before his eyes, was himself in favour of the scheme. But the Lithuanians offered a stubborn resistance. Their embassy, with Nicholas Radziwill the Black at its head, after pointing to the independent position of Lithuania and the previous measures of union, declared for a personal union, even if a restricted one, demanded diets of their own, a revision of the frontiers of Lithuania and Poland, and a special coronation of the king as Grand Duke of Lithuania. The king stood on the side of the Polish crown, and

was resolved to incorporate Lithuania with it. To facilitate the execution of this plan, he cleared away the last legal obstacle by waiving his hereditary rights in Lithuania, and thus placing both parts in equal relations to his person.

When the Lithuanian deputation left the Polish diet, in order in this way to prevent the incorporation of their country, the king nevertheless declared his intention to carry it out. The entreaties of the envoys, who implored the king with tears to protect them, were unavailing. On the Polish side there was talk of war if Lithuania offered resistance. Thus in 1569, at the imperial diet at Lublin, the "union," which was in fact an incorporation of Lithuania, was definitely carried. Podlachia, Kiev, and Volhynia, districts which had originally been Lithuanian, and for a long time a disputed possession, were first united with the Polish crown in a special act. Only the use of the Russian language in law courts was granted them. Lithuania lost its richest provinces. Any man who refused to recognise this act was held to have forfeited his titles and property.

**Poland
in Tears
of Joy**

There was no idea of serious opposition, since the lesser Lithuanian nobility, who were jealous of the magnates, remained loyal to Poland, in order by the closer union with Poland to obtain the same rights which the lesser nobility in Poland possessed. Thus on July 1st, 1569, the union was proclaimed, and both sides swore to it. Lithuania only retained its own officials, and therefore ceased to be an independent state. Both parties shed tears when the oaths to the treaty were administered, only with the distinction that in the case of the Lithuanians they were tears of sorrow; in that of the Poles, tears of joy. What the first Jagellon, Vladislav II., in 1386, 1401, and 1413 had, so to say, merely promised, the last really accomplished.

After this the union of Prussia, Livonia, and the other provinces was carried through, and the amalgamation was complete. Poland now was united. This was a great political and economical gain. Nothing now stood in the way of Polish colonisation in the vast Russo-Lithuanian regions; and the stream of German and Polish colonists to the eastern provinces swelled from year to year.

But the chief source of weakness to the empire was not thus removed. This lay

not so much in the constitutional relations of individual parties as in the impotence of the crown—that is to say, in the Polish constitution, which threatened to degenerate into an anarchy. This evil was bound to spread over every province equally. Nothing occurred to strengthen the central administration; on the contrary, the Slachta, in view of the king being childless, of the question of succession, and of the election to the crown, feared to lose in power, and to have diminished rights even in the religious question.

**The Great
Weakness
of Poland**

The future of the religious parties depended to a great extent on the attitude of the king towards this question; and both parties, the Catholic no less than the united non-Catholic, cherished the idea of choosing a king after their own heart by an electoral compact. Since for the moment the non-Catholics were in the majority, there were many among the minority to whom the principle of a majority in the resolutions of the parliament seemed dangerous. They demanded the legal introduction of "unanimity." They clearly saw the necessity of a strict government, but liberty was more valuable in their eyes than order. Since a general assent was necessary in adopting resolutions, the *liberum veto* now really existed, although it was first claimed as a right in 1652.

Sigismund and Sigismund Augustus failed, therefore, in their efforts to strengthen the power of the sovereign. The latter, while still Grand Duke of Lithuania, married, after the death of his first wife, without the consent of the Senate, Barbara, the daughter of the Castellan Radziwill. His father and the Slachta disapproved; the nation was reluctant to recognise Barbara as queen. In order that his bride might be crowned, the king adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the nobles. After the death of his deeply loved Barbara, he married the second

**Augustus
Succumbs to
Weight of Cares**

daughter of Emperor Maximilian II., Katharina, a sister of his first wife, Elizabeth. Since he had no issue by her, he wished to be divorced from her and to marry again. But Rome and the clergy, whom the king tried equally to propitiate by concessions, were opposed to his wish. He thus did not face either one or the other Order with firmness. Overwhelmed by cares, Sigismund II. Augustus died on July 14th, 1572.



THE LAST STAND OF A GREAT POLISH GENERAL AT THE BATTLE OF CECORA IN 1620

During the reign of Sigismund III., from 1587 till 1632, Poland was frequently on the battlefield. Led by the famous General Zolkiewski, the Polish troops, in 1620, went to the assistance of the Palatine of Moldavia, but were put to fight by an overwhelming army of Tartars. Zolkiewski fell fighting at Cecora, and Poland's nationality disappeared a century and a half later.



THE DECLINE OF POLAND

A NATION BETRAYED BY ITS NOBLES

AFTER the death of the last Jagellon, whose reign seemed in the memory of the nation a period of power and glory, a period of decay set in, which ended with the political downfall of the country. The constitution was, in isolated points, logically completed, according to the principle of the most absolute authority of the individual, and was used to the full by every individual in his own interest without regard for the common good. After the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty, Poland was proclaimed an elective monarchy. The primate of the kingdom, the Archbishop of Gnesen, obtained thereby wide privileges. The conduct of state affairs during the interregnum—the summoning of the elective diet, the acceptance or rejection of candidatures, and the proclamation of the name of the elected—devolved upon him. Catholicism in Poland

The Pivot of European Diplomacy

was thus once more greatly strengthened. There was no dearth of candidates, and the political situation might well be learnt from the promises of the representatives of the European sovereigns. Above all, on this occasion the hostility between France and Austria, the pivot on which the diplomacy of Europe then turned, cast its shadow on Poland. Both opponents brought forward their candidates and fought each other with traditional bitterness even on Polish soil. France relied on her friendship with Turkey; Austria offered an alliance with Spain and Denmark against Turkey; both held out the prospect of further advantages. France promised the formation of a fleet and the organisation of the finances and army; Austria, a favourable solution of the Livonian, Prussian, and other questions; both powers threw money by handfuls among the senators and the Slachta.

But the King of Sweden also announced his candidature as husband of Katharina, one of the Jagellon stock, and promised an alliance against Moscow. There was, how-

ever, among the Slachta a strong party (that which under Sigismund Augustus had deserved the greatest credit for the reform of the legislature) which recommended the candidature of the Tsar of Moscow, and laid stress on the great benefit for Poland which would proceed from this

New King Supported by the Clergy

course, as formerly from the union with Lithuania. But Ivan the Terrible seemed devoid of ambition; he sent his embassy and courteously announced the conditions on which he would accept the crown of Poland. Once again native candidates, from envy and unpopularity, were insufficiently supported by their countrymen.

Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, and his heir-presumptive, was elected in the middle of May, 1573, not merely because French diplomacy was clever, but because his catholicism found favour with the high clergy. He was also supported by the papal legate, who henceforth intervened at every election of a Polish king in the interests of the Church, and always with success. This success was aided by the circumstance that royal elections henceforward were held in the fields near Warsaw, where many of the strictly Catholic Masovians could take part. Ten thousand of them appeared at the election of Henry.

The Slachta once again had an opportunity of imposing conditions on their king, which were as humiliating as possible. The king, hitherto, could only more or less maintain his position by three means: he

The Slachta Humiliates King Henry

had the right, first, when confronted with conflicting resolutions of the diet, to make one of them law or to "conclude"; secondly, to confer the vacant offices of state, with which he could reward his adherents and create a party for himself; and, finally, to call out the militia, and therefore often practically decided upon war or peace. The new king, on the contrary, was no longer to possess the

right of "conclusion"; the Senate was to decide on war and peace, and the diet was to summon the army. The freedom of denominations was proclaimed, and the title "heir to the empire" was erased from the royal title. Should the king act contrary to these terms, the nation was justified in refusing him obedience. Besides this, Henry pledged himself to build a fleet at his own cost, to keep up 4,000 soldiers, and to pay the debts of the empire. However suspicious these pacts were, the new king subscribed them and took the oath to the constitution.

The King's Flight from Poland

If the people did not see in the king the first power in the empire, but almost an enemy to their liberties, they still regarded the monarchy as a brilliant post, for which there were always candidates, of whom, indeed, nothing more could be predicated than that they wished to gratify their pride. It goes without saying that many candidates put themselves to great expense, that other countries had a welcome plea for intervention, which Poland bought by her moral degradation, and that a contested election threw the land into civil war. But the Slachta was still lulled in the sweet dream of liberty and security. The connection with France might, perhaps, have been profitable to Poland; but Henry fled on July 17th, 1574, in order to place on his own head the crown of France after the death of his brother Charles IX. His reign left behind no traces beyond those of the resolutions adopted at his election.

Even at the next elections the candidates of the Roman Catholic party came to the front; thus, Stefan Bathori, Prince of Transylvania, who reigned from 1576 to 1586; then Sigismund Vasa of Sweden, the son of John III. and of Katharina the Jagellon, from 1587 to 1632; he was followed by his sons, Vladislav, who ruled till 1648, and John Casimir, who in 1668 resigned the crown and went to France. Then two natives (Piasts) were elected—Michael Wisnioweck (1669-1673), of a rich and respected family; then John Sobieski. Next came a double election. The one party chose Stanislaus Lesczynski, a native, who was supported by Sweden and France in the war known as the first War of the Polish Succession; the other, the Elector Frederic Augustus of Saxony, who held his own after many contests

Candidates for the Polish Throne

until 1733. This occasion was the first on which Russia actively interfered in the Polish disorders. She declared for Frederic Augustus, and helped him to drive out all enemies. After that time the Russian influence in Poland was preponderant. Frederic Augustus II., the son of Augustus the Strong, defeated Stanislaus Lesczynski for the second time, with the help of Russia, in the second War of the Polish Succession, and became the Polish king, Augustus III.; he died in 1763. Similarly the last Polish king, Stanislaus Poniatovski (1764-1795), was a candidate of Russia.

Of this whole series two kings, Stefan Bathori and John Sobieski, stand out conspicuously, and to a lesser degree Vladislav. But while Sobieski, the liberator of Vienna in the year 1683, was merely a military hero, Bathori, a no less able general, distinguished himself by his skilful administration and his statesman-like insight. If anyone could have lifted Poland out of the political and social slough, it would have been Bathori. After he had by his manly attitude defeated the

Bathori's Famous Declaration

rival candidate, the Emperor Maximilian, who had already taken an oath to the constitution at Vienna, he waged an obstinate struggle with the Slachta about the restrictions dating from the year 1573. He was required to renounce the right of distribution, that is to say, the right to grant imperial offices; these, so soon as they became empty, were to be filled by election in the respective voivodeships. The king then made at the diet of Thorn the famous declaration that he had no intention of being merely a king in a picture.

While he still, as elective candidate, waged war against the imperial party, but especially against Dantzic and other German towns, which took Maximilian's side, Ivan IV. the Terrible conquered almost all Livonia, with the exception of Reval and Riga. Bathori's immediate goal was, therefore, war against Moscow. After he had secured himself against the Turks and Tartars, and had raised a loan from Frederic George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, he began the war in 1579. In spite of superiority of numbers Ivan's armies were beaten everywhere, and Polock and many other towns and fortresses were captured. Ivan, hard pressed, looked round for help, sent an embassy

THE DECLINE OF POLAND

to the emperor and the Pope, professed that he wished to join the Russian Church closely with the Roman, complained of Bathori's "un-Christian" procedure, and begged for intervention.

Rome was not in a position to resist such tempting prospects. In 1581 the papal legate Antonio Possevino appeared in Poland and went forthwith to Moscow. His conversation with Ivan on religious questions is interesting. Ivan showed himself well read in the Scriptures, perhaps more so than may have been agreeable to the legate; on the whole, he developed such amiable traits that Possevino, doubtless to the amazement of all, styled him a sweet ruler who loved his subjects.

The upshot of the legate's exertions was that Ivan obtained comparatively favourable terms of peace. At Kiverova Horka, in 1582, he merely renounced his claim to Livonia, Polock, and Wielun; he received back the other places which had been conquered by the Poles. The favourable opportunity of subjugating Moscow and proceeding to the conquest of all Eastern Europe had thus been let slip; so, too, the advance of Rome in that quarter was checked.

Once more it was the Slachta which by its shortsightedness and selfishness had hindered the king in the execution of his plans. It haggled with the king over every penny, reproached him for showing favour to Zamojski, a general who had distinguished himself in the war with Moscow, and for his non-fulfilment of the electoral capitulation; always choosing the most unfavourable moment, in order to compel the king the more certainly to comply. Indeed, it forced him into negotiations with Moscow and refused the supplies for the war, so that the king was driven to incur debts with foreign countries. When Ivan died in 1584, Bathori contemplated a renewal of his plans against Turkey, but he died unexpectedly on May 2nd, 1586, at Grodno.

The reign of Stefan Bathori was in many respects profitable to Poland. Not merely was the glory of the Polish arms revived by his martial deeds, the Muscovite lust of conquest quenched for long years to come, and that semi-Asiatic power driven back from the Baltic Sea, but he left other noteworthy traces of his energy. Thus, he devoted his especial attention to the important religious question. It could not escape him that the religious disputes led to no union, crippled the power of society and the realm, and at the same time appreciably checked the development of culture and civic virtues. Starting from this practical standpoint of attention to the general welfare of his country and his subjects, he threw



STEFAN BATHORI: THE FEARLESS
Able alike as a general and as a statesman, Stefan Bathori stands out prominently among the Polish kings. A man of strong will, he left behind many traces of his energy.

himself, though formerly a Protestant, definitely into the Catholic cause, and was thus the first who, with all the means standing at his command, was resolved to carry through the Counter Reformation without giving an exclusively Catholic direction to his policy.

Nevertheless, in his reign the Order of Jesuits gained great influence in Poland. The Jesuits had already moved into Braunsberg in 1565 at the invitation of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, the greatest Roman Catholic champion of Poland, and under Henry and Bathori they increased greatly.

They founded schools everywhere, and won over the rising generation for their purposes. However successful their pedagogic labours were in many respects, especially in the field of classical philology, they did much to disintegrate the structure of the state, as became evident

under the weak successors of Bathori. A particularly favourable light is thrown on Bathori by his friendly feeling towards the peasants. He regarded the patent of nobility merely as a distinction for services to the country, and is said to have raised fifty-five peasants to the peerage. He protected the peasants everywhere; for example, in Livonia against the German

**Ivan the
Terrible and
the Bible**

**Peasants
Raised to
the Peerage**

knights, summoned them to military service, and organised a corps of those who were settled on the royal estates—the first regular infantry. Out of every twenty small farmers one was chosen for military service. This corps was called the chosen or farmer corps; it acquitted itself well. He introduced a better organisation into

**Bulwark
Against the
Tartars**

the imperial militia; he improved the artillery, and created for himself an efficient staff. It was further important that Bathori completed the organisation of the Cossacks in the Ukraine. Even in the fifteenth century there was in the unclaimed regions on the Dnieper, which had been ravaged by the Turks, a large population, which, fleeing from Poland and Russia to escape intolerable oppression, gradually settled in those parts, and soon did good service as a bulwark of Christianity against the Tartars. It was a vigorous, warlike people, which only needed military organisation to become a formidable power. Bathori now adopted them in the name of the empire, and drew up lists of the able-bodied soldiers, but limited their number of conscripts at first to 600. By this means he obtained new forces for the empire against Russia.

It was a fresh reminder to the Slachta that the laws must be regarded, when Bathori had one of the unruly members beheaded. He held the reins of government with a firm hand. Under his direction a much-needed reform in the judicial system was carried out. He abandoned, indeed, his old right of the last instance, which from various reasons was no longer enforceable; law courts were thus instituted for separate groups of provinces in Lublin, Piotrkov, Wilna, Grodno, and Lutzk. In spite of his high ideals, this king was the object of the meanest attacks. The Slachta accused him of despotic aims and threatened him with deposition. Stefan

**Bathori's
Successor on
the Throne**

did not allow himself to the very last moment to be deterred from his goal. After the death of Bathori the situation grew worse.

The election of Sigismund III. Vasa and the alliance with Sweden had not proved beneficial to Poland, first, because this house subordinated the newly acquired state to the strict Catholic interests, and secondly, because it only furnished incompetent rulers. Poland was at first by its

new dynasty drawn into the vortex of Swedish troubles. Sigismund and his two sons naturally tried to retain the Swedish crown, their paternal inheritance. But the empire had not the slightest interest in this purely dynastic question, since Sweden had quite other political and economic aims; Protestantism, too, was the state religion there. But the Catholic Church, to whom primarily the election of Sigismund was due, since she thought to bring the Swedes back to her bosom, contrived to interest the realm in the dynasty by the promise which the king made to cede Esthonia to Poland. Supplies were granted to the king for the journey to Sweden. He was crowned there on February 19th, 1594, and subscribed, actually with the knowledge of the papal nuncio, a declaration which excluded the Catholics in Sweden from all offices, while he intended in Poland to exclude the heterodox; so deceitful and dishonourable was the policy of the Catholic prelates.

But this was all that Sigismund did in Sweden. His uncle Charles of Südermanland placed himself at the head of the Protestants, drove out the royalists step by step, and was able by the year 1604 to be crowned king under the title of Charles IX. The long war which broke out over this brought Poland, in spite of occasional successes and deeds of valour, to the verge of destruction by the terrible losses and humiliations which it sustained; it ended finally (1660) in the treaty at Oliva with the resignation by the king, John Casimir, of all claims to the crown of Sweden, and with the exhaustion of the Polish empire, which had been obliged to neglect and abandon its most important interests.

It was, further, of the greatest consequence to the empire that Sigismund became the willing tool of the Jesuits. Thus a flood of Catholicism poured into the country, which disregarded religious liberty; a policy that could only create misfortune in Poland, where there was such diversity of creed. The neighbouring powers, shielding religious interests, took, as might be expected, now the Protestants now the Orthodox under their protection, merely in order to interfere in the affairs of the empire. The very first appearance of the king on the scene showed that he was entirely in the hands of the Catholic priests. At a hint from Rome he was

THE DECLINE OF POLAND

willing to abdicate the Polish crown in favour of the house of Hapsburg, and himself to retire to Sweden—a proposal which evoked general consternation and ill-feeling. The Jesuits in the interests of the Church negotiated the marriage of the king with Anna, and after her death with Constantia,

Abortive Attempts at Church Union

daughters of the Archduke Charles of Styria and of Mary of Bavaria. The privileges which the Orthodox Church had acquired at the time of the Hussite and Protestant movements were removed, and there was a reversion to the ideas of union as in the palmy days of the papacy.

The attempts at union in 1415 and the Florentine union of 1439 had proved abortive. The Hussite movement and

then the Reformation strengthened the Orthodox Greek world in its resistance to the Roman Catholic Church. The union only split up the Russian society into two camps, which fought against each other more bitterly than the Orthodox and the Catholics. A union of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome is nowadays usually disparaged. The Slavonic liturgy, which would not have been tolerated by Rome, was of inestimable value to all the Slavs; they are indebted to it for their oldest literature.

But, on the other hand, the Orthodox Church, except in the first centuries of its spread among the Slavs, was nowhere an engine of civilisation. It was rather the cause why the Slavs and other nations of the Greek Church remained backward. Their clergy felt that most deeply in places where they lived side by side with the Romans; for this reason the Orthodox bishops were mostly those who first espoused the cause of the union. If some such union had been introduced, with a set purpose and yet in a conciliatory spirit, among the Russo-Polish provinces, the success would have been irresistible. But what the Roman priests now undertook under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits and the protection of the Polish

king was almost an insult to Christian charity. The majority of Orthodox bishops and the most influential laymen, such as Constantin Ostrogski, were for the union; at their head was Archbishop Michael Rahoza of Kiev.

But the pride of the Catholic prelates, their selfishness and ignorance of the existing conditions, ruined everything. The earlier champions of the union, therefore, drew back, among them the powerful prince Ostrogski. When, besides this, the Patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople came personally to Poland in order to organise the resistance, only a handful of partisans of the union were left. Both parties met for a final discussion at Brest in 1596. They soon divided into two



THE TOOL OF THE JESUITS

Utterly unfitted for his high position, Sigismund III. Vasa of Sweden, became the puppet of the Jesuits. He was even willing, at a hint from Rome, to abdicate the crown of Poland.

groups, and banned each other; only a few bishops, with the Metropolitan Rahoza and their small following, declared for the union. Two of them, Hypatius Potij, Bishop of Vladimir, and Cyryl Terlecki, Bishop of Lutzk, went to Rome with the charter of union, and took the oath of obedience in the name of the whole Russian Church. Thus the famous union of Brest was effected. The Uniate bishops were immediately to receive seats and votes in the Polish Senate.

This union brought no gain to the Catholic Church and the Poles in

the future, chiefly because the animosity between the two Russian parties increased and they fought against each other still more obstinately.

At this same time a meeting of the heterodox, or Dissidents, as they were called in Poland, assembled at Thorn to

Swelling Tide of Catholic Influence

discuss how the swelling tide of Catholic influence might be stemmed. They sent a deputation to the king, but he did not receive it. The union of Brest could not, however, hold its own; for the king and the Slachta did not wish to fulfil the conditions of union. The Uniate bishops were not introduced into the Senate, nor were the privileges of the Church observed; in this way the whole work of

union was made ridiculous in the eyes of the non-united Orthodox. The persecution of the Greek Orthodox, who had not joined the union, became more and more severe; they were hindered in their performance of Divine worship; their priests were publicly insulted and outraged; their churches were leased by

**Orthodox
Priests in
Disfavour**

their patrons to Jews, who then demanded money payments for the opening of the churches. Many towns expelled the Orthodox from the town council, and even from the body of citizens. Their churches and church property were taken from them; in a word, the oppression became intolerable. Hatred of Poland increased throughout the East, and the masses were stirred up by the non-united priests. The Cossacks in the Ukraine were especially active, and came forward as protectors of the Orthodox faith. They demanded with threats rights for their metropolitan and their bishops, and for themselves equal rights with the Slachta; but the old respect for the freedom of all had been lost under the influence of the Catholic reaction.

There was no longer any place for the heterodox in Poland. The Orthodox, therefore, organised their forces and attempted to do something for the improvement of culture. Prince Ostrogski founded in Ostrog an academy and a printing-office; presses were started in other places also. The gulf between the two camps, which cleverly strengthened themselves, grew daily wider.

All this was done by Poland in her blind infatuation at a time when some faint prospects in the East were opening out to her. The house of Rurik in Russia was extinct, and Lithuanian magnates placed at that time the pseudo-Demetrius on the throne of the tsar. This Dmitri, about whose real family, in spite of searching investigations, nothing can with certainty be said, was a friend of the Poles

**Threatened
Deposition of
Sigismund**

and of European culture, possibly a Pole himself. There was actually in Poland a party which entertained the plan of deposing Sigismund and offering the Polish crown to Dmitri.

When this plan miscarried, Poland was still offered an opportunity of getting a footing in Russia, since after the deposition of the Tsar Vassili Shuski, the Privy Council in Moscow chose as tsar Vladislav, son of Sigismund. Polish troops under Sholkievski

held Moscow in their power. An agreement was so far made that Vladislav should pledge himself to protect the Greek faith and the Greek Church, to allow the Boyars to retain their privileges, to grant them the Polish privilege of *Neminem Captivabimus*, and to conclude an alliance with Poland. But the narrow-mindedness of the father, who, probably at the instigation of the Church and the Jesuits, wished to acquire the crown of Russia for himself, and the rebellion of the Zebrzydovski family, which broke out at the most critical moment, frustrated all the great plans regarding a union with Moscow once and for ever.

When Russia, therefore, was being consolidated at home under the new Romanof dynasty, Poland and Russia once more faced each other with the old hostility. Poland resolved on war in order to bring Vladislav to Moscow by force of arms; but at the same time the folly was committed of binding the king even then to incorporate any future conquests with the Polish crown. Vladislav was forced in the year 1617 solemnly to resign

**Cossacks
to the Help
of Poland**

Smolensk, Starodub, and a series of other countries in favour of the Polish crown, as if this resignation of Russian provinces would be a recommendation to the Polish candidates in Russia.

For the favourable peace at Deulino near the Troizkaja Lawra (1618), which secured to them Smolensk, Dorogobush, Czernigov, and several other towns, the Poles are indebted to the Cossack Hetman Konaszevich, who came to their help with 20,000 picked troops and enabled them to march on Moscow, as well as to the pacific nature of the Tsar Michael Romanof and the Russian desire for tranquility. Soon afterwards Poland was entangled in a war with the famous Swedish warrior Gustavus Adolphus, and with Turkey, which cost her great sacrifices, in spite of the heroic deeds of the generals Stanislaus Koniecpolski and Chodkievich. The Cossacks, who since 1596 had already come forward openly as protectors of the Orthodox faith, now assumed a menacing attitude.

The Slachta, when it met after the death of Sigismund in 1632 to elect his son Vladislav IV. Sigismund, who died in 1648, restricted still more the power of the crown. The king was in the future not to be allowed to begin a war without the

THE DECLINE OF POLAND

consent of the imperial diet, or to enlist soldiers out of his privy purse; he was required to confer the vacant offices within six weeks after the diet, to cede to the country the profits of coinage, to build a fleet on the Baltic, and to contribute two quarters instead of one quarter of the royal revenues to the war with Moscow. Besides this, the old tax of two groschen from the hide of land was abolished as "a survival of the old serfdom."

The King's Restricted Liberty

According to these provisos the king was more restricted in his liberty than the ordinary noble, since the latter might keep troops; Zamojski Wisneovecki and others were able to put 10,000 men into the field. Vladislav was compelled to accept these stipulations, and in the course of his reign had to submit to still further curtailment of his freedom. As he once went to Baden to take the waters, the diet of 1639 passed a resolution that the king could not leave the country without the consent of parliament. Later the king was prohibited, and this time with more justice, from incurring debts in imperial affairs.

Vladislav was obviously forced to try and improve this untenable position of the crown in regard to the estates, and to strengthen the central power. His whole reign is a covert struggle against the existing constitution. Above all, he wished to withdraw himself from the excessive influence of the Catholic Church, which had already inflicted deep wounds upon the country. The Church, dominated by Jesuits, encouraged men to enter their community, conceded no privileges to the Uniates, and thus rendered the whole work of the union void. The Jesuits in Poland, as in other countries, searched for Protestant and other heretical books and destroyed them. The schools came gradually into their hands; they founded their own academy in Cracow, in order to enter into rivalry with the one already existing. They accumulated immense

fortunes, and finally watched every step which the king took.

Vladislav, who in May, 1624, at his father's instructions, had undertaken a long journey to several courts, and finally to Rome, at last ventured to take up a bold attitude against the predominance of the Church. He, like Casimir IV. previously, endeavoured to make the influence of the crown felt in the election of the bishops, and negotiated with Rome on the subject with some success. He wished that the papal consent to the founding of the Jesuit academy in Cracow should be recalled. He instituted in Thorn, certainly to the indignation of the Catholics, a discussion between the different confessions, which, however, like others previously,

remained unsuccessful. He protected the non-united, and, disregarding the union at Brest, left them their own bishoprics in Lemberg, Premysl, Lutzk, Mohilev, and the archbishopric of Kiev, without troubling himself about the protest of Rome; in fact, he actually permitted the return of Uniates to Orthodoxy and treated the Greek Orthodox with justice. The success of his exertions was considerable. In consequence of this the eastern provinces, and, above all, the Cossacks, the champions of Orthodoxy, remained true to the



A KING WITHOUT LIBERTY

The liberty of the crown was curtailed during the reign of Vladislav IV. The diet of 1639 passed a resolution that the king could not leave the country without the consent of parliament.

king, although they were aware that they could not expect any just treatment from their enemy the *Slachta*.

In an equally decisive manner he broke away from the foreign policy of his father. He strove for an alliance of Poland with Russia, carried on war with great energy, and obtained in 1634 at Poljanovka a favourable peace, which brought to the Poles the possession of Sievsk, Smolensk and Czernigov. His intention was now to wage a joint war on a grand scale against Turkey; he therefore yielded in the Swedish question, and in the truce at Stuhmsdorf on September 12th, 1635, in return for the restoration of Prussia,

renounced all claim to Livonia, which was conquered by Sweden. In his eagerness to attain his purpose he made overtures to the house of Hapsburg, and married Cecilia Renata, an Austrian archduchess. When on her death he married a French princess—Marie Louise of Nevers-Gonzaga—he did so probably in order to fit out troops

Social Revolution in Poland

against Turkey with her money. If Poland then achieved successes, she owed them only to the circumspection and self-sacrifice of her king. In return she was not even willing to pay the debts incurred by him in the war against Moscow, and after great efforts a tax was granted the king only as "gratitude." In one single point did the king allow himself to be carried away by the *Slachta* to take a step momentous for Poland, in the legislation concerning the Cossacks.

At the close of the sixteenth century a great economic and social revolution had been completed in Poland. The colonisation of the eastern provinces had made unexpected progress. Red Russia, Volhynia and Podolia had been long occupied by the Polish lords; now the stream of colonists flowed into the Dnieper region and swept along with it the inhabitants of the above-named regions. Even nobles who, in consequence of the civil wars and also of the struggle with Russia, were at the end of their economic resources, marched under the protection of mighty lords to the eastern provinces, and there became Cossacks. Small landowners in the western provinces could not hold their own from want of hands; equally in the east the uncertainty and the exhausting work of colonisation rendered the development of small farms impossible.

The consequence was that the petty nobility, especially in the east, became dependent on the large landowners; by this step their influence in national life would naturally sink, while that of the magnates rose. If in the fifteenth and also in the sixteenth century the petty nobles had exercised such power in the state that they could pass even the great legislative Revision, and if the constitution had stood under

the banner of democracy, the centre of gravity was now shifted once more to the Senate, which, by economic pressure, ruled the chamber of provincial deputies.

The development of Poland from the close of the sixteenth century lay, therefore, in the hands of the magnates; the oligarchs dictated to the crown; with them originated the first of those revolts so disastrous to the state, which were destined to lead irresistibly to the downfall of Poland. Side by side with the formation of the large landed estates in the eastern provinces went a movement of the population from west to east, which shifted the economic and also the political centre of gravity of the empire toward the eastern frontier. The great nobles of the east guided the state according to their own will.

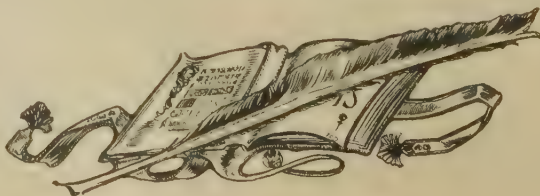
In addition to this a social transformation took place. Among the Cossacks a party was slowly developing which aimed at freedom and wished to be on equality with the nobles. But nothing was more dangerous for the great landowners of the eastern marches than this movement, by which they ran the risk of losing the whole peasantry, the one support of their farms. All who were oppressed and wished to live a life of freedom joined the Cossacks. The

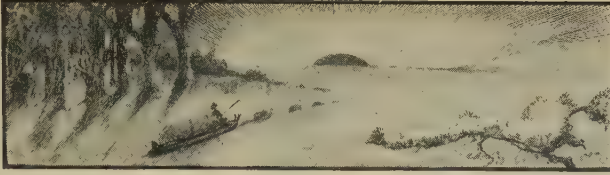
Cossacks on the Increase

peasant population could only be held back by force from running away and migrating to the Ukraine. The number of the Cossacks increased from year to year with great rapidity. To remedy this evil, measures were taken that only 600 Cossacks should be admitted, and registers were drawn up for inspection, while all others had to remain peasants.

The threatened oligarchs now thought of applying an efficient remedy. At their instigation the diet of 1638 resolved to place the registered persons under a Polish commissary; all who later acquired privileges were to forfeit their rights, liberties and incomes. Their possessions were confiscated by the lords, and they must

immediately pay taxes on them. This resolution of the diet kindled a revolt of the Cossacks which was destined in the end to result in the loss of the Ukraine.





GREAT DAYS OF COSSACK POWER AND THE COMING UP OF RUSSIA

AFTER the conquest of Kiev and the subjugation of Russia by the Tartars, Moscow on the one hand, and Lithuania on the other, had grown into new political centres. But in Kiev all culture and political life were dying out. The country gradually became a desert; the survivors left by the sword of the Tartar were dragged away into captivity or emigrated, while a few who remained behind, living in perpetual danger, sank into barbarism and took refuge in the forests and fens. It was only when these districts were conquered by Lithuanian princes that the fugitives came back and the country was once more populated. Princes of the Olgerd stock received large tracts of this unowned land and introduced settlers. Their primary duty was always, however, to ward off Tartar attacks, and the military organisation had therefore first to be taken in hand. Thus, in course of time a kind of military frontier against the Tartars was developed. The first step was taken by the frontier starosties (districts governed by starosts); the resident landowners also fought the Tartars on their own account. Owing to this duty of defence, free companies were formed, which stood in very loose relations with their princes and starosts. At the beginning of the fifteenth century they bore the name of Cossacks.

The whole institution, like the name, is of Tartar origin; but the Slavonic Cossacks developed quite differently. In any case, a direct connection with the Kirghiz, who call themselves Kasaks, is not demonstrable. It is also better to

Definition of the Cossacks separate them entirely from the Casoges on the peninsula of Taman, and the Tcherkesses in the Caucasus, who were subjugated in 965 by Sviatoslav. Among the Tartars those persons were called Cossacks who made raiding expeditions without the permission of their chiefs. Russian and Lithuanian princes, such as Vasilij IV. Ivanovitch and Sigismund I., made formal complaint to the Tartar khans that the "Cossacks"

invaded their territories. In Russia people were originally called Cossacks who, in contrast to the settled population with their burden of taxes, were engaged in trade and commerce, exporting salt in particular, or served on board the shipping on the Volga, or were occupied with fisheries on the Dnieper and brought fish

**Cossack Bands
the Refuge
of Discontents**

to the market at Kiev—people, in short, who were not fettered to the soil. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century there were Cossacks whose duties were exclusively military, although they were not free, but were the subjects of various princes. They must have been the descendants of those free itinerant traders who must have been familiarised with every sort of danger on their journeys. Citizens and peasants who found their burdens intolerable flocked to them. These Cossack bands often bore the names of their lords; thus we find "Cossacks of Prince Demetrius Wisniowiecki," or, according to the names of the starosties and towns, Cossacks of Kanew, Bar, Winnica, Bilacerkov and Kiev, of Smolensk, Riasan and Putvol. Those of Czerkasy were so renowned that the Cossacks were later called generally Czerkasy. The greatest services in the organisation and development of the Cossack system were performed by the frontier starosts and by the princes.

Daszkowicz, Starost of Czerkasy on the Dnieper, went to Poland and demanded in the diet at Piotrkov that these free companies should be recognised as an imperial army, whose duty was to guard the frontier; he showed also how important that might be for the empire. His request was not granted; and when the government proposed to restrict the Cossack right of settlement they withdrew behind the rapids south of Czerkasy. Here the free Cossack race, which recognised no sovereign, made its home. We find the first traces of these "Saporoska Sjetsch" in an edict of King Sigismund

Augustus of 1568. They are more precisely described to us in the documents of the end of the sixteenth century. Their strongholds were the islands in the Dnieper, where they had their forts.

Their organisation was that of the orders of chivalry in Western Europe. Implicit obedience, piety, chastity in the camp,

The Strict Discipline of the Sjetsch

absolute equality—these were the conditions of life among the Sjetsch. The assembly was the only authority; it elected the chief, the Ataman or Hetman, who held his office only for one year, and then was brought to account for his actions, and could even be punished by death; the Asavul, or second in command, and a chancellor (pisar). The assembly possessed also the only judicial authority. Quarrels were strictly forbidden; theft and the plundering of Christians were punishable by hanging. The Sjetsch lived according to the precepts of the Orthodox Church and strictly observed the fasts.

Their most honourable task was war against the infidels. They lived in fenced enclosures (kurenj) which were covered with horse-skins, 150 in each. Married men could be received into the company, but their wives might not be brought with them. Their food was a sort of yeast, fish, and fish-soup. A new institution thus began to flourish in those parts; indeed, it seemed as if a new state would spring up there, on a new non-European basis. While in Poland and the rest of Europe the freedom of individual classes alone was known and preserved, there the very lowest stratum demanded for itself the same freedom; there was to be there no class distinction, but merely a free nation.

Independently of the Sjetsch, free companies also were formed which, when they planned a raid, chose a Hetman for themselves. But everything later was concentrated in the Sjetsch, which formed the rallying point of all the Cossacks of the Ukraine. So far as we know,

Charms of the Cossack Fairyland

the noble John Badovskij was elected Hetman over all the Cossacks for the first time under Sigismund Augustus in 1572. The same king put all the Cossacks under the jurisdiction of one judge, who had his residence at Bilacerkov. After this time captains, or Hetmans, who were recognised by the Polish government appeared at their head. The Cossack life possessed an irresistible charm; and when the news spread of

this fairyland where every man could live as free as a bird, and it received a solemn consecration as a sworn foe to the infidels, it was gradually populated with fugitives and deserters from Poland and Russia. The country on both sides of the Dnieper round Kiev, as far as the Tartar frontier, became a paradise for all the poor and the oppressed, not less than for those who thirsted for glory and feats of arms. The Little Russian race seemed qualified to put into practice the idea of universal equality and freedom. The science of war was here brought to high perfection. At the same time a literature was produced which glorified the Cossack life in attractive ballads and tales. All the Slavonic world might well be proud of this free state. Of course this people, which regarded war as the object of life, could not fairly be expected to cultivate a higher civilisation.

The Cossacks might have brought incalculable advantages to the country and the whole empire of Poland if the Poles had understood how to fit this new member into the organism of the state. But the democratic spirit of the Cossacks did not harmonise with the aristocratic constitution of Poland. There were in Poland after the Union of Lublin (1569) only three sharply divided classes—the Slachta, the citizens, and the present serfs. There was no place for the Cossacks among these three classes, and, instead of any advantages, the Cossacks therefore presented to Poland a social and political problem, as important as it was dangerous, which in its subsequent shape became predominantly an economic question.

The Cossacks exercised on the peasantry in Poland and Lithuania such a strong attraction that only the severest penalties could restrain the people from fleeing by crowds into the Ukraine. They seemed, therefore, to the Slachta to be a revolutionary influence which disturbed the order of the state, and, by encouraging the exodus of the labouring country population, threatened every farm with desolation and ruin. But the economic stability of the Polish state depended on the serfdom of the country population; this had been a main object of the legislature, just as in the ancient world the prosperity of the state had depended on slavery as a legal institution. It is therefore intelligible why the Slachta persecuted with deadly



CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAITS OF THE FIGHTING COSSACKS

1, Cossack officer; 2, 3, 4, and 5, Typical Cossack soldiers of the Caucasus; 6, Cossacks of the Don.

hatred and deep contempt those runaway peasants who ventured to put themselves on a level with their betters. They staked everything on reducing the Cossacks again to the position of peasants. The division of interests was not to be healed, and war was inevitable. It was an almost hopeless task to find a means of arranging the dispute and solving the social problem.

Apart from Sigismund I., who had quietly promoted the organisation of the Cossacks, Sigismund Augustus was the first who attempted to link the Cossack element with the organism of the Polish state, since he placed them under the authority of the starosts, restricted their numbers, and fixed their pay. Bathori had only taken in his pay 600 Cossacks, and those for the war against Moscow. It was only under Sigismund III. that the diet of 1590 determined to pay 6,000 Cossacks. They were entered upon a list and called "registered." Their commander-in-chief was the Polish Crown Hetman for the time being, so that the Cossacks were intended to compose only a part of the Polish army. The "registered" received grants of land, a court of justice of their own at Baturin, and the right of electing superior officers. All the others, by far the majority, were intended to revert to the status of peasants. Sigismund thus found a way out of the difficulty

which only satisfied a very small proportion of the Cossacks. But the Slachta did not wish to admit even these 6,000 into the state, and treated them merely as mercenaries. This provoked new strife. The "registered" combined with the non-registered Cossacks and rebelled against the government, attacked the Slachta on their estates, and, under leaders of their own choice, made raids upon Turkey and the Tartar territory. Through this

state of affairs a new difficulty sprang up for the Polish government; for this arrogance of the Cossacks threatened every moment to bring on their heads a dangerous war with the Porte, and injured Ottomans were continually lodging complaints against insolent Cossacks. All commands were as useless as the execution of several Hetmans. What did the free Cossacks care about the national interests of Poland? They loved liberty and war above everything else;

they went as gaily to battle as to a dance. Often imitating the intrepid Varangians, they sailed in their light craft from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and plundered the suburbs of Constantinople or the towns of Kilia, Akerman, Ismail, Sinope and others. Sigismund built the fortress of Kremenczug on the Dnieper in 1591 to hold 1,000 men, whose task it would be to keep the Cossacks in check. But even these standing garrisons were unable to restore order. In the year 1592 the first revolt of the registered Cossacks broke out, under the leadership of the Hetman Christopher Kosinski. Prince Constantine Ostrogski, himself Orthodox, suppressed it at the head of the Slachta. The Cossacks were forced to surrender Kosinski and elect another Hetman, to give up the booty, and to bind themselves not to undertake any raids without the knowledge and consent of the government,

and not to receive any deserters. But a second rising followed in 1596, under Loboda and Severin Nalivajko.

The first revolt may have had a more social character, but now there was a religious element added, since the Cossacks rose to protect the Orthodox faith, which was threatened by the union of Brest in 1596. Ostrogski, the antagonist of the union, now himself fanned the flame, since he wished to wreak vengeance on



ANCIENT COSSACK CHAIN MAIL

Present-day Cossack in the armour of the past.



GIRLS OF THE KUBAN COSSACKS, SHOWING THEIR DIFFERENT HEADGEARS



A KUBAN COSSACK WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER, AND A KUBAN GIRL

FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE KUBAN COSSACKS

Alexander Siemaszko, the castellan of Braclaw, and on the Bishop Cyryl Terlecki. The rebels assembled in his territory; they were joined in Ostrog by Damian Nalivajko, a brother of Severin, the chaplain of Ostrogski; many nobles, even the non-registered, took their side. The best generals, Zamojski and Sholkievski, were sent against the insurgents and forced them to surrender. The two Hetmans were given up and were beheaded at Warsaw. Treated with great harshness, the Cossacks now fled in masses to the left bank of the Dnieper, to Saporoshje, where they established their headquarters. Their numbers grew so rapidly there that they were able once more to undertake raids; they surprised Varna in 1605, and destroyed, in 1607, Oczakov and Perekop.

The Saporogi became especially formidable when the Hetman Peter Konaszevich Sahajdacnyi, a bold and skilful strategist, placed himself at their head in 1612. He plundered, in 1612, the coast of the Crimea as far as Eupatoria, took Kaffa, destroyed Sinope in 1613, pillaged in 1614 the coast of Asia Minor, and in 1615-1616 Trebizond, and burnt the Turkish fleet. It was he who supported the Polish campaign against Moscow. The name of Saporogi was soon universally used for the Dnieper Cossacks. Konaszevich assumed the title "Hetman of both banks of the Dnieper and of the Saporogi," and placed himself over the "registered"; in fact, he entered into alliance with the tsar and with Turkey.

He was the first Hetman who openly protected the Church and organised it, since he demanded an Orthodox Metropolitan with suffragan bishops for Kiev, and carried his point. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophan, came to Russia and consecrated Jov Borecki as Metropolitan and six other bishops; Konaszevich assigned them estates. He founded many churches, renewed the monasteries, opened schools, and was thus the first who laid stress on the improvement of culture. He also called upon the Polish government to confirm his position; this was done when his help was required against the Turks.

But he was always endeavouring to emphasise his independence. When Poland, in the treaty with Turkey of 1621, promised to keep the Cossacks in check,

he immediately organised an expedition into the Turkish territory, by way of registering his protest against that stipulation. Strangely enough, this man of iron, who, for instance, ordered the Hetman of the "registered" Borodovka to be beheaded in sight of the Polish camp, and seemed to love war and war only, retired after the battle of Khotin, where he was wounded in the hand, into a monastery, and there occupied himself with the composition of a book, to which even his enemies gave unstinted praise. Konaszevich died on April 5th, 1622, an extraordinary character, bold to foolhardiness, a clever statesman, a patron of culture and freedom; in short, one of the greatest Slavs in history. He founded the national independence and spread abroad the fame of his native Ukraine; among the Cossacks themselves he roused a deep love for the mother-country. He is still celebrated in song.

In three years after his death the Cossack country sank from the pinnacle to which it had been raised by Konaszevich. The Cossacks had been welcomed everywhere as mercenaries; Loboda and Nalivajko had fought under the emperor's banner in

Transylvania, and others, like Lisovski, in Germany itself. The Polish government now sent the Hetman Koniecpolski

to the Ukraine, on the right bank, under the pretext of preventing Cossack inroads into Turkish territory. The Cossacks were unexpectedly surrounded by his forces on Lake Kurakov, misled by false promises, and compelled to surrender. They were forced to accept the following terms on the heath of Medveshi Lozy in 1625. Six thousand "registered" were to be retained, 60,000 gulden in gold paid to them, and the register kept in the imperial treasury; the Hetman was to be confirmed in his appointment by the Polish Crown Hetman; inroads into Turkish territory were to be discontinued; the boats were to be burnt and no new ones built. A thousand of the registered Cossacks were to be on garrison duty in the country of the Saporogi.

The non-registered were to serve their lords and sell their goods within twelve weeks. Michael Doroszenko was then chosen Hetman, and confirmed in his post by Koniecpolski. Some years afterwards a Polish army came again into the Ukraine, and under its protection the Slachta indulged in acts of the greatest injustice and

THE GREAT DAYS OF COSSACK POWER

violence. Murders, outrages, and confiscation of property were the order of the day. If we reflect that hardly one in twenty could be entered on the register, we shall realise how great a mass of inflammable material was collected there. There was equal danger seething among the Saporogi, who had their own Hetmans.

On the election of Vladislav IV., the representatives of the Cossacks also appeared in the imperial diet. They asked for electoral rights, abolition of the union, increase in the numbers of the registered, and the confirmation of the privileges of the Orthodox Church. They received the answer that the Cossacks certainly formed part of the body of the Polish republic, but only as the hair and nails, which could be cut off. In order to emphasise his demands, Petryzcky, Hetman of the "registered," marched to Volhynia and ravaged the property of the Slachta. The Cossacks were not admitted to full electoral privileges; but the rights of the Orthodox Church were confirmed and its Metropolitan, Peter Mogila, was recognised. Vladislav IV. promised to restore the Orthodox dioceses

**Cossack
Leaders
Beheaded**

and to found new dioceses for the Uniates, and allowed them to build some churches and to set up printing-presses.

But there was little talk of the freedom of the Cossacks; on the contrary, he ordered the new fortress of Kudak to be built on the Dnieper, which was intended to keep the Saporogi in check. The Hetman Sulyma destroyed this fortress, for which act he was impaled in Warsaw and an army was sent against the Cossacks; these, under Pawluk, who already contemplated the autonomy of the Ukraine, were ready for a desperate resistance. The Cossacks fought fiercely at Kumejki and Borovitz, but were forced to give in. Pawluk, Tomilenko, and other leaders were beheaded.

The Cossacks had to ask for pardon; all who went to Saporoshje were to be sent back to their lords. The preparation of the register was for the future entrusted to the royal commissaries, and the people were robbed of their goods. The diet of 1638, rendered arrogant by its last victory, now had recourse to the severest measures. The "registered" were put on a level with the peasants, declared to have forfeited all rights, and deprived of their goods. Henceforward the Polish commis-

sary resided in Trechtemirov. The Polish armies encamped in the Ukraine and mercilessly wasted the country.

But people were much deceived in Poland who expected that the Ukraine would be finally pacified by the enslavement of the Cossacks. As an answer to the resolutions of the diet a new revolt

**Terrible Fall
of the
Cossacks**

broke out under Hunia, Ostrjanycia and Filonenko. But this also was suppressed. In a camp which had surrendered unconditionally, every single person was massacred. Among the Polish magnates who took the greatest interest in the enslavement of the Ukraine, Jeremias Wisniewiecki—a voivode of the Jagellon stock—distinguished himself by his barbarity; at the head of his own troops he burnt, beheaded, impaled, or blinded all the Cossacks who fell in to his hands.

The rebellion was crushed by the weight of numbers. Many fled to Saporoshje and wandered about in the steppe. The idea of gaining support from some foreign power now gathered strength. Ostrjanycia and Filonenko went to Moscow; some 6,000 are said to have entered the service of Persia. The Slachta now ruled absolutely in the Ukraine; the Cossacks were forbidden even to fish and to hunt. The Jesuits, too, came there before long. Many magnates, such as Wisniewiecki, Koniecpolski, Kalinowski, Potocki, acquired huge tracts of land. The district which Wisniewiecki now possessed was greater in size than many a German principality. A deputation of the Cossacks—Roman Polovetz, Bogdan Chmelnicki, Ivan Bojaryn, Ivan Wolezenko—which demanded from the king the restoration of freedom, of the right to own property, and of payment for service, could not effect anything. There was tranquillity in the Ukraine only for ten years; it seemed as if the country only wished to try to what limits the oppression of the

**Ten Years'
Tranquillity in
the Ukraine**

Polish Slachta could go. To this period belong the meritorious exertions of the famous Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogila. The family of Mogila gave some able rulers to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; it was connected by many matrimonial ties with the foremost families of Poland. Peter received his education partly in the school of the Staupigian fraternity at Lemberg, which was intimate with his family, and

partly abroad. In 1625 he entered the most celebrated monastery of Russia, the Peczerskaja Lavra at Kiev, of which he became abbot at the end of 1627. In this capacity he went in 1632, at the head of the Cossack deputation to Poland, to the Reichstag, and petitioned the king to grant rights to the Orthodox Church.

The Famous Metropolitan Peter Mogila

The consecration of Jov Borecki as Metropolitan of Kiev by the Patriarch Theophan of Jerusalem, at the request of the Hetman Konaszevich, had taken place without the king's knowledge; the office of metropolitan and certain bishoprics were now intended to be recognised by the state. After the death of Borecki, Peter Mogila was recognised as Metropolitan in 1632.

Mogila's first and important task was the improvement of secondary and elementary schools. While the Catholic priests, the Jesuits in particular, founded and supported scientific institutions on every side in order to fight the Evangelicals with spiritual weapons, the Russian clergy at the period of the Tartar dominion had sunk very low. The majority of the priests were illiterate. Even the most bigoted supporters of Orthodoxy could not fail to see that, if they wished to save their Church, they ought not to neglect culture any further. Ecclesiastical brotherhoods were founded, and printing-presses and schools were set up for the protection of the Church in the most important sees, such as Lemberg, Kiev, Luck, Wilna.

The first Orthodox school with a press was founded in 1580 by Prince Constantine Ostrogski in his town of Ostrog. A school with a press was next founded in 1586 at Lemberg by the Staupropian fraternity; another in 1588 at Wilna, when the Patriarch of Constantinople stayed there; a third in Luck, in 1589; a fourth in Kiev. Books in defence of their Church now began to be published by the

Education

Spreads in Spite of Persecution

Orthodox party. The danger was the greater since King Sigismund III., an enthusiastic Catholic and patron of the Jesuits, aimed at the extirpation of the Church and schools of the Orthodox party. When Theophan, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, appeared, he was announced to be a Turkish spy, and the bishops consecrated by him were brought before the courts. In spite of all this they held their own, and the schools increased in

number. Mogila was especially desirous of founding in Kiev a university, like those of other countries, in which instruction could be given in Latin, Greek, and Polish. He sent young persons abroad for some years to study the higher branches of education, and then installed them as professors in his school, which bore the name of a "college," and was subsequently raised to the rank of a university. He sacrificed all his property to this end. He was soon in a position to send exemplary monks and efficient teachers to the Prince of Wallachia and to Moscow.

A vigorous intellectual movement now began. An apologetic Orthodox literature appeared; the Greeks could now vie successfully with the Roman Catholics. The school had good teachers, and it educated famous scholars. Mogila himself was conspicuously active in the literary field. He wrote a series of the most necessary church books for the people and for teachers, amended the text of the translation of the Bible, and composed apologetics, especially the "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East" (the Confessio

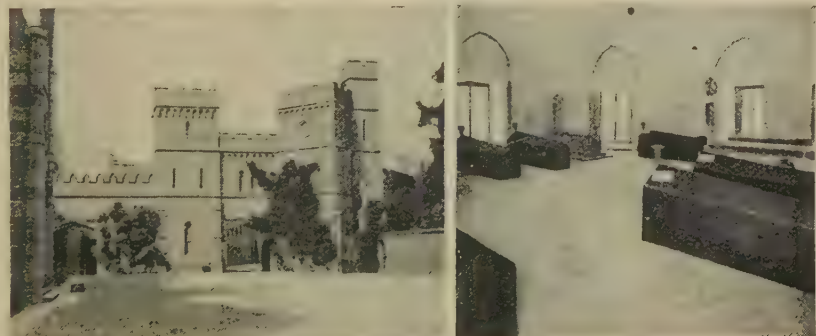
An Age of Intellectual Activity

Orthodoxa of 1643). Russia was able for centuries to find sustenance in the intellectual products of this man and his school. In the year 1640, Peter Mogila proposed to the Tsar Michael to found a monastery with a school under the direction of Little Russian monks, in which the instruction should be given in the Greek and Slavonic languages. Two of the learned Kievans, Epifanij Slavinckij, at the recommendation of the Patriarch Nikon, and Simeon Polockij, entered into closer relations with the Tsar Alexis.

Polockij in particular was both a prominent preacher and a poet, whose dramas were produced at court; he was also (after 1670) manager of the royal printing establishment. He it was who drafted the first scheme for a university in Moscow with faculties in Slavonic, Greek and Latin—a magnificent conception, which can be traced back to Mogila himself. The sons of Alexis, Feodor and Ivan were patrons of the Kievan scholars. Peter the Great invited the teachers of this school to his court, and formed out of them a staff of savants, to whom he confided the intellectual regeneration of Russia. The pupils of the Kievan school



ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE OF THE KHANS AT BAKHTCHI-SARAI



PALACE AT ALOUPKA AND TOMBS OF THE KHANS AT BAKHTCHI-SARAI



IN THE GARDEN OF THE PALACE AT ALOUPKA
IN THE CRIMEA: SCENES IN THE LAND OF THE TARTAR KHANS

bore the torch of culture everywhere, and filled the highest offices in the Church.

Mogila died in 1647, barely fifty years old, worn out by his restless energy. As Konaszevich aroused the pride and the independence of the inhabitants of Southern Russia, so Mogila, a kindred spirit, awakened the culture of the Ukraine, covered it with the glory of science, and promoted the self-consciousness of the Orthodox Church. It must be confessed that even thus the old defects of the Greek Church could no longer be made good; the richest and most conspicuous families, to whom nearly half the Ukraine on the left bank belonged, gradually went over to the Catholic Church. Almost the only adherents of the Orthodox faith were the poor, and in the towns

the few citizens who were persuaded by spiritual brotherhood to continue in the Eastern Church. In the year of Mogila's death there was already great excitement in the Ukraine, and at the beginning of 1648 the Cossacks defeated a Polish army. This time Bogdan Sinovi Chmelnicki, son of a Sotnik from Tchigirin, had placed himself at the head of the insurgents. He had studied in the Collegium Mogilanum and then in the Jesuit school at Jaroslav, and had the reputation of being a well-read man. He fought in the Polish army at the battle of Cecora, where his father fell; he himself was taken prisoner and detained for two years in Constantinople. There he learnt the Turkish habits and language, a knowledge which proved very useful to him. Returning home on the conclusion of peace he went, discontented, to the Cossacks, shared in all their revolts, and was nominated chancellor (pisar) by them.

His was a kindly, peaceable nature; it would never have occurred to him to stir up a rebellion had not the arrogance of the Polish Slachta and the prevailing anarchy in Poland driven him to it. His estate of Sobotovo was taken from him (he was not a noble) by the understarost Czaplinsky; his wife was carried

off, his son killed, and when he demanded justice he, like all other injured persons before him, failed to find it. He then turned to the king. The latter had then received humiliation upon humiliation from the Slachta; there was reluctance to pay even his war debts, and his personal liberty was restricted; as just at this time his only son had died, his sorrow knew no bounds and his temper was greatly excited. He is said to have hinted to the Cossack who now lodged his grievance before him that he had a sword with which he could procure justice for himself. In any case, there is little doubt that Vladislav gave some encouragement to the Cossack; the whole subsequent attitude of Chmelnicki shows it. On the



A GREAT REBEL LEADER

Bogdan Sinovi Chmelnicki revealed his qualities as a leader, overcoming the Polish forces at Shovti and again at Korsun. There was great rejoicing—the pealing of bells and the thunder of cannon—when he entered Kiev.

way back from Warsaw Chmelnicki stopped in every village, complained everywhere at the injustice done to him, and asked if the people were ready to take up arms against the Poles; all were only waiting for the right moment. Having reached the Ukraine, he took counsel in the forest with his friends who had grown grey in campaigns; they all thought that no help could be looked for except from themselves. An order for his arrest was issued, but he escaped to Saporoshje (towards the end of 1647). After having secured the assistance of the Cossacks in an assembly, he went to the

Tartars to ask their help. His proceeding got wind in Poland, and at the beginning of 1648 two army corps were sent to the Ukraine, one overland, the other down the Dnieper; in the latter were embodied the "registered" under the Hetman Barabasz. Chmelnicki advanced to meet them, and when they came to shore they went over to him.

Chmelnicki called on them to protect their life and liberty, their wives and children; a shout of joy greeted his words; Barabasz was thrown into the river. Thus the Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper was in a blaze. The clergy preached the war everywhere and encouraged the revolt. But the feeling was intense enough

without this. Not merely the people in the Ukraine, but also those of Red Russia, and even the country folk in the western provinces of Poland, rose up and helped the Cossacks. If they murdered the Slachta and the Catholic clergy, pillaged their property and burnt their churches; they only required them for what they themselves had already suffered. Every discontented spirit hurried into Chmelnicki's camp, knowing well that the hour of reckoning was at hand.

Chmelnicki soon defeated one Polish army at Shovti Wody, another at Korsunj. At the news of this Vladislav IV. started to go to the Ukraine, but died on the way, at Merecz, on March 20th, 1648. Another large army was put in the field, but this, being surrounded on the River Pilavka, took to flight under cover of darkness, and the whole rich camp fell into the hands of the Cossacks. Confusion and perplexity now prevailed in Poland. The Cossacks wished to be led to Warsaw. But Chmelnicki hesitated, probably because there was no reliance to be placed on the Tartars. He only marched to Red Russia, besieged Lemberg, took 200,000 gulden as ransom,

The Victorious March of the Cossack Army invested Zamosc, received there 20,000 gulden, and awaited the result of the royal election. His embassy worked for the election of John Casimir, brother of Vladislav, who was eventually elected.

Chmelnicki now began his homeward march; and made his entry amid the pealing of bells and the thunder of cannon into Kiev, where he was solemnly received by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, by the metropolitan, the clergy, and the citizens. There now appeared in his camp ambassadors of the sultan from Moldavia and Wallachia, from Transylvania and Moscow, all with offers of alliance. Chmelnicki played the part of an independent sovereign. Ambassadors also came from the newly elected king, at their head Kisiel, an Orthodox noble. But Chmelnicki rejected all proposals for peace, and marched for the second time to the Polish frontier, since he knew that only the sword could decide.

The king in person now took the field against him. A battle was fought at Zborov. John Casimir had almost been taken prisoner when Chmelnicki gave orders for the slaughter to cease; he wished, he said, to extirpate the Slachta, but not to fight against the king. New

terms of peace were put forward by him. He demanded that 40,000 should be put on the list of the "reserved," and that the voivode ships of Kiev, Tchernygov, Poltava, and Podolia, should be given to the Cossacks; abolition of the union of Brest, a seat for the Orthodox Metropolitan in the Polish Senate, and the expulsion of the Jesuits and the Jews from the Ukraine. Poland would not listen to these conditions, and preparations were renewed for war.

The people now began to mutter that Chmelnicki was deserting them and would not win freedom for them. But this time the Cossacks, although Chmelnicki is said to have had 350,000 men with him, were beaten at Beresteczko in Volhynia, through the treachery of the Tartar Khan, who, having made an agreement with the king, left the field of battle at the decisive moment and carried off with him as prisoner Chmelnicki, vainly urging him to turn back. The latter regained his liberty after much trouble, and when he came back all was lost. He still persevered, indeed, and even won some victories; but he saw that the country could not hold its own without foreign aid. At the assembly specially convened for the purpose some declared for Turkey, others for Moscow; there were a few voices in favour of remaining with Poland. The masses were for Russia, with which the common faith formed a link. Chmelnicki himself preferred Russia. He sent in 1653 a solemn embassy to the Tsar Alexis, who had hitherto maintained an unfriendly attitude toward the insurgents, and this time the Grand Duke decided to accept the Cossacks. In the next year Muscovite commissaries appeared in the Ukraine and took possession of the country. An army under Doroszenko submitted some years later to Turkey. In the centuries of struggle between Poland and Russia for the sovereignty in the East, the year 1654 forms the turning point. Poland had been driven into the background by her own fault, while the power of Russia was from year to year extended at the expense of Poland. It might now be said that the game was lost for Poland.

Poland Driven Into the Background

But the democratic Cossack community was as little adapted for the arrogant Muscovites as for the aristocratic Polish republic. Absolutism cannot brook



THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF MAZEPPA, PRINCE OF THE UKRAINE
Born of a noble family in Podolia, Mazeppa became a page in the court of the King of Poland, and there he is said to have intrigued with the wife of a Podolian count. For this offence the young page was lashed to a wild horse and turned adrift. The horse dropped dead in the Ukraine, where Mazeppa was released by a Cossack family, who nursed him in their own hut. He subsequently became a great leader, and in the Northern War of 1707 made a bold effort to free the Ukraine. By permission of the artist, R. Wheelwright.

national forms of liberty in its own domain. Moscow was otherwise, with its rude Boyars and its low culture, little adapted to benefit a people like the Cossacks, who, accustomed to freedom, stood on a higher plane in politics and culture. The position of the Cossacks, however, became more endurable under the Muscovite sceptre, since definite laws were enforced there; all subjects were equal, and even those outside the Boyar class were not treated more indulgently. The weight of the government was, therefore, felt less acutely.

An independent existence for the Cossack state was impossible. The Cossacks received their material as well as spiritual requirements from Russia. They bought their weapons in Russian marts, and they owed their very moderate degree of intellectual development to the Orthodox clergy, whose patron the Russian Tsar was. Chmelnicki alone, with his sound common sense, recognised this. A bold and skilful soldier, he was hardly competent for his great task as a statesman; he was no born ruler, but, always regarding himself as a servant of the crown, he only thought how to find out another master for himself. He showed superficiality in his grip of the national and the social questions. He owed the successes which he achieved more

to accident and the universal hatred of the Slachta than to his genius. The people did not notice these defects in him; and when he died, on August 25th, 1657, at the age of sixty-four years, a Cossack ballad sang that it was not the wind that groaned and howled in the trees, but the nation bewailing its father Chmelnicki.

It was not long before the Muscovite administration in the Ukraine caused a bitter disappointment. The Polish party therefore grew again, especially among the upper classes, while the people mostly remained loyal to Moscow. There was still vacillation; at one time there were fresh submissions to Poland, as, for instance, in the case of Juriij, Chmelnicki's own son,

at another time there were reversions to Moscow. But there were always the three parties existing in the Ukraine, the Polish, the Turkish, and the Russian, which fought each other with renewed vigour. Soon there was evidence of a deplorable split between the Cossacks and the population which was excluded from the military service. The Cossacks, who acquired large estates, began to separate themselves more sharply as an aristocracy from the lower stratum, over which they wished to rule, like the Slachta in Poland. The democratic spirit, which had formerly worked wonders in the Ukraine and had inspired and morally elevated the whole people, gradually disappeared. Soon the hate of the people turned against the Cossacks



MAZEPPA: HERO OF BYRON'S POEM
In the Northern War of 1707, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, whom the poet Byron has immortalised, made an effort to free the Ukraine, with Swedish help; this led to the abolition, by Peter the Great, of the office of Hetman.

themselves, who became their oppressors. When the reorganisation of the government and the army was completed under Peter the Great and a standing army was raised, the Cossacks no longer fitted into the new political and military structure. But Peter still spared them. It was only when Hetman Ivan Mazepa (the hero of Byron's poem) had attempted in the Northern War (1707) to emancipate the Ukraine with the help of the Swedes, and had entered into secret negotiations with Charles XII., that Peter struck about him with his usual cruelty; he took no further con-

sideration for the separate interests of the Cossacks, instituted in Moscow a special "Chancery for Little Russian affairs," and abolished the office of Hetman.

Menshikov captured the Sjetch of the Saporogi on the island of Chortiza, and they now emigrated to the Crimea. They were recalled to the Dnieper under the Empress Anna in 1737. They did not recognise their country again. Southern Russia had become quickly settled after the subjugation of the Tartar khanates, and was covered with towns. The steppe, through which the Cossacks had roamed like the Arabs through their desert, had been transformed into a populous land. Discontented with



KAMLUCKS AND THEIR HOUSES IN ASTRAKHAN



IN THE TEA MARKET AT ASTRAKHAN



THE CARPET FAIR IN THE KREML AT ASTRAKHAN

SCENES IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF ASTRAKHAN, FORMERLY KNOWN AS SARAI

THE GREAT DAYS OF COSSACK POWER

this, they wished their old land to be restored to them and changed back again into a waste—a further proof that they, the knights of robbery and plunder, were no longer suited to the new age and an organised government. Once again in the time of Catharine II. a savage social and religious war against Poles, Jews, and Catholics blazed forth, when the Cossacks, together with Haidamakes and every sort of riffraff, wreaked their fury and pillaged whole towns like Umani. Gonta and Selisnjak were the ringleaders; the Greek clergy once more added fuel to the flames. At last, in 1775, Potemkin, by Catharine's orders, took the Sjetch and destroyed it. One part of the insurgents emigrated to Turkey; the rest remained as Cossacks of the Black Sea; they received the southern shore of the Sea of Azov and the island of Fanagoria as their homes, with a special constitution. This was the end of the free Cossack life; it survived only in songs.

Catharine II., being alarmed by revolts, especially by that of Pugatchef (1774), and also indignant because her new settlements and towns in the south were injured in their development by a population of born robbers, declared, in the decree of May 3rd, 1783, in spite of her liberal views, all the crown peasants of Little Russia, and therefore the peasants among the Cossacks, to be serfs—a measure by which 1,500,000 peasants were presented to the nobles. When in the same year she united the Crimea (the Tartar Cossacks) with the empire, "the old life of those half-nomads, half-robber knights,

The Serfs Under Harsh Treatment

with all its romance and adventure, ceased for ever in the south, and the stillness of the grave sank over that country where for centuries a noisy life had pulsed." A similar phenomenon came to light in the territory belonging to the state of Moscow, and to some extent in the adjoining districts. The peasant population was no better treated there than in Poland;

the treatment of the serfs became more and more oppressive, only with the distinction that it was not so much the Boyars here, as the state itself and the magistrates, who ill-treated the people with true Oriental brutality, and extorted from them the uttermost farthing. Whole districts became depopulated. According to the official report there were in one region of 460 square miles (German) only 123 inhabited settlements and 967 deserted ones; the reason often given for this was "the tsar's taxes and imposts." The people emigrated by thousands; the limitation and the subsequent abolition of the right of emigration proved ineffectual. All the pretenders to the Russian crown found supporters among the Cossacks or started from that country. Among the more famous chieftains



PUGATCHEF: A LEADER OF REVOLT
Catharine II. was much alarmed at the frequent revolts, and at the hindered development of her new towns in the south in consequence of these outbreaks. Pugatchef, who gave himself out to be Peter III., in 1774, was a particularly dangerous revolutionary.

we may mention Bolotnikof, who encouraged the bands to murder the Boyars, to appropriate their goods, their wives and daughters, to plunder the warehouses of the merchants and divide all state offices among themselves; then the dreaded Hetman Stenka (Stefan) Rasin in the time of the Tsar Alexis (1667-1671); Kondratij Bulavin under Peter the Great (1707-1708); Pugatchef, who gave himself out to be Peter III.; further two pseudo-Demetri; they were all supported by these bands. This was the harvest which the state of Moscow reaped from the Asiatic brutality of its policy. But among the Cossacks also arose Jarmak Timofejef, who became famous by the conquest of Siberia, and then Deschnef, the discoverer in 1648 of the strait between America and Asia which was later rediscovered by Behring and called after him. Cossacks conquered Azov and wished to surrender it to the tsar. Nevertheless, the revolts of these Cossacks gave the Russian government much trouble. It was only after the defeat of Pugatchef under Catharine II. that their wide domains became gradually reduced to order.

Cossacks at Last Reduced to Order



THE FALL OF POLAND

AND ITS PARTITION AFTER 800 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

THE loss of the Ukraine was not the sole disaster which befell Poland in 1654. The war for it with Moscow and Turkey was almost worse. But the Swedish king, Charles X. Gustavus, against whose accession John II. Casimir (1648-1668) raised a protest, also declared war with Poland. In addition to these Prince George Rakoczy II. of Transylvania attacked Poland in 1657. For many years Poland had not been faced by such great danger. Warsaw and Cracow were in the hands of the Swedes; the Great Elector of Brandenburg took Prussia; Wilna and Red Russia were occupied by the Russians and Cossacks, and Rakoczy was committing the most terrible ravages. The king fled to Silesia. The saddest feature was that the Slachta joined the Swedes, and that there were traitors who roused rebellion against their own sovereign. The nobler minds formed a league, at whose head the king placed himself; and an alliance was concluded with Austria and Denmark.

In spite of some successes, Poland was forced to submit to great sacrifices. In the treaty of Wehlau (September 29th, 1657) she renounced the suzerainty of Prussia in favour of the Elector Frederic William; by this concession the duchy of Prussia was definitely lost. By the treaty with Sweden, concluded on May 3rd, 1660, in the Cistercian monastery of Oliva near Dantzic, Poland had to cede Elbing and Livonia; besides this, John Casimir abandoned his rights of inheritance in Sweden, and was only allowed to assume for his life the title of King of Sweden. The Polish arms were comparatively most successful in the Ukraine, where the Poles succeeded in winning over to their side a part of the Cossacks under Wyhovskij.

Even the son of Chmelnicki submitted to Poland. Nevertheless, Poland was compelled by the truce of Andrussov (January

20th, 1667) to cede to Moscow Smolensk, Severien, Czernigov, and the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper for thirteen years, and Kiev for two years. The war with Turkey, which had been brought about by the defeat of a part of the Cossacks under Doroszenko, similarly ended with a humiliating peace for Poland at Buczacz (Budziek), which was concluded eventually under Michael, the successor of John Casimir, on September 18th, 1672. According to its terms Poland ceded part of the Ukraine to Doroszenko, Podolia with the fortress of Kamieniec (Kamenez) to Turkey, and consented to pay an annual tribute of 22,000 ducats.

Still more unfortunate for Poland were the moral degeneracy of its Slachta and the general corruption of public life. Each group concluded peace on its own account with the enemy; the parties were hostile to each other and stirred up ill-will against the king; even individual officials carried out an independent policy. Many were in the pay of foreign powers, among them, for instance, the primate of the empire and John Sobieski, the subsequent king; the high dignitaries publicly taunted each other with venality.

It was in the year 1652 that a single deputy from Troki in Lithuania, Vladislav Sicinski by name, dissolved the Reichstag, which had been summoned at a dangerous crisis, by interposing his veto. That the validity of a resolution of the Reichstag depended on the assent of each individual member—the “*liberum veto*”—was the essence of the constitution; each individual was the embodiment of the majesty of the empire. Unanimity in all the resolutions of the Reichstag had already been demanded, and minorities had before this dissolved the Reichstag. But it was unprecedented that an individual should have dared to make the fullest use of the “*liberum veto*.” Foreign interference and

**Poland's
Concessions
to Moscow**

THE FALL OF POLAND

the exercise of influence on the imperial policy were henceforward much simplified, since all that was now required was to win over one single individual.

But then, as formerly, as if that was the obvious course, the blame was laid on the king. John Casimir was cautious and bold, but nevertheless the *Slachta* hated him. He was accused of indifference, no regard was paid to him, and his deposition was discussed. He anticipated this last proceeding, as he resolved to lay down the crown voluntarily. There was still much haggling about the

annuity payable to him, just as he had formerly been forced from motives of economy to marry his brother's widow, Marie Louise, in order that the country might not require to keep up two queens. The abdication took place on September 16th, 1668. The Senate and the Chamber of Provincial Deputies met in a joint session. With touching words of farewell the weeping king laid on the table of the house the deed of abdication, and the whole assembly wept with him. But the whole state, as it were, abdicated in the person of the king; his retirement was the most tangible proof of the impossible position of public affairs.

The ex-king revisited Sokal, Cracow, and Czenstochau; he learned of the election of his successor, the feeble Michael Thomas Korybut Wisniowiecki (1669-1673), and went to France, where he died at St. Germain on December 16th, 1672. Shortly before that, King Michael had been forced to conclude the shameful peace of Buczacz. He was the son of that voivode, Jeremias Wisniowiecki of Reussen, who had once vented his fury on the Ukraine Cossacks; but he had not inherited the warlike abilities of his father. Under the prevailing republican conditions

the kingship of Poland in the seventeenth century meant little more than a superfluous ornament, and this was exemplified in Wisniowiecki with peculiar force.

Contemporary Polish literature, which is characterised by the same shallowness as the political life, is a true mirror of the faults and vices of the *Slachta*. There were few exceptions. We find an apt criticism of it in the *Respublica Poloniae* (Leiden, 1627): "The king can do just so much as he can personally effect by good fortune and cleverness. The nobles do what they like; they associate with

the king, not as peers, but as brothers." In the person of John III. Sobieski (elected after the death of Wisniowiecki on May 10th, 1674), who had distinguished himself as a general against the Turks, Poland obtained a king who would have been capable of retrieving the losses of recent years and of winning fresh glory for the empire. He clung with the full force of his soldierly nature to the plan entertained by the greatest kings of Poland of opening the decisive campaign against Turkey in alliance with Moscow and Austria, since he rightly saw that the future of Poland depended on it.

This idea led him in 1683 to Vienna, where he defeated the Ottomans.

This brilliant victory, which made him celebrated in the whole Christian world, and further successes in Hungary, were the last rays of sunlight in which the fame of Poland shone. A thorough statesman, he treated also the religious question from the political standpoint, and thought he could end the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the other confessions by a synod, which he convened at Lublin in 1680 and then at Warsaw. From this higher point of view he organised the Ukraine, adopting



JOHN II. CASIMIR

Reigning during a period of wars and rebellions (1648-1668), Casimir placed himself at the head of a league which succeeded in bringing about an alliance with Austria and Denmark. He abdicated in 1668, dying in France in 1672.

just and lenient measures, and in this way he won over a large part of the Cossacks.

He did not hesitate at great self-sacrifices in order to attain his purpose of annihilating the Turks. At the beginning of 1656 he sent Christopher Grzymul-towski to Moscow to conclude an alliance with the Tsaritsa Sophia. Poland ceded, on April 21st, in perpetuity, Smolensk, Czernigov, Dorogobush, Sterodab, and Kiev, with the whole of the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper. Moscow was to pay 146,000 roubles, and to wrest the Crimea from the Tartars. The Polish hero, with tears in his eyes, took the oath to this "eternal peace" with Russia, in the hope that he had won this state for his great plans.

But Moscow was then still too barbarous to entertain such noble ideas, and too weak to be able to carry them out. Sobieski saw himself thrown on his own resources. But in his noble efforts he, like his predecessors, was always hindered by that social and political corruption in his own country which rendered every great undertaking abortive. At the beginning of his reign he was full of ideas of a coup d'état, but was compelled, like all the others, to give up every hope. The actions of this monarch furnish a proof that even capable men may become the slaves of circumstances. Men should be accounted great not according to their achievement, but according to their endeavour.

The Slachta did not even allow him to nominate his son Jacob Lewis as his successor; they felt indeed a malicious joy when the latter did not receive the promised hand of an Austrian princess, and they tried to thwart even his marriage with a rich Lithuanian. Filled with mortification and weighed down by care, John III. sank into his grave on June 17th, 1696.

The reign of Sobieski was the last flickering gleam in the life of the Polish state. The terrible times of John Casimir now seemed to have come back; party feuds began afresh and with redoubled fury. Hitherto, individuals or parties had betrayed and sold their country, but now kings did the same; foreign countries had hitherto made their influence felt in Poland only by residents and money, but now they did so directly by troops, which never left the borders of the realm and enforced the orders of their sovereigns by the sword. The Slachta formerly, loving freedom beyond all else, had refused to

make any sacrifices to the dictates of sound policy or to listen to any reform; but now foreign countries were eagerly desirous of maintaining the existing conditions and admitted no reforms. Foreign mercenaries took up their quarters in Poland, established arsenals, fought each other, and traversed the territory of the republic in every direction without asking leave.

Even before this time the neighbouring powers had entertained no great respect for the sovereignty of the Polish state. In 1670 the Great Elector had

ordered a Prussian nobleman to be forcibly seized from the very side of King Michael Wisnioviecki and led away to Königsberg. John Casimir himself, even in the reign of his brother Vladislaus, while travelling in the west of Europe, and driven by a storm on the French coast, was kept two years in imprisonment without any special feeling being caused in his country at the incident. Poland was now treated with undisguised contempt.

In the old days, when, according to the ancient custom at a coronation, money was scattered among the crowd, no Pole ever stooped to pick up a coin; now they all clutched with both hands at



THE FEEBLE KING MICHAEL

Unlike his powerful father, the voivode Jeremias Wisnioviecki, King Michael had but little will of his own, and was easily influenced by those around him. He was, in fact, little more than a superfluous ornament; he died in 1673.

THE FALL OF POLAND

doles from whatever side they came. Formerly the Slachta had imposed harsh conditions on foreign candidates for the throne, and had stipulated for the recovery of lost provinces, but now no king could be elected without the consent of foreign powers, obtained by humiliating promises. National and religious intolerance grew in consequence stronger. Rome and the Jesuits had great influence, and indefatigably carried out their task of forcible conversion and merciless oppression against all who were not of their creed.

The Elector Frederick Augustus (the Strong) of Saxony, or as King of Poland Augustus II. (1697-1733), owed his election partly to the money which he distributed, but mostly to the circumstance that he had adopted the Catholic faith on June 1st, 1697. In the year 1733 the Reichstag declared heterodox persons to have forfeited all political rights and offices, and by this action had given a new pretext to foreign powers for interference in the affairs of the empire. The sudden dissolution of the diets was now the ordinary course of things. Under Augustus II., out of eighteen diets between the years 1717 and 1733 only five brought their deliberations to a close; under Augustus III.,

only one. Even the law courts were often hindered in their duties by party contests and were compelled to suspend their sittings.

Since the state machinery was stopped recourse was had to alliances and armed combinations which led more certainly to the goal. But it was not difficult even for a foreign power to call into life, to suit their own purposes, some such "confederation." They grew up like mushrooms, fought against each other, and increased the confusion. Together with political disorganisation, the impoverishment of the Slachta made alarming progress. Destitute nobles, who now lived only on the patronage and favour of the high nobility, crowded in masses round the rich magnates, whose numbers also steadily decreased. As a natural consequence, the peasants were inhumanly oppressed. The towns, more and more burdened by the national needs, were equally impoverished, especially since they never enjoyed the favour of the crown.

The Jesuit schools now only fostered a specious learning, and only educated soldiers of Christ, who were intended to set up in Poland the

Society of Jesus rather than the kingdom of God. Even the Piarists, an order established in 1607, who founded schools



JOHN III. SOBIESKI: ENEMY OF THE TURKS

This great king came too late to avert Poland's impending doom. In happier circumstances he might have saved the empire and won for it fresh glory; as it was, he crushed the Ottoman power, and thus became celebrated in the whole Christian world. He was a thorough statesman as well as a brilliant general. Disappointed, he died in 1696.



**MONUMENT AT WARSAW TO THE POLISH KING
JOHN III. SOBIESKI**

in rivalry with the Jesuits, were more solicitous for their own popularity than for the diffusion of true knowledge. The morality and culture of the *Slachta* were on a disgracefully low level; and their condition was the more repellent since it bore no proportion to their ambition, their pretensions, or position in the realm.

Punishing

Poland

"For Its Sins"

The empire had thus been engaged in a deadly struggle for a century. If its neighbours allowed it to last so long, the only reason was that they were not themselves ready and strong enough to swallow Poland up. They jealously watched and counterbalanced each other. It was with good reason that the saying "Poland stands by disorder" now became a current proverb.

Frederic Augustus of Saxony and Poland, physically so strong that he could bend a thaler between his fingers, and a thorough man of the world, seemed as a Polish writer aptly puts it, to have been chosen by Providence to punish the nation for its sins. Frivolous in private and often also in public life, he introduced immorality and political corruption into his surroundings. In 1699 he had just reaped the fruits of the campaigns of his great predecessor by the treaty of Karlovitz, through which Poland recovered from Turkey Podolia and Kamieniec, when he plunged Poland into a war which almost cost him the throne.

He made friendly overtures to Peter the Great of Russia and planned with him a campaign against Sweden; Livonia was to be the prize of victory. The Danish king, Frederic IV. was then drawn into the alliance, and the Saxon troops, which Augustus always kept in Poland, began the war. But the allies had grievously deluded themselves in the person of the youthful King of Sweden. Charles XII. struck blow after blow with crushing effect. While Russia by her natural weight and

Plucky Sweden

and Its

Youthful King

not by her warlike skill was finally able to conquer the little country of Sweden, Augustus II. and Denmark could not make any stand against it. Charles XII. demanded from the *Slachta* the deposition of the king, and ordered the election of Stanislaus Lesczynski as king on June 12th, 1704.

Augustus II. tried in vain to win over Charles XII. He repeatedly offered him, through secret emissaries, a partition of

Poland, but was obliged, on September 24th, 1706, when Charles had also conquered Saxony, to renounce the crown of Poland by the treaty of Altranstadt, and did not recover it until Charles XII. had been decisively defeated by Peter the Great at Poltawa on July 8th, 1709. The only power to benefit from this second Northern War was Russia, finally which acquired Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and so set foot on the Baltic.

From the beginning of his reign Augustus II. entertained the idea of strengthening the monarchical power; he kept Saxon troops in Poland, and did not consult the Reichstag. But although he possessed considerable talents as a ruler, the various schemes which he evolved all turned out disastrously for Poland. The opposition against him daily grew stronger, and the followers of Lesczynski, who was deposed on August 8th, 1709, increased in numbers; confederations were formed on both sides. Russia brought matters to a head. Rapidly, and with astonishing astuteness, Peter the Great found his way in the Polish difficulty, and knew how to act. He came

between the parties as a mediator, but took the side of Augustus as the least dangerous; he sent, as the "Protector of Poland," 18,000 men into the country, and negotiated an agreement between the rival parties in Warsaw.

Augustus II. promised to withdraw his Saxons from the country within twenty-five days; all confederations were broken up and prohibited for the future, and the constitution was safeguarded. In a secret clause the number of troops in Poland was limited; Poland was not to keep more than 17,000, Lithuania not more than 6,000 men. The Reichstag of 1717 was forced to approve of all these points without discussion, for which reason it was called the "Dumb Diet." This was a master move of Peter's, and all the more so since he succeeded in inducing Turkey to recognise this agreement. Since that date Russian troops never left Poland, a policy observed up to the last partition.

Another neighbour had to be considered during the dispute for the Polish succession, in the person of the Elector Frederic of Brandenburg. He retorted to the promotion of the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland by crowning himself as King of Prussia, on January 18th, 1701. This action of his meant that he



THADDEUS REYTEN, THE POLISH PATRIOT, AT THE DIET OF WARSAW

Poland's misfortunes fell thick upon her in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when she was partitioned among stronger powers. At the Diet of Warsaw, in 1792, called to save the country, Thaddeus Reyten, despite his age and infirmities, gained for him the surname of the Polish Cato, amidst a clatter of harsh bribes, oppose the election of King Stanislaus, would have yielded the intrepid Reyten, with four companions, kept possession of the sanctuary until he saw the confederation held in the open air. Seeing that further opposition was useless he returned home, and the partition treaty was then ratified.

THE FALL OF POLAND

withdrew from the federation of the German Empire with one part of his territory, and shifted the centre of gravity of power as a sovereign to Prussia, which was not indeed subject to the suzerainty of the emperor; attention was at the same time called to the fact that he claimed the other part of Prussia, which still was subject to Poland.

The far-sighted policy of the Prussian king and his successors is shown by their unwearied solicitude for the organisation and strengthening of their army. The numerical superiority of the Russian and other troops was intended to be balanced by the efficiency of the Prussians. Frederic I. was also approached by Augustus II. with the plan of partitioning Poland. Thus he, the King of Poland, was the first to suggest to his neighbours the idea of its partition. The third occasion was in the year 1732, when he hoped by this offer to win over the Prussian king for the election of his son Frederic Augustus as King of Poland.

The Reichstag, it is true, after the death of Augustus II. (February 1st, 1733), elected with unusual unanimity Stanislaus Lesczynski on September 11th, for the second time. But the *Slachta* forgot that their resolutions were meaningless against the will of a stronger power. Forty

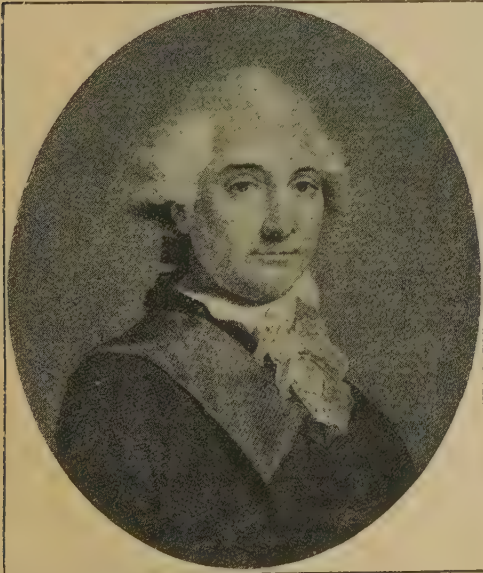


STANISLAUS I.: TWICE KING OF POLAND

The troubled condition of Polish affairs is reflected in the history of Stanislaus Lesczynski, who was elected to the throne in 1704. Five years later, in 1709, he was deposed on the return of Augustus, at whose death, in 1733, he was, for the second time, elected to the throne. But he had to give way to Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony.

thousand Russians entered Poland, and Russia's protégé, Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony, was elected king on January 17th, 1734, with the title of Augustus III. France was obliged to acquiesce in the defeat of her candidate, Lesczynski. He received Lorraine and Bar as a solatium (1735-1738). He was occupied to the day of his death (February 23rd, 1766) with the thought of his unhappy native land, and ultimately collected round him at Nancy and Luneville, the youth of Poland, in order to educate them as reformers.

It was now perceived, even in Poland, that the catastrophe could not be long delayed. The voices that demanded reform grew more numerous. It is a tragic spectacle to see how the nobler minds in the nation exerted themselves vainly in carrying reforms and saving their country. Two great parties (at the head of the one was the *Tsartoryski* family, at the head of the other the *Potocki*) were bitter antagonists. The former wished to redeem Poland with the help of Russia; the latter, with the support of France. Both were wrong in their calculation, for the salvation of Poland was not to be expected from any foreign power, but depended solely on the unanimity and self-devotion of the nation itself, and this



STANISLAUS II.: POLAND'S LAST KING

The end of the Polish Empire was in sight when, in 1764, Stanislaus II. Poniatowski ascended the throne. He did nothing to stem the rapid tide of ruin or to prevent the country's shameful betrayal by its aristocracy. In 1795, Stanislaus resigned the crown, and died three years later.

was unattainable. The whole reign of Augustus III. (he died on October 5th, 1763) is filled with these party feuds.

The evil star of Poland willed that in the second half of the eighteenth century Prussia and Russia should possess, in the persons of Frederic the Great and Catharine II., rulers who are reckoned among the greatest in history, while Poland herself was being ruined by disunion. In 1764, soon after the death of Augustus II., both the adjoining states came to an agreement as to an occupation of parts of Poland's territory. Stanislaus II. Poniatovski, a relation of the Tsartoryski family, who had been elected king on October 7th, 1764, had lived hitherto in St. Petersburg, and had been, as a

William I. of Prussia, had already inquired, through their representatives in Russia, what attitude the tsar would adopt on the fall of the Polish Empire. The idea of a partition of Prussia had already been dispelled by the Seven Years' War; and the Prussian hero of that war, Frederic the Great, was quite ready to apply the idea to Poland. Neither England nor France intervened when, in February, 1772, at the beginning of 1793, and on October 24th, 1795, Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the Polish Empire disappeared from the map of Europe. The people of Poland had also to endure the mortification of seeing their own diet concur in these outrages of the great powers.



TARTAR CASTLE IN POLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

favourite of Catharine, intended for the throne of Poland. This circumstance in itself gave grounds for supposing that this king, in spite of his amiable nature, would be a tool of the Russian policy.

The Tsartoryskis, indeed, wished to use the opportunity and introduce useful reforms, and took up a strong position against Russia; but confederations were soon formed for the protection of the old liberties, and these received the support of Russia, whose interest it was to keep up the lack of central authority in Poland. All the European powers then showed a singular eagerness for expansion; the idea of partition seemed to be in the air. The Emperor Charles VI. and Frederic

Thus the Polish state after lasting 800 years, ceased to be. Poland, in the search for the solution of the main constitutional question, went to excess and was choked by the exuberance of individual license.

After this date there were frequent rumours of efforts to be made by Polish patriots, especially by those who had emigrated to France, to recover political independence; European diplomacy has often been occupied with the Polish question. But beyond friendly encouragement the Poles have found no friend who, with powerful hand, could and would have reversed the momentous events of the last decades of the eighteenth century.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



RUSSIA

THE BEGINNING OF THE NATION RISE AND FALL OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

THE birth of the Russian Empire falls in the period when the Scandinavian Vikings were at the zenith of their power. Just as these hardy rovers sailed over the Baltic, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, until they reached Iceland and North America, and in their small forty-oared galleys went up from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, the Maas and the Seine far into the interior, striking terror into the inhabitants, so, too, in the east of Europe they followed the course of the rivers and discovered the way to the Black Sea and Constantinople. The route which led up the Dwina and then down the Dnieper to Byzantium was called the Varagian way; even the rapids of the Dnieper bore, so it is said, Scandinavian names. The Norsemen, who had founded here and there independent empires in the west of Europe, could do so still more easily in the east.

At the outset of Russian history we find here six or seven independent districts, which stood, perhaps, under Norse rule: (old) Ladoga on the Wolchow, later Novgorod, Bjelosersk, Isborsk, Turow in the region of Minsk, Polock, and Kiev. The core of the later Russian Empire

**Rurik, the
Ancestor
of Russia**

was at first (about 840) in the north, in the Slavonic-Finnish region, but it soon spread toward the south and was then shifted to Kiev in the basin of the Dnieper. "Russia" absorbed the Slavonic, Finnish, Bulgarian and Khazar empires. Rurik, in Norse Hroerek, an otherwise unknown semi-mythical hero of royal race [see page

3185], was regarded in the eleventh century as the ancestor of the Russian dynasty.

The soil was so favourable here for the growth of a large empire that the Russians were able, by the middle of the ninth century (860), to undertake a marauding expedition against Constantinople. Besides Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns, and Khazars, the

**Norse Warriors
Ousted
by the Slavs**

Varagians fought; usually it was Swedes from Upland, Södermanland, and Ostergotland who formed the picked troops and took the lead in every expedition. The mercenary bands had entered into a covenant with the prince, but were pledged to obey him; they were not, however, his subjects and could, therefore, leave him at any time; their pay consisted in the booty they won. The Slavs composed the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants; they gradually replaced the Norse warriors and ousted them completely later, notwithstanding various reinforcements from their northern home. By the end of the eleventh century the Varagian element had almost disappeared. In less than 250 years the same fate befell them which shortly before had befallen the Finno-Ugrian Bulgars in the Balkan Peninsula. Both races were merged in the Slavonic.

The first hero of the old Varagian style, and at the same time the first genuinely historical ruler, meets us in Oleg, or Helgi, who, in 880, became the head of the Russian state. He conquered (880-881) Smolensk, defeated the petty princes in Kiev in 882, and then transferred thither the centre of the empire. He



THE EARLY RULERS OF RUSSIA

Reproduced from a series of historic medala.



THE RULERS OF RUSSIA FROM 1125 TILL 1276

Reproduced from a series of historic medals.

inflicted on the Khazars and the Bulgarians defeats from which they never recovered. In 900 he forced part of the Chorvats on the Vistula to serve in his army. In this way he founded a Dnieper empire, which reached from the North Sea to the Black Sea, from the Bug to the Volga. Not satisfied with this, Oleg planned an expedition against Byzantium, which, like Rome and Italy, was always the coveted goal of every Northman. In the year 907 he went with a mighty army of allies down the Dnieper; the Russian Chronicle states that he had 2,000 boats with forty men in each. As the harbour in the Bosphorus was closed, he beached his ships, set them on wheels, bent his sails, and thus advanced against the town, to the horror of his enemies, with his vessels from the landside. A propitious moment had been chosen. The Greek fleet had fallen into decay, and the empire was hard pressed by the Bulgarians. The Emperor Leo VI. (the Philosopher) determined, therefore, to bribe the Russians to withdraw, after an ineffectual attempt had been made to get rid of them by poisoned food. The Greeks paid six pounds of silver for every ship, and in addition gave presents for the Russian towns.

Russian War-boats on Wheels

Liberty of trading with Constantinople was then secured to the Russians. Their merchants, however, were to enter the city only by a certain gate and unarmed, under the escort of an imperial official; their station was near the church of St. Mammas. They received also the right to obtain for six months provisions in the city, to visit baths, and to demand provisions and ships' gear (anchor, cables, and sails) for their return voyage. This treaty, having been concluded by word of mouth, was sworn to by the Byzantines on the cross, and by Oleg and his vassals before their gods Peran and Wolas, and on their weapons. When the Russians left the city, Oleg fastened his shield to the city wall, as a token that he had taken possession of the city. This treaty was reduced to writing in the year 911—a noteworthy document. Both parties first promise love and friendship to each other, and fix the penalties to be incurred by any who disturb their concord through murder, theft, or indiscretion. Then follow agreements as to the ransom

of prisoners of war and slaves, as to servants who had deserted or been enticed away, and as to the estates of the Russians (Varangians or Varagians) who had died in the service of the emperor. The proviso as to shipwrecked men is important as a contribution to international law. "If the storm drives a Greek vessel on to a foreign coast, and any Russians inhabit such coast, the latter shall place in safety the ship with its cargo and help it on its voyage to the Christian country and pilot it through any dangerous places. But if such ship, either from storm or some other hindrance, cannot reach home again, then we Russians will help the sailors and recover the goods, if this occurs near the Greek territory. Should, however, such a calamity befall a Greek ship (far from Greece), we are willing to steer it to Russia and the cargo may be sold. Any part of it that cannot be sold and the ship itself we Russians are willing to bring with us honestly, either when we go to Greece or are sent as ambassadors to your emperor, or when we come as traders to buy goods, and we will hand over untouched the money paid for the merchandise. Should a Russian have slain a man on this vessel or have plundered any goods, the agreed penalty will be inflicted on him." Oleg died in the year 912, from the bite of a snake, which, it was alleged, crept out of the skull of his favourite steed; hence arose the legend about the marvellous fulfilment of a wizard's prophecy that he should meet his death from that horse. Nine hundred years later Oleg became a favourite hero of Catharine II., who extolled him in a drama bearing his name.

The Legend of a Wizard's Prophecy

His successor, Igor or Ingvar, a less capable ruler, carried the work of conquest a stage further. In the year 914 the Russians went with 500 ships to the Caspian Sea and plundered the Persian coasts. The Arab Mascudi has described this expedition, which appears to have been made during the minority of Igor, when his wife Olga (Helga) administered the affairs of the state. He himself took command of the army in 941, when he planned a new expedition against Constantinople; about the same time the Pechenegs, at his instigation, undertook to plunder Bulgaria, which had been allied with Byzantium since 924. But on this occasion the Russian fleet was annihilated by the Greek fire, with which the Russians

Oleg's Symbol of Victory

Then follow agreements as to the ransom



A RITUAL MASSACRE OF THE WARRIORS OF SVIATOSLAV AT DOROSTOL IN THE TENTH CENTURY. This great painting by Siemiradzki shows the warriors of Sviatoslav sacrificing themselves at a ritual massacre under the walls of Dorostol. Sviatoslav, Prince of Kiev, ruled from 964 till 972. In 964 he marched against the Bulgarians of the Danube, conquered Perejaslavets and Durostorus (the modern Silistria). Later he conquered Bulgaria. By permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London, W.

now made their first acquaintance. In 944, Igor marched once more against Byzantium—the fourth Russian campaign against the capital. Igor was induced by peasants to withdraw, and a new treaty was then concluded (945). The old trading privileges of the Russians were somewhat restricted. Certain goods, for example,

**Russia's
Pledge of
Protection**

might not be sold to them, and strict passports were demanded from them. The Russians, in addition to this, pledged themselves to protect the region of the Chersonnese against attacks of the Danubian Bulgars, and to come to the aid of the Greek emperor in time of need.

The treaty was once more solemnly sworn. "And we," so it runs in the Russian version of the document, "so many of us as are baptised, have sworn in the cathedral of St. Elias (at Kiev), on the holy cross lying before us and this parchment, to hold and observe all that is written thereon, and not to transgress any part thereof. If any man transgress this, whether he be the prince himself or another, whether Christian or unbaptised, may he be deprived of all help from God; let him become a serf in this life and in the life to come, and let him die by his own sword. The unbaptised Russians shall lay their shields, their naked swords, their gorgets, and other arms on the ground and swear to everything contained in this parchment; to wit, that Igor, every Boyar, and all the Russians will uphold it for ever. But if any man, be he prince or Russian subject, baptised or unbaptised, act contrary to the tenor of this document, let him die deservedly by his own sword, and let him be accused by God and by Perun, since he breaketh his oath. May the great Prince Igor deign to preserve his sincere love for us, and not weaken it, so long as the sun shineth and the world remaineth in this and all future time." On his return home, Igor was murdered by the Drevlanes,

**The Dreadful
Fate of
Prince Igor**

from whom he wished to exact tribute; according to Leo the Deacon he was bound to two saplings, which were bent to the ground, and was torn in two, after the manner of Sinnis in the Greek legend of Theseus.

Since Igor's son Sviatoslav was a minor, his widow Olga held the reins of government. She first wreaked vengeance on the Drevlanes. While besieging their town, Korosten, she promised to make

a peace with them in return for a tribute of three pigeons and three sparrows from every house. She then ordered balls of lighted tow to be fastened on the birds, which were let loose and set fire to the houses and outhouses of the Drevlanes. The Chronicle styles Olga the wisest of women. She was the first to accept Christianity; in 957 she went with a large retinue to Constantinople, and under the sponsorship of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus and the Empress Helena, daughter of Romanus Lacapenus, received baptism and the name of Helena from the patriarch Theophylactus. She endeavoured to win her son over to the new doctrine; "My družina [body-guard, huscarbes] would despise me," he is said to have replied.

In 964 Sviatoslav himself, the greatest hero of old Russia, took over the government, although his mother (who died in 970) still administered home affairs, since he was seldom in the country. He wished to complete the task which Oleg and Igor began. He turned his attention first against the still unconquered peoples on the Oka and Volga, marched against the Wiatici and then against the Khazars, whose town Belaweza (Belaja Vesh or Sarkel) he captured; after subjugating the Jases (old Russian for Alanes, or in Georgian Owsî = Ossetes) and the Kasoges (Tcherkesses) he returned to Kiev. After the year 966 the Wiatici paid tribute to Sviatoslav; shortly afterwards (968-969) the Ros (apparently Baltic Vikings independent of Sviatoslav) laid waste Bulgaria as well as the Khazar towns Itil, Khazaran, and Samandar. These blows were so crushing that during the next fifty years we hear nothing more of the Khazars.

Shortly before these events Sviatoslav, acceding to the request of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, backed up by a payment of fifteen hundredweight of gold (180,000 Byzantine gold pieces), had undertaken a campaign against the Danubian Bulgars; they were to be attacked simultaneously from north and south. In the summer of 968 Sviatoslav crossed the Danube, defeated the Bulgars, captured numerous places, and took up his abode in Perejaslavetz. Sviatoslav was already planning to establish himself firmly in Bulgaria, since Peter, the Bulgarian ruler, died at the end of January, 969, when tidings came from Russia that the wild

THE BEGINNING OF THE RUSSIAN NATION

Pechenegs were besieging Kiev. They were induced temporarily to withdraw by the ruse of a false report that Sviatoslav was advancing with all speed against them; but the people of Kiev accused Sviatoslav of indifference. He therefore retraced his steps as quickly as possible, defeated the Pechenegs, and restored peace.

But his heart was still fixed on Bulgaria, since Perejaslavetz on the Danube was the centre of his country, and a place where all good things were collected together: "from the Greeks gold and precious stuffs, wine and fruits; from the Bohemians and Hungarians silver and horses; from Russia furs, wax, honey and slaves." In the end, Sviatoslav divided his empire among his three sons and marched towards the south-west.

John Tzimisces had now come to the throne of the Byzantine Empire in the place of the murdered Nicephorus Phocas. His predecessor had concluded peace with Bulgaria so soon as he learnt the real plans of Sviatoslav, and Tzimisces now made a similar attempt, but twice without success. There remained therefore

**Russian Women
Fight
Against Greeks**

only the arbitrament of the sword. Perejaslavetz and Silistria, to which towns the Russians had withdrawn, were captured by the Greeks, in spite of a most gallant resistance; the Russian women themselves fought hand-to-hand in the *melée*.

The Russians were seen during the night after a battle coming out of the town by moonlight to burn their dead. They sacrificed the prisoners of war over their ashes, and drowned fowls and little children in the Danube. The emperor proposed to Sviatoslav to decide the victory by single combat. Sviatoslav declined, and was the more bent on a last passage of arms. But when this also turned out disastrously to him, owing to the superiority of the Greek forces, he made overtures for peace (971). The terms were as follows: The emperor promised to provide provisions for the army of Sviatoslav, which withdrew with the honours of war, and not to harass them with the Greek fire during the retreat; he also confirmed the old trading privileges of the Russian merchants.

A meeting of Sviatoslav and Tzimisces took place on the right bank of the Danube to ratify the settlement. Leo the Deacon has left us a description of his person.

Sviatoslav was of middle height, with blue eyes and thick eyebrows; his nose was flattish, his mouth hidden by a heavy moustache; his beard was scanty, and his head close-shorn except for one lock hanging down on each side (a sign of his high birth); his neck rose like a column from his shoulders, and his limbs were well proportioned. His general aspect was gloomy and savage. A gold ring, set with a ruby between two pearls, hung from one ear; his white tunic was only distinguished from those of his warriors by its cleanliness.

**End of
Russia's
Pagan Age**

Sviatoslav now set out on his homeward journey. But the Pechenegs were already waiting on the Dnieper. The Greek chroniclers relate that Tzimisces had requested the Pechenegs to allow the Russian army to pass through without hindrance; but he would probably have done the exact opposite. With a wearied and exhausted army, whose ranks were being thinned by hunger, Sviatoslav went slowly homewards. He was slain by Kuria, the prince of the Pechenegs (973), who had his skull made into a drinking-vessel. Part only of Sviatoslav's army succeeded in making their way to Kiev. This was the end of the greatest hero of Old Russia. A soldier rather than a general or statesman, he was worshipped by his followers. He and Oleg strengthened and consolidated the Old Russian state. The Pagan age of Russia ends with Sviatoslav.

Sviatoslav's three sons were still minors when he divided his empire among them, and each of them was placed under a guardian. Jarapolk was sovereign in Kiev, Oleg in the country of the Drevlanes, Vladimir in Novgorod. Quarrels soon broke out; Oleg fell in battle; Vladimir fled to Scandinavia; Jarapolk thus remained sole ruler. But Vladimir came back with numerous Varagian mercenaries, defeated Jarapolk and besieged him in Rodna. When Jarapolk surrendered, at the demand of his brother, and was on the way to Vladimir, he was murdered by two Varagians at the door of the presence-chamber.

**The Hero
Vladimir
on the Throne**

Vladimir thus assumed the government in 977. He, too, was a hero, fought many wars, and conquered numerous tribes. His importance, however, does not lie in this, but in the Christianising of the Russians, which was completed by him.

Merchants had long since brought the Christian doctrines from Byzantium to Russia ; several churches already existed in Kiev and elsewhere, and the Christian faith in Russia was free and unmolested. When Olga received baptism, in 957, there was already a considerable Christian community in Kiev. Tradition relates

Vladimir that the Jews, the Moham-
Adopts the medans, the Romans, and the
Greek Faith Byzantines had tried to win Vladimir over to their faith.

He is said to have sent, by the advice of his Boyars and city elders, envoys into every country, who were to report from their own experience on the value of the different religions. Ten men thus started out, first to the Bulgarians, then to the Germans, lastly to Byzantium. The service in the splendid church of St. Sophia at Byzantium made the best impression on them. This decided the adoption of the Greek faith. Vladimir had indeed no other choice. Unless he made some violent breach with the past, he was bound to establish the Byzantine religion, which was already widely spread in the country, as the national religion.

The decision was taken, as had been the case with the Franks or the Bulgarians, during a campaign. Vladimir, as an ally of the emperor, vowed to become a Christian if he should take Kherson. Christians were already strongly represented in his army. When, then, the town surrendered, he sent to the Emperors Basil II. and Constantine VIII., and asked the hand of their sister Anna. His request was granted on the condition that he would consent to be baptised. Vladimir is said to have attributed the defeats of his great father to the mighty God of the Christians, just as the Byzantines thanked at one time St. Demetrius, at another St. Theodorus Stratilates, for their victories. Vladimir now, therefore, put the Christian God to the proof before

The Christian Kherson, just as Constantine
God Put and Clovis had done in
to the Test similar crises, and since the result was favourable, he decided to adopt the Christian doctrine. He was, therefore, baptised in 988 in Kherson. The Byzantines conferred on him new royal insignia and the title of *Basileus*, which he at once inscribed on his gold and silver coins. He returned to Kiev, after founding another church in Kherson. The Russian chronicle tells us what a

marvellous change was then accomplished in the character of Vladimir. Formerly a bloodthirsty barbarian, he had once wished to revive the service of the old gods to whom he owed his victory over Jarapolk. He commanded a Perun of wood with a silver head and golden beard to be erected on a hill in the vicinity of his palace at Kiev, and then images of Chors, Dashbog, Stribog, Simargla and Mokoshi. Two Christian Varagians were sacrificed to Perun, since the father refused to surrender to the pagan priests his son, on whom the sacrificial lot had fallen. Vladimir had been an unbridled voluptuary. Besides five lawful wives, he had three hundred concubines in Wyszgorod, 300 in Belgorod, and 200 in the village of Berestow near Kiev.

But after the adoption of Christianity he became a changed man. The idols were cast down, and, amid the tears of their worshippers, were partly hacked to pieces, partly burnt. He ordered the Perun, which was most highly revered, to be fastened to the tail of a horse ; twelve men then belaboured it with sticks and hurled it

Vladimir into the river. The spot is
Destroys even now pointed out where
His Idols the "downfall of the devil" was consummated. Men were posted along the shore to push back into the water the stranded god and to keep off the wailing pagans.

Vladimir then issued a proclamation that any man, whether rich or poor, who did not come to the river bank on the next morning would be considered his enemy. The next day he went to the Dnieper accompanied by the priests. The people stepped into the water and were baptised in crowds. Many followers of the old gods escaped into the steppes or the woods ; centuries elapsed before Russia was entirely Christian. Under the direction of the Greeks he started a school at Kiev. Even this encountered difficulties ; Vladimir, indeed, was compelled to send many children away from school back to their homes, because their parents regarded writing as a dangerous form of witchcraft.

Kiev, where there was already a bishopric, was now made the see of a metropolitan, and several new bishoprics were founded. The first metropolitan, Michael, came from Constantinople ; even in later times the bishops and metropolitans were mostly Greeks, seventeen out of twenty-three, down to the Mongol invasion



THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, BUILT IN 1037



VIEWS OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. VLADIMIR



THE BEAUTIFUL MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL

of 1240. The first priests are said to have been Bulgarians. It was not until later that the schools provided for their own rising generation.

Vladimir was completely changed. He remained loyal to his Greek wife, distributed his income to the churches and the poor, and no longer took pleasure in wars.

A Great Step in Russian History In contrast to his previous severity the prince was now mild; he was reluctant, from fear of sin, to enforce death penalties, and, since brigandage was largely on the increase, had to be urged by the bishops to reintroduce the old laws. In all probability, he, like the Emperor Otto III. and Duke Boleslav I. Chabis, had been influenced by the idea of the millennium, and believed that the end of the world would come in the year 1000. He was passionately fond of relics, and came back from Kherson with a rich store of them. He is worshipped in the Russian Church as a saint, and was named Isapostolos, or the Apostle-like.

Although Christianity was only superficially grafted upon national life and was so adapted to Pagan customs and ideas that it was closely interwoven with the old popular religion, nevertheless the conversion was decisive for Russia. By the adoption of the Greek faith it entered into the communion of the Greek Church and into the intellectual heritage of the Greek world, and by so doing was distinctly opposed to the Roman Church and Western civilisation. This step decided the place of Russia in the history of the world. Henceforward Russia shares the fortunes of the Oriental Church, and partly those of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium had gained more by the conversion of Russia than it could have ever won by force of arms; Russia became in culture and religion a colony of Byzantium without thereby losing political independence. We must not overlook the fact that Byzantium then was the foremost

What Russia Gained from Byzantium civilised nation, from which all Western Europe had much to learn. Byzantine Christianity brought inestimable advantages to the Russian people—a language for church services, which was understood by all and enriched the vernacular with a host of new words; and an independent church, which promoted culture and at the same time was considered politically as a common focus for all parts of Russia.

Priests and bishops brought books from New Byzantium and disseminated the art of writing. These were followed by architects, builders, scholars, artists and teachers. Splendid edifices rapidly arose in Russia. Kiev with its countless churches was soon able to vie with Byzantium. Vladimir founded a school for the training of the priests. Monasteries were built, which carried culture into distant countries. It was the national church which helped the Russians to impress a Slavonic character on alien races.

The union with Byzantium had, it is true, some disadvantages; but these were not apparent for centuries. After the thirteenth century Byzantine culture retrograded, and Russia suffered the same fate as her instructress. The hatred of the West, which Russia inherited from Byzantium, was transformed, at a period when the Western civilisation stood high, into a hatred of culture. Russia was thus condemned to a sort of stagnation. But it can hardly be asserted with justice that Russia suffered any detriment because in days of danger it could not reckon on

The Fate of Eastern Europe support from Rome. It is true that Rome was for many centuries the foremost power, but was she able to save Palestine?

Russia shared the fate of Byzantium, because that was the fate of all Eastern Europe, which, lying on the frontier of Asia, suffered much from Asiatic hordes. Russia and Byzantium were like breakwaters erected against the waves of Asiatic immigration. That was the drawback of the geographical position. Even the line of states which lay further back, Poland and Hungary, had been partly drawn into the same vortex. Only the states westward of this dividing wall were able to develop their civilisation unhindered.

Since Russia entered fully into the field of Greek thought, it adopted those peculiar conditions which resulted as a consequence of the relations of Church to State in Byzantium. Rome aimed at ecclesiastical absolutism and world-sovereignty. The papacy was not content with a position subordinate to, or even parallel with, the state, but insisted that the spiritual power ranked above the secular. This claim kindled in the West the struggle between the secular power and the Church, the struggle between Papacy and Empire. No such movement disturbed

THE BEGINNING OF THE RUSSIAN NATION

the East. There the Church continued in that subordination to the state which had existed from the beginning. Hence the omnipotence of the State in Russia, although the Church at all times exercised great influence there. The sovereign could appoint or depose the bishops. Even the ecclesiastical dependence on Byzantium was rather a matter of tolerance and custom than an established right. If the sovereign did not find it agreeable to receive a bishop sent from Byzantium, he substituted another.

The inner change which was worked in Vladimir was in one respect disadvantageous for the empire; there was a loss of energy. In the year 992 Vladimir came into conflict with the Pechenegs on the southern frontier near Perejaslav. A single combat was to decide the day. After a fierce struggle a young Russian succeeded in throttling with his own hands the giant champion of the Pechenegs. In order to protect the country against further attacks, Vladimir established a line of defence. There are indications that he entered into alliances with

**Vladimir
in Alliance
with Rome**

the West, above all with Rome, Germany, Poland and Bohemia. His son Sviatopolk married the daughter of Boleslav I. of

Poland. Possibly there is some connection between this and the fact that Vladimir in 981 took possession of the Czerwenish towns of Halicz and Przemyśl—the later Red Russia—and thus pushed the western frontier of Russia as far as the Carpathians.

In the year 1000, Bruno of Querfurt, styled the Archbishop of the Heathen, came to him, being desirous to preach the Gospel to the wild Pechenegs. Vladimir employed him to negotiate a peace with the Pechenegs, and accompanied him to the frontier. The report which Bruno furnished in 1008 to the Emperor Henry II. gives us a good picture of Vladimir's character. He wrote: "After I had spent a full year among the Hungarians to no purpose, I went amongst the most terrible of all heathen, the Pechenegs. The lord of the Russians (Vladimir), ruler of a wide territory and great riches, detained me for a month, tried to deter me from my purpose, and was solicitous about me, as if I was one who wantonly desired to rush upon destruction. . . . But since he could not move me from my purpose, and since, besides that, a vision concerning

my unworthy self frightened him, he accompanied me with his army for two days to the furthest boundary of his kingdom, which he had surrounded with an exceedingly strong and long palisade. He dismounted; I and my companions went ahead, while he followed with the chief men of his army. Thus we passed through the gate. He took his station on one hill, we on another. I myself carried the cross, which I embraced with my arms, and sang the well-known verse, 'Peter, if thou lovest Me, feed My sheep.'

**Mission to
the Wild
Pechenegs**

"When the antiphone was finished, the prince sent one of his nobles to us with the following message: 'I have escorted thee to the spot where my land ends and that of the enemy begins. I beseech thee in God's name not to grieve me by forfeiting thy young life; I know that to-morrow before the third hour thou wilt have to taste the bitterness of death without cause and without gain.' I sent the following answer back to him: 'May God open paradise to thee, as thou hast opened to us the way to the heathen!' We then started, and went two days, and no one did us any harm. On the third day—it was a Friday—we were thrice, at daybreak, noon, and at the ninth hour, brought to execution with bowed neck, and yet each time came out from among the army of the enemy unscathed. On Sunday we reached a large tribe, and a respite was accorded to us until special messengers had summoned the whole tribe to a council. At the ninth hour of the next Sunday we were haled to the meeting. . . . Then a vast multitude rushed upon us . . . and raised a terrible outcry. With a thousand axes and swords they threatened to hew us to pieces. . . . The elders at length tore us forcibly from their hands. They listened to us, and recognised in their wisdom that we had come to them with good intentions. So

**Converts
to
Christianity**

we stayed for five months with that people, and travelled through three of their districts; we did not reach the fourth, but envoys from their nobles came to us. When some thirty souls had been won for Christianity, we concluded for the acceptance of the king a peace such as they thought no one save we would have been able to conclude. 'This peace,' they said, 'is concluded through thee. If, as thou promisest, it is lasting, we are willing

all to become Christians; but if the prince does not loyally adhere to it, we must then think about war, not Christianity.' With this object I went back again to the prince of the Russians, who for God's sake was contented therewith, and gave his son as hostage. We, however, consecrated one of our number to be bishop, and placed him, together with his son, in the middle of the land. Thus Christian order now prevails among the most cruel and wicked nation of heathens that dwells on the face of the globe." This important letter, which is also the only contemporary account of Vladimir, unfortunately breaks off here. St. Bruno was probably master of some one Slavonic language.

According to the later chroniclers, Vladimir was much beloved by his people. The tradition records with especial pleasure how every week he banqueted with his Druzina and the elders of the city of Kiev. He is celebrated in historical ballad as a sun-god, and called the beautiful red sun of Russia (krasnoje solnyszko). The Church reckoned him amongst her saints.

Vladimir died in 1015. Some considerable time probably before his death he had divided his empire among his sons after the following method: Sviatopolk received Turow; Isjaslav, Polock; Boris, Rostow; Gleb, Murom; Sviatoslav, the country of the Drevlanes; Wsevolod, Volhynia; Mstislav, Tmutorokan. Whether or how he disposed of Kiev we are not told. In any case, the quarrel about it broke out immediately after his death. The Druzina had wished for one of the sons of the Greek princess Anna. But Boris, like his brother Gleb, was absent, and the power was seized by Sviatopolk, the son-in-law of Boleslav of Poland, who happened to be on the spot, although an attempt was made to keep secret the death of the father until the arrival of Boris. The latter himself resigned the sovereignty in favour of his elder brother, but nevertheless was assassinated together with Gleb and Sviatoslav. Boris and Gleb were worshipped as holy martyrs, and many churches bear their names.

The other brothers were now seized with panic. Jaroslav of Novgorod marched at once against Sviatopolk,

defeated the "godless" sinner at Lubetch and forced him to fly to Poland. Jaroslav then remained in Kiev; for Sviatopolk, although reinstated in 1017 by Boleslav of Poland—who took this opportunity to conquer Przemyśl in 1018—could not maintain his position. Jaroslav had yet another war to face with Mstislav of Tmutorokan. With the help of the Kasoges, Khazars and Seweranes Mstislav insisted upon a new partition of the empire in 1023; he received the whole country east of the Dnieper, with a residence in Tchernigov. Jaroslav's rule was important for the development of Russia. We notice especially a coolness in the relations with the Varangians, who began to be troublesome and, indeed, dangerous to him. Between them and the Novgorodians there were frequent and sanguinary riots. Jaroslav supported the latter, and sent the Varangians out of the land, as Vladimir had tried to do in 980. Thus the Varagian age of Russia ends with Jaroslav.

Russia already appears as a large Slavonic commonwealth, with a policy of its own and a consciousness of nationality. And, as if the wars with Byzantium had formerly been due merely to Varagian influences, the last occasion when Russia and the empire came into collision occurred under Jaroslav. The casus belli was a quarrel between Russian merchants and Byzantines. The punitive expedition with which Jaroslav entrusted his son Vladimir in 1043 ended disastrously, once more in consequence of the devastating effect of the Greek fire. Part only of the Russian army was able to rally and inflict a defeat on the pursuing Greeks.

Jaroslav, though not hero in the style of Sviatoslav, still knew how to handle the sword. He struck the Pechenegs such a blow that they no longer ventured to attack Russia; their name soon disappeared. Their rôle was taken over, however, by another wild people, the Polowzes, whom we already know as Kumanes. In the west, also, Jaroslav fought with Lithuanians, Jatvinges, and Masovians, and helped his son-in-law Casimir of Poland to win back the empire.

Kiev reached the zenith of its grandeur under Jaroslav and excited the admiration of the West; among its churches, which were said to number 400, that of St. Sophia with its splendid mosaics was

Russia
Develops Under
Jaroslav

Kiev the
Admiration
of the West

THE BEGINNING OF THE RUSSIAN NATION

conspicuous. The city with its eight markets was the rendezvous of merchants from Byzantium, Germany, Scandinavia, Hungary and Holland; flotillas of merchantmen furrowed the waters of the Dnieper.

Jaroslav founded monasteries, for instance, the Crypt Monastery at Kiev, which was destined to become a seminary of culture for Russia. Himself acquainted with writing, he took an interest in schools, and founded one in his beloved Novgorod for 300 boys. He had not artists enough to decorate all the churches, nor priests enough to provide for divine service. He

Jaroslav enjoyed a high reputation among his contemporaries. He formed connections by marriage with the royal houses of Norway, Poland, Hungary and France, and was in request as an ally. The Russian people called him the Wise; the Scandinavian sagas have much to tell of him. If, however, the empire was to be preserved in its old grandeur the succession must be fixed in some way. In old times, when the state was governed in patriarchal style and the sovereign held a paternal authority, when the royal treasury was also the national treasury and the offices at the royal court were also



THE GRAND DUKE VLADIMIR MONOMACH

His government lasted from 1114 till 1125, and was marked by vigour and justice.

summoned Greek choristers from Byzantium to the capital, who were to instruct the Russian clergy. Adam of Bremen was justified, therefore, in calling Kiev the rival of Constantinople and the fairest ornament of Greece. Since Russia had hitherto no written laws, Jaroslav ordered the customary law to be noted down. This simple code contains little beyond a scale of penalties for various crimes, and a fixed table of fines; it does not mention death sentences or corporal punishments. Nevertheless, it was a promising preliminary step. The first ecclesiastical laws for Russia were also put into writing under Jaroslav.

state offices—when, that is, the empire was considered the private property of the monarch, family law was identical with public law, and the sovereign had the control of the kingdom as much as of his own goods and chattels. And just as, according to the civil law of the time, every child had a claim to a part of the paternal or family property, so every member of the reigning house had a claim to a share of the kingdom.

Since, then, according to Germano-Slavonic custom, the eldest of the tribe or of the family administered affairs within the family circle, so in the empire the

younger members were pledged to obey the eldest. This was the so-called "right of seniority." Russia had long been ruled on this principle. The custom had grown up there since the days of Olga that the eldest should have his home in Kiev, while the younger sons lived elsewhere, and were in some sense his subjects. Sviatoslav had divided the kingdom

Jaroslav Prepares for Death

among his sons on this principle, only reserving for himself the title of grand duke.

According to the Russian Chronicle, Jaroslav, foreseeing his death, made the following arrangements: "Isjaslav, your eldest brother, will represent me and reign in Kiev. Subject yourselves to him as you have subjected yourselves to your father. I give to Sviatoslav, Tchernigov, to Wsewolod, Perejaslav, to Wjatshelav, Smolensk. Igor, the youngest, receives Vladimir with Volhynia. Let each be content with his share; if not, then shall the elder brother sit in justice over you as lord. He will defend the oppressed and punish the guilty." By this arrangement Jaroslav had merely acted according to the ancient custom. How far the privileges went which customary law gave to the "eldest" is shown by the expression current at that time; the younger rode at the rein of the elder; he had him as master, stood at his orders, and looked up to him. The grand duke, whose seat was in Kiev, was lord over all Russia; he disposed of vacant principalities, and was the supreme judge and commander-in-chief.

The innovation introduced by Jaroslav probably consisted only in clearly defining the order in which the younger princes should be promoted after the death of the grand duke. The territories, which he assigned to his sons according to their respective age and rank, formed the following scale: Kiev I., Tchernigov II., Perejaslav III., Smolensk IV., Vladimir V. The royal throne was

The Stormy Path to the Throne

only to be reached by proceeding from V. to I. If a junior prince died before the elder, and therefore without having reached Kiev, his sons also remained excluded from the grand ducal title. Thus the son of Vladimir of Novgorod, Rotislav, was forced to abandon any prospect of reaching Kiev. The princes who were thus from the first precluded from advancing, since their fathers had not been grand dukes, were

called Isgoji. But the weakness of the law lay in this very point; for those who were set aside felt the injustice of it, and had recourse to arms. Parties were formed which were bitter foes to each other.

The position of the grand duke at the same time was not strong enough to ensure order. His power rested on the idea of a paternal authority which was deficient in any true basis of power; he had, in fact, only obtained one share, like the others. If he wished to enforce the right of seniority, he was compelled to look out for alliances. And since self-interest usually outweighs patriotism, Russia was plunged into long years of civil war through the increasing numbers of the royal house. Subsequently many petty principalities, which were unceasingly at war with each other, sprang up side by side in Russia, since the legal arrangement was broken down by unforeseen contingencies. The root of the evil is to be found in that defective legislation and in the large increase of the Rurikoviches.

Thus the heroic age ended with Jaroslav. Russia, parcelled out into numerous provinces, its strength sapped by prolonged civil wars, soon sank from the pinnacle which it had reached in its days of prosperity. Perhaps for this reason tradition has shed a flood of glory round the last prince and despot of the old era.

The very first successor of Jaroslav, the Grand Duke Isjaslav, whom his father had placed on the throne at Kiev during his lifetime, could not maintain his position. The people of Kiev banished him and raised to the throne a prince who stood outside the prescribed order of succession. A hot dispute soon broke out which was destined to last for centuries. Not a single Russian prince was ashamed to invoke, in case of need, the help of Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, Hungarians, or even Polovzes. The first appeal for help was to the Polish duke Boleslav II. the Bold, who conquered Kiev in 1069, as Boleslav I. had once done, and for the first time sacked the city. Soon, however, the threatened Isjaslav was compelled once more to give way, and his renewed appeals to the Poles for help were futile. Then in 1075 he made overtures to the Emperor Henry IV.; but the embassy of the latter failed to obtain any results in Kiev. Isjaslav, in order to leave no stone unturned, actually sent his son,

Russia's Heroic Age at an End

Jaropolk, to Rome to Pope Gregory VII. (a course which was followed later by his second son, Sviatopolk, grand duke from 1093 to 1114).

If we reflect that the Investiture struggle was then at its height, and that the rift between Rome and the Greek Church was now too wide to be bridged, we must from the Russian standpoint condemn the conduct of Isjaslav in offering for sale in every market the honour of his country. He had not been able to induce Little Poland or Germany to lend him any help without some return, and he now went to Rome and professed himself to be a vassal of the papal chair. The Pope in gratitude nominated his son Jaropolk to be his successor. Had that nomination been accepted, a hereditary monarchy would at one stroke have been created in Russia, certainly to the country's advantage. But Isjaslav never came to the throne.

Hitherto there had not been wanting a supply of able princes and heroes of the old stamp; but they destroyed each other. Everyone knew that this meant the ruin of Russia; but no one was willing or able to prevent it. Vladimir Monomach, the son of that Wsewold to whom, according to the distribution made

**Princes
Kiss the Cross
of Peace**

by Jaroslav, the district of Perejaslav was assigned, was a man of gentle character, religious and just, but at the same time brave and shrewd. He always endeavoured to settle disputes by pacific methods, and pointed out the great ravages caused by the Polovzes. The princes finally concluded a peaceful alliance, when they met in 1097 at Lubetch by Tchernigov on the Dnieper. The source of the evil was seen to lie in the proviso that the princes, since they moved from one country to another, gradually approaching Kiev, never felt at home anywhere, but neglected their principalities. It was, therefore, decided that every Rurikovich should continue to hold his father's share. All kissed the cross of peace, and promised to defend the country, one and all, against the Polovzes.

But the rule of succession, which had become in Lubetch the law of the land, did not put an end to the civil wars. David of Volhynia, the son of Igor and grandson of Jaroslav, was at enmity with Volodar of Terebowla and Vassilko of Przemyśl, the sons of Rotislav. The princes had hardly separated when the Grand Duke Sviatopolk, in consequence of the hints of

David, enticed Vassilko to Kiev, and then surrendered him to David, who put out his eyes. The princes once more assembled in 1100 at Uwjatyci on the Dnieper, and concluded a new peace; the chief agent this time, also, was Vladimir Monomach. He was Grand Duke from 1114 to 1125, and conducted the government with vigour and justice.

**Monomach's
Letter
of Counsel**

A letter which Vladimir wrote to Oleg of Tchernigov is still extant, as also his will,

some of the chief sentences of which deserve to be quoted. "Since my end is near, I thank the All Highest that he has prolonged my days. . . . Praise the Lord, dear children, and love also your fellow-men. Neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monasticism will save you, but good deeds alone.

. . . . Do not always have the name of God on your lips; but if you have strengthened an oath by kissing the cross, beware of breaking it. . . . Look diligently yourselves after everything in your households, and do not trust to retainers and servants, or the guests will speak evil of your house. Be strenuous in war, setting a model to your voivodes.

. . . . When you travel through your country, suffer not your vassals to molest the people, but where you halt, give your meat and drink to your hosts. Above all, honour your guests, noble and lowly, merchants and ambassadors; if ye cannot give them presents, make them content at least with food and drink. For guests spread good and evil report of us in foreign lands. . . . Love your wives, but be not governed by them. . . .

Keep in mind the good which ye hear, and learn that which ye do not know. My father could speak in five languages. . . .

Man ought always to be occupied. When you are journeying on horseback, and have no business to transact, do not give way to idle thoughts, but repeat some prayer which you have learnt; if no other occurs to you, then the shortest

**Rules for
Rest and
Worship**

and best, 'Lord have mercy upon me.' Never go to sleep without having bowed your head to the earth; but if you feel ill, bow yourselves thrice to the earth. Let the sun never find you in bed! Go early into the church to offer your matins to God; my father did so, and so did all good men.

. . . . After doing that they sat in council with the Druzina, or administered justice or rode to the chase. But at noon

they lay down to sleep; for God hath fixed noontide as a time of rest not only for men, but also for four-footed creatures and for birds. Thus, too, hath your father lived. I have always done personally that which I might have employed my servants to do. . . . I myself exercised supervision over the church and

The Fighting Record of Monomach divine worship, over the household, the tables, the chase, the hawks and the falcons. I have fought in eighty-three campaigns altogether, not reckoning the unimportant ones. I concluded nineteen treaties of peace with the Polovzes. I took prisoners more than a hundred of their noblest princes and afterwards released them; more than two hundred I executed and drowned in the rivers. Who has travelled quicker than I? If I started in the morning from Tchernigov, I was in Kiev before vespers.

I loved the chase, and your uncle and I have often captured wild beasts together. How often have I been brought to the ground . . . but the Lord hath preserved me. Therefore, dear children, fear neither death nor battle nor wild beasts. Be men, whatever be the destiny that God intends for you! If divine providence has destined death for us, neither father nor mother nor brother can save us. Let the hope of man be in the protection of God alone." When Vladimir Monomach died, in 1125, "all the people wept," said his contemporary Nestor.

The number of the princes fighting for the possession of Kiev grew more and more, and the position of Russia became more and more desperate. South Russia in particular could never regain tranquillity and defend itself against the wild dwellers in the steppe. It was a fortunate circumstance indeed that inveterate feuds prevailed among these latter. The western tribes, the Torkes, Berendejans, and Pechenegs, which were called collectively

Political Collapse of South Russia Chornyje Klobuki (Black Caps), were mortal enemies of the Polovzes, and therefore sided with Russia and were settled in the country. They were soon assimilated with the Russian people, and thus brought a peculiar strain into the national characteristics of South Russia. These various nations of the steppe fought as allies of one Russian prince against others, until they all became Slavs. But as late as the sixteenth century

a tribe in the district of Skvirsh near Kiev called itself "Polovces."

The end of all this was the political and economic collapse of South Russia. A consequence of the same causes was that the princes who were excluded from the contest for Kiev shook themselves free from the supremacy of the grand duke there, and that totally independent principalities were formed. This was the case with Polock, Novgorod, Rostov, Turov, Pskov, Wjatka, and in the west with Halicz.

A powerful principality developed in the south-west of Russia, in the Dniester district. Vladimir, who had been entrusted by Jaroslav the Wise with the conduct of the campaign against Byzantium in 1043, and as prince of Novgorod had predeceased his father in 1052, had left a son, Rotislav. The latter, as the "Isgoj" [see above] having no claim to the throne of the grand duke, had to be content with Rostov. When, then, one of his uncles, Vjatcheslav of Smolensk, died, and the youngest uncle, Igor, advanced from Volhynia to Smolensk, Rotislav obtained Volhynia, while Rostov was defeated at Perejaslav. But

Poison Ends Rotislav's Adventures when Igor also died at Smolensk in 1060, and Rotislav indulged in hopes of advancing to Smolensk, and later eventually to Kiev, the uncles did not wish to make this fresh concession to him. The adventurous prince, therefore, went in 1064 with his Druzina in an oblique line from the extreme west of Russia to the farthest eastern boundary, to Tmutorokan, and drove out the prince Gleb, the son of his uncle Sviatoslav of Tchernigov. As the nearest neighbour of the Byzantines, he aroused their alarm; a Katapan who was sent to him won his confidence and poisoned him in 1066.

Rurik, Volodar, and Vassilko, the sons of Rotislav, inherited a part of the Volhynian principality, Przemyśl and Terebowla; these "Chervenian towns," which had been conquered by Vladimir the Great in 981, and taken from him by Boleslav of Poland in 1018, had been won back by Jaroslav in 1031, at the time of the Polish disturbances. The Diet of Princes at Lubetch recognised their right to the towns. The efforts of the Igorid, David of Volhynia, to wrest this province from the Rotislaviches were unsuccessful. New bishoprics were formed here in the twelfth century, as, for example, in Przemyśl (1120) and Halicz (about 1157).

Vladimirko, the son of Volodar, after the death of his father, his uncles, and his brother Rotislav of Przemysl, united the whole country under his sceptre and made Halicz on the Dniester his capital. When he died in 1153 he left to his only son Jaroslav Osmomysl, who reigned until 1187, a principality stretching from the River San almost to the mouth of the Dniester. The Chronicle extols the wisdom and learning of this prince, who was a patron of culture and possessed a remarkable library. The principality of Halicz (Galicia) threatened to eclipse Kiev.

It fell to the lot of this principality, from its prominent position on the western frontier of Russia, to repel the attacks of the Hungarians under Bela III. and of the Poles, who were then torn by internal feuds. But under Vladimir, son of Osmomysl (about 1200), Roman of Volhynia, having been called in by Galician Boyars, won the country over to his side, and by this union of Volhynia with Halicz founded a dominion which was perhaps the most powerful among all the Russian

**Undisputed
Monarch of
All Russia**

states and larger than the existing Polish Empire. Roman had the throne of Kiev at his disposal, and fought with Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians. The Volhynian Chronicler calls him the undisputed monarch of all Russia. The expelled Vladimir sought refuge with the German Emperor. Innocent III., to whose ears the fame of Roman had come, sent an embassy to him, offering him the royal crown, and urged him to adopt Catholicism; he received, however, an unfavourable answer. The effect of the proximity of Hungary and Poland was that the Druzina of the prince, the nobility, was more prominent here than in other parts of Russia and influenced the destiny of the country. This tendency was suppressed by Roman. He is said to have ordered refractory Boyars to be quartered or buried alive. "In order to eat a honeycomb peacefully, the bees must be killed," was his favourite saying.

When Rostan fell in 1205, at the battle of Zavichost, leaving behind him two infant sons, Daniel and Vassilko, interminable wars for the possession of the country broke out, and princes were tortured and hanged. Poles and Hungarians took advantage of these disturbances to seize the country. Koloman, a

son of the Hungarian king Andreas II., having married the Polish princess Salome, was placed on the throne of Halicz. Daniel had reconquered it in 1229 by dint of great efforts, and did not succeed in winning back his whole inheritance until 1239. He then chose Cholm for his residence. The estrangement of the north-west was fraught

**The Cradle
of Russian
History**

with disastrous consequences for Russia. The princes of Polock in the region watered by the Niemen and the Dwina were too weak to protect themselves, first from the Swedes and Germans, and then from the Lithuanians. It was the weakening of this region which rendered the rise of a strong Lithuanian state possible.

Novgorod also aimed at independence, but had to suffer much from the wars about Kiev. The ruling body there was the assembly of citizens (*vece*), not prince or Boyars. Novgorod was an important industrial centre and greatly influenced the history of the northern Slavs and Finns. It was in fact the cradle of Russian history. The Novgorodians were once the first and only people to resist the Varagians, whom they ultimately drove out of Russia. When Jaroslav the Wise, having been defeated by his brother Sviatopolk and the Poles, came to Novgorod and wished to cross the sea, the people of Novgorod broke up his boats, voluntarily laid a tax on themselves for war purposes, and forced him once more to resume hostilities with Sviatopolk.

Being victorious at their head, he held Novgorod in high honour, and is said to have granted a charter of privileges to the city in 1019. The people of Novgorod also always held his memory sacred. But in that busy trading town, with its hundred thousand or more inhabitants, no prince was able to exercise absolute authority, nor could any dynasty find a firm footing. The prince was obliged to take an oath that he would respect their rights and privileges. He could not pronounce any judicial sentence without the assistance of the municipal "Possadnik,"

**Princely Power
Restricted
in Novgorod**

and, above all, he could not bring a disputed cause before a foreign court. He could neither obtain any existing villages nor build any new ones within the municipal district. His revenue was accurately fixed.

The prince had, it is true, the right to summon the popular assemblies, which met in "the court of Jaroslav" at the

sound of the tocsin. But they were more powerful than he was; for with his small Druzina, which neither belonged to the body of citizens nor could live in the centre of the district, he was totally unable to keep the great city in check. If the prince was guilty of any misconduct, he was impeached. If he did not give satisfaction "they said farewell to him and showed him his way." When Prince Vsevolod-Gabriel, who exchanged Novgorod with Perejaslav, came back in 1132, the Wece said to him: "Thou hast forgotten thy oath to die with us, and hast sought a new principedom for thyself; go hence whither thou wilt." The popular assembly also

Far East. Independent Druzhines travelled in search of adventure, subjugated countries, and founded colonies; as, for instance, the subsequently important Free State of Vjatka, which, like Pskov also, was governed by its assembly of citizens. The Novgorodians were esteemed good seamen; their merchants formed a guild of their own. Novgorod played the principal part in Slavonicising the north of Eastern Europe.

The congress of princes at Lubetch, which settled the hereditary provinces to be held by the princes, had assigned the Finnish territory round Rostov to the family of Monomach. Monomach founded



MARKET DAY IN THE OLD TOWN OF HALICZ ON THE DNIESTER

summoned new princes. The princes, for this reason, were reluctant to go to Novgorod. When an archbishopric was founded there in the twelfth century, the archbishop himself was chosen by the popular assembly, which naturally deposed him if there was anything against him. The Wece decided even matters of faith.

The town, therefore, proudly styled itself "sovereign, mighty Novgorod." It was full of churches and monasteries founded by private individuals. Since the soil was sandy, the town was forced to expand, colonise, and trade far and wide, especially with Northern Europe and even with the

there on the Kliasma a town which bore his name, Vladimir. The son of Monomach, George Dolgoruki, was the first independent prince of Rostov. He soon attained his object of becoming Grand Duke in Kiev; yet he cared more for his inheritance in the north, for Vladimir and Susdal. He removed thither the discontented population from the south; he founded towns there, and, according to tradition, Moscow also, which is mentioned for the first time in 1147. His son Andrew Bogolubski, who became ruler in 1157, took no further interest in the south, since Kiev, he thought, had no future; its title



HOLY MONASTERY OF THE ANNUNCIATION AND THE SIBERIAN WHARVES



THE TOWN UNDER WATER AS A RESULT OF FLOODS



NOVGOROD'S FAMOUS FAIR-CITY AS SEEN FROM THE WATER

VIEWS IN THE RUSSIAN CITY OF NIJNI NOVGOROD

of grand duke had been passed on from hand to hand eighteen times since 1125!

In the year 1169 he organised an alliance of eleven princes, at whose head he placed his son Mstislav. The latter took Kiev by storm after three days' siege and allowed it to be sacked mercilessly. A great impression was made on the whole country when the city, which was sacred in the eyes of every Russian, the mother of all Russian towns and the goal of the ambition of their princes, was captured by her own sons; many believed that the end of Russia had come.

Vanished Glory of Kiev

The glory and importance of Kiev were ended. Andrew assumed, it is true, the grand ducal title, but sent to Kiev his brother Gleb, who also bore the title of grand duke. Other heads of the princely families—those of Halicz, Smolensk, Tchernigov—equally assumed the title of grand duke. There was, however, no doubt that the Grand Duke of Susdal-Vladimir, the conqueror of Kiev, was the true master of Russia; Vladimir on the Kliasma was destined to become the centre of the empire.

George Dolgoruki and Andrew Bogolubski had a clear insight into the heart of the matter. They wished to found a strong princely power independent of the Boyars (Druzina) and the municipality, which in later years had often disposed of the crown in the south. Father and son, therefore, showed no mercy towards the Boyars. In the north there were mostly newcomers and colonists, who were bound from the outset to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The towns, too, were new, unimportant settlements, which became exactly what their founders wished them to become. Andrew had for this reason chosen as his residence in the district of Susdal neither Rostov nor Susdal with their old citizen assemblies, but the insignificant market town of Vladimir. An absolute monarchy was able to develop there which was capable of rescuing Russia from destruction. Andrew, it is true, was murdered by his Boyars in 1175; but his

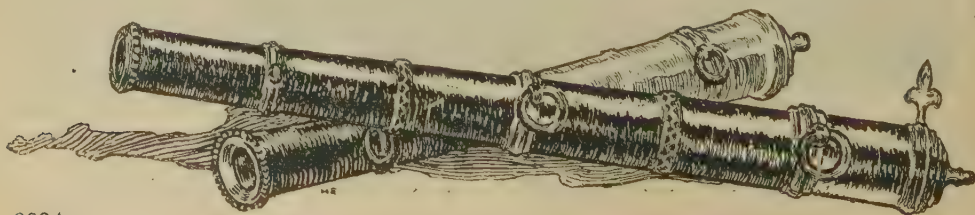
successors resolutely carried out the policy of treating the Druzina merely as subjects.

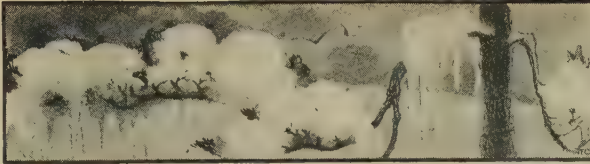
During the calamitous civil wars the consciousness of a common Russian mother country was kept alive less by the blood relationship of the reigning princes than by the Church. In the later period the glory of Kiev also was mainly based on the fact that the oldest churches were there, especially the famous subterranean monastery, where the bones of the saints reposed, and that the supreme metropolitan resided there. If, then, Vladimir on the Kliasma was to be a serious rival of Kiev, it must receive an archbishop and magnificent churches. The princes provided both these essentials. Vladimir soon possessed a golden gate, like that of Kiev, a tithe church, several monasteries, and beautiful buildings. At the sack of Kiev valuable images, church ornaments, books and bells had been carried off to Vladimir.

But the petition to the Patriarch of Constantinople to found an archbishopric in Susdal met with no immediate success. Otherwise the power of Susdal grew stronger from year to year. Vsevolod the Great, brother of Andrew, was feared throughout Russia. But quarrels again arose among his sons, until Constantine defeated the others. After his death, in 1217, his brother George II. became Grand Duke of Vladimir. He conquered the country of the Mordvins and founded in 1221 Nijni Novgorod, from 1350 to 1390 residence of the princes of Susdal, at the point where the Oka flows into the Volga.

The Founding of Nijni Novgorod

In 1200 three forces in Russia were struggling for victory—the princes, the nobles, and the popular assembly (*vece*). The Boyars were victorious in Halicz, the citizens in Novgorod, Pskov, and Vjatka, and the princes in Susdal; in Kiev alone the three institutions existed side by side, collectively powerless. As an inevitable consequence, instead of only one, several political centres were formed side by side in Russia.





RUSSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS

THE DEGENERATING INFLUENCE OF THE TARTAR YOKE

RUSSIA had already been weakened by internal feuds, and now the greatest calamity that had ever befallen it burst on the country. In the year 1222 the Mongols appeared in the south, and first struck a blow at the Alans, who lived to the north of the Caucasus. Terrible tidings heralded their approach. Genghis Khan had united the Mongol tribes, had conquered and plundered Northern China, Kharismia, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Northern India, and was now filled with the idea of subduing Europe. He styled himself the Scourge of God, and the Asiatics, with their inborn fatalism, seldom dared to offer resistance.

The Alans allied themselves with the Polovzes; but the Mongols brought the Polovzes over to their side by bribes, and subjugated the Alans, and after that the faithless Polovzes. The latter appeared as fugitives in Russia. The princes of Southern Russia united their forces, and the Polovzes joined them, their khan, Basti, having accepted Christianity. They determined to anticipate the enemy and attack him in the steppe. Tartar envoys then appeared in their camp, ostensibly on account of the detested Polovzes. The Russians, in their infatuation, rejected the offer of peace and put the envoys to death; they had collected more than 80,000 men. A decisive battle was fought on June 16th, 1223, on the banks of the small river Kalka, which flows into the Sea of Azov.

Mongols' Gruesome Banquet The Polovzes fled at the very outset, and thus forced the Russians into a retreat which degenerated into a disastrous rout. Mstislav of Kiev defended himself for three days longer in his fortified camp, but finally, from over-confidence, fell into the hands of the Tartars; six princes and seventy Boyars were left on the field of battle. Mstislav and his two sons-in-law were suffocated under planks, and the Mongols celebrated the victory by a

banquet over their dead bodies. Hardly a tenth part of the army succeeded in escaping. "A vast host pressed on its heels, plundering, murdering, and sacking the towns," so the Arab Ibn al-Athir records; "many Russian merchants banded together, packed up their valuables, and sailed in many ships to Moham-

Siege and Massacre of Riasan Khan suddenly turned back to Asia; Russia was saved. The great conqueror died

in 1227, and was succeeded by his third son Ogdai. A resolution was passed by the general assembly of the empire at Karakorum in 1235 that Russia and Europe generally should be conquered, and the supreme command was given to Batu, a grandson of Genghis Khan. A Mongol army of 500,000 men, nominally, appeared in Russia in the year 1237. The Bulgarians on the Volga offered a feeble resistance, and their capital, Bulgar, was destroyed. The Mordvins, who were of Finnish stock, joined the Tartars and became their scouts. The enemy were soon before the gates of Riasan; by the help of powerful siege-engines they took the town after five days' storming, on December 21st, and a terrible massacre ensued. The Grand Duke of Vladimir had gone northwards before the battle, but was soon overtaken and killed; Vladimir, which was defended by his sons Vsevolod and Mstislav, had already fallen on February 14th, 1238.

The whole principality of Susdal was plundered, and Kolomna, Moscow, Volo Kolamsk, Tver and Torchok were reduced to ashes. Batu was now close to Novgorod when a thaw prevented any further advance of the Mongols. On their way back they captured Kose-lok after a gallant resistance of seven weeks. In the winter of 1239 Batu marched against South Russia; the task of conquest was rendered easier for him

by the persistent feuds of the Russian princes. Daniel of Halicz seized Kiev, which he ordered his Boyar Dmitri to defend, but the latter's stubborn courage was ineffectual against the superior force. Kiev fell on December 6th, 1240, and was ruthlessly sacked; even the tombs were not spared. Batu spared the life of the brave

Russia in the Hands of the Tartars

Dmitri, an unprecedented act of grace, and kept him by his side as a military adviser. He then conquered Halicz; Novgorod alone still held out. In the higher arts of war the Russians were inferior to the Mongols, who were always mounted; the latter even employed a sort of Greek fire. Poland, Hungary, and other neighbouring kingdoms were filled with Russian fugitives. Counter measures were discussed everywhere, in Rome, Hungary, Bohemia and Germany. Men's thoughts turned to Gog and Magog, the mythical destroyers, whose appearance would signify the end of the world. Louis IX. of France made ready for a crusade.

The Tartar storm then raged over Poland, Moravia and Dalmatia. Suddenly the Asiatic tide ebbed. Russia alone remained Tartar. The fugitive princes returned, but as Tartar vassals. Attempts were begun to make the pillaged towns once more habitable, and the ruins were partially rebuilt. But the country was depopulated; men were required and they were chiefly taken from the more densely populated west. From this time dates the movement of German colonists towards the east.

Batu had long since established on the Volga an empire, almost independent of the Great Khan, called Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde, with Sarai as capital, and was now occupied with its organisation. The national code was the Yasa or customary law drawn up by Genghis Khan, which recognised only the penalty of

The Grandeur of the Khan Batu

death and corporal punishment. The oath of loyalty was taken bareheaded, kneeling and with loosened girdle. A strict ceremonial distinguished the khan from the people. Before any man approached him, he had to pass between two fires, since poison or other dangerous things, which he might have on his person, would thus, it was supposed, be rendered harmless. No one might speak with the khan except when kneeling,

and frequently a veil was thrown over the visitor that he might not look on the face of the khan.

John de Plano Carpini, who was received in audience by Batu as ambassador of Pope Innocent IV., records: "Batu keeps a splendid court; his army numbers 600,000 men. His brothers, sons, and grandees sit below him on a bench in the middle, all others on the bare ground—men on the right, women on the left. . . . We, too, when we had delivered our message, seated ourselves on the left, as all ambassadors do; but we were placed on the right. . . . Batu never drinks in the presence of people without singing and zither-playing. When he rides, an umbrella is held over his head, as is the custom of all Tartar princes and their wives."

The residence of the khan was called Orda, hence "horde." The nation was divided on a military system into groups of tens, hundreds and thousands. A tuman, or body of ten thousand, constituted a separate province. The subject peoples had only to pay taxes, and were not under

Russian Princes Under Subjection

any other obligation. The receiver-general of taxes was called baskak (later, equivalent to extortioner or oppressor). Plano Carpini tells us that one such baskak carried off one son out of every family which had three; the same thing occurred with the unmarried men, women and all beggars. A list was made of the remaining inhabitants, and a tax levied on every human being, new-born babes of a day old included; from each a black or white bearskin, a black beaver, a sable, a marten, and a black fox. Those who could not pay were carried off into slavery.

The Russian princes were required to make personal suit to the khan that he would confirm their rank. Thus Batu summoned the Grand Duke Jaroslav of Vladimir, who had succeeded his brother George II., to appear before him at Sarai with all his family. Jaroslav was further forced to go to the Great Khan at Karakorum; there he met Plano Carpini. Jaroslav died in the desert on his way home, either from exhaustion or from poison, which he is supposed to have drunk at the court of the Great Khan (1246). The adventurous Minorite saw in the Kirghiz steppes the dried bones of the Boyars of the grand duke, who had perished of thirst in the desert. It was



GENERAL VIEW OF MOSCOW, LOOKING NORTH



THE KREMLIN—MOSCOW'S ACROPOLIS—SURROUNDED BY ITS GREAT WALL



THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE KREMLIN

SCENES IN MOSCOW, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF RUSSIA

necessary, in order to be successful, to spend large sums on "presents" to Tartar princes, favourites and women. The unhappy Russian princes had also to face the machinations of their own people.

Daniel of Halicz, far from paying any tribute, fortified his towns and sought an alliance with the Pope after 1246.

Severe Measures of the Great Khan

But in 1250 a message came from the khan, that he was to give up Halicz. Being inadequately prepared for resistance, he went thither and humbled himself by drinking the black mare's milk (kumiss) and prostrating himself before the "great princess." He was dismissed after twenty-five days, and received Halicz back again as a fief. He nevertheless renewed his negotiations with Innocent IV., and promised to subordinate his Church to him; he received papal legates, by whom he was crowned king in 1254. But as the crusade was preached in vain, he once more broke off his relations with Rome. He was then compelled at the command of the Great Khan to raze his fortresses, and from dire necessity he bore the Tartar yoke until his death, which occurred at Cholm in 1266.

Alexander, son of Jaroslav, who had driven out the Germans, and in 1240 had conquered the Swedes on the Neva (hence the honourable title of Newskij) was then established in Novgorod. Innocent IV. sent two cardinals in 1251 to win him over to the Roman Church, but in vain. Alexander, on the other hand, went in 1254 to Sarai, accompanied by his brother Andrew, and thence to Karakorum; the journey lasted three full years. He must have obtained an overpowering impression of the Mongol power; henceforward he remained loyal to the Tartars, and even fought with his own brother Andrew on their behalf. Only a united Russia could have resisted. Batu Khan died in 1256. His son

The Hated Baskaks in Novgorod

Sertak, who was devoted to Christianity, soon followed him to the grave, probably owing to poison, and Batu's brother Berkai (or Bereke) now mounted the throne (1257). He instituted a general census and taxation throughout Russia. The hated Baskaks now appeared for the first time in Novgorod. The popular assembly was convened. The Possadnik addressed the meeting, but when he counselled submission, the people killed him.

Alexander's own son reproached his father for imposing servitude on free men. It was with the greatest difficulty that the prince induced the defiant population to allow themselves finally to be registered. In the year 1262 the towns of Vladimir, Susdal, and Rostov revolted against the Baskaks. Alexander hurried with presents to the khan, but was nevertheless detained for a year. He died on the journey home on November 14th, 1263, in consequence of his privations.

A change was then produced in the life of the Tartar people. They could not permanently disregard the influence of a higher culture. Rome made great efforts to win them by missions, especially since the Mongol world, by the destruction of Bagdad in 1258, had proclaimed itself hostile to Islam. The two recently founded orders of Franciscans and Dominicans gained a name in the Church history of the East, and undertook in particular the task of converting the Tartars. John de Plano Carpini the Minorite was not the last who sought to win the Tartar khan for the Roman faith.

The Greek Church also was not without influence. Some great khans were superficially followers of Christianity.

Kuyuk (1246-1248) had a Christian chapel near his palace; Kublai (1260-1294) regularly attended the celebration of the feast of Easter. A Greek bishopric was founded in Sarai itself. The Mongol rulers were thoroughly tolerant. Plano Carpini saw, in the camp of the Great Khan, Christians, Greek priests, and a Christian church. The Franciscan William of Rubruquis describes how Mangu Khan in 1254 arranged a discussion between the representatives of various beliefs; Christians, Mohammedans, and heathen performed their acts of worship in his presence. Priests and monks were exempt from the poll-tax; the jurisdiction of the Greek Church was confirmed; sacrilege was punishable with death. The monasteries within the dominions of the formerly abused Mongols increased in numbers and wealth.

An event of great significance then occurred; Berkai Khan turned his attention to Islam. The religious fanaticism of the Moslems then invaded Sarai, and prevented the fusion of the nations. It was one of the serious results of the miserable Fourth Crusade, which, by the



RUSSIAN SOVEREIGNS FROM 1281 TILL 1533

From a series of historic medals.

capture of Constantinople (1203) under conditions of revolting cruelty and by the partition of the empire, had crippled the power of the Greek Church and of Greek culture without aiding the West, that Mohammedanism was able to achieve so important a victory. A Byzantium of undiminished power would have all the more

The Mongols Adopt the Faith of Islam

certainly won the Tartars for the Orthodox faith, since the Greek form of worship impressed the Asiatics, and since their army, to the extent, perhaps, of three-fifths, consisted of Oriental Christians, owing to the thousands of prisoners made yearly. But a destroyed Byzantium commanded as little respect from the Tartars as the mutual hatred of the two "Christian" beliefs. The Mongols, therefore, adopted Islam, which from racial considerations at least appealed more closely to them and seemed to be politically more advantageous. The gulf between Europe and Russia was widened by the Mohammedan Tartars. Russia had now for the first time become a province of Asia in the true sense of the word.

The three centuries which Russia had spent under the Tartar yoke had determined its place in civilisation and its development. Hitherto it had stood, if not higher, at any rate not lower than many a Western state. But now its culture was so sapped and had sunk so low that, even at the present day, it has not completely recovered from the blow. The political situation, it is true, remained much in the same position; some princes were confirmed in their dominions, and self-government conceded to them.

But the excessive drain on the finances weighed so heavily on the country that it infallibly took from the people any desire to work. The humiliating treatment and the feeling of absolute impotence as regards the Great Khan could not but corrupt the ideas of the people,

Russia's National Pride Destroyed

destroy their national pride, and sap their moral fibre. This is noticeable even in the chroniclers of the Tartar age. When in the fifteenth century one prince put out the eyes of another, the Chronicle did not utter a word of blame, as it did when Vassilko was blinded. The Russian people had thus become accustomed to scenes of horror. And these outrages were a heavier burden and lasted longer than the economic downfall.

Even after half a century the widely spread influence of the Asiatic school could be felt. The son of Daniel of Halicz already kept a Tartar body-guard; the insubordination of the nobles cannot alone excuse this procedure. That same proud city of Novgorod, which had only submitted to the Baskaks with extreme reluctance, rejected Prince Michael in 1304 with the words: "We elected thee, indeed, but only on the condition that thou showest us the Jarlyk" (the warrant from the khan). Mongols were called in by Russian princes just as Pechenegs and Polovzes had been—to help them against their own people. Russians took part in the campaigns of the Tartars, who honourably gave them a share of the spoils.

The relations between Mongols and Russians rapidly became so much closer, that in the first half of the fourteenth century Tartar princes and nobles settled in Moscow. Many distinguished Russian families are of Tartar descent; but, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that the later Tartar immigrants were mostly descendants of Russian prisoners, so that

The Germs of Russia's Unification

we ought rather to speak of Slavonic blood among the Tartars than vice versâ. Russia would almost have got over the depression had not, from time to time, fresh outbursts of savage barbarism inflicted new wounds on the country. The keen wish for liberty was thus kept alive. Russia obtained some partial successes politically. Hostilities between Russian princes were forbidden, since no one dared to wage war without the consent of the khan. A still more important point was that the grand duke, as vassal of the dreaded Mongol, enjoyed elsewhere a greater reputation than had ever been the case. We may see in this fact the germs of the subsequent unification of Russia.

Under the Tartar supremacy the place of Vladimir (in the principality of Susdal) as the residence of the grand duke and the capital of Russia, was taken by Moscow, which lay to the west of it on the small river Moskva. The grand dukes, as Nikolai M. Karamsin justly observes, while assuming the modest title of servants of the khan, became gradually powerful monarchs. By this policy the way was paved for the rise of despotic power in Russia, and the princely house, in Moscow as formerly in Vladimir, had a definite aim before its eyes. They were responsible



The Soukareff Tower



Uspenskiy Cathedral, where tsars are crowned



The Cathedral of St. Basil, built in 1554



The House of the Romanovs



The Convent of Novo-Dievitchy, founded in 1524

to the khan for the maintenance of public order in Russia, assumed, as general agents of the khan, the collection of taxes throughout Russia in order to be spared the torment of Tartar tax-gatherers, and thus were able to act unscrupulously towards their own subjects and other princes, and showed no mercy, since they received none themselves in Sarai. The other independent princes lost in prestige, and no less so the popular assemblies and the nobility. Everyone from fear of the Mongol bowed before the grand dukes of Moscow. They drew from the farming of the revenue not merely financial but also political strength. The Tartar tribute was exacted by Moscow even when it was not necessary to pay it to the Tartars, and the people paid it without murmuring. Thanks to this circumstance, Moscow had always large sums of money at its disposal, and Russia in this way grew accustomed by the fourteenth century to see in it the capital of the country.

These princes of Moscow of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were unpleasing figures, harsh, selfish, and shrinking from no steps which led to power. It is a repugnant task in these modern times to read the accounts of the degradation and meanness of most of them in their dealings with the Mongols. But it was a political necessity. Lithuania and afterwards Poland were willing to form leagues with the Tartars against Russia, and actually did so. Only such unscrupulous, unfeeling, but diplomatic rulers as the Muscovites were, could have saved Russia in its helpless and desperate plight from the Mongols and other neighbouring nations.

The first known prince of Moscow was Michael the Bold (after 1248), younger brother of Alexander Nevski. The true founder of the principedom was Nevski's son, Daniel (1263-1303), who had received Moscow as an appanage. He increased his territory, founded convents, encouraged trade, and made a good waterway on the Moskva. When he died in 1303 he left to his sons George, Danilovitch (1303-1325), and Ivan (1328-1341) a compact territory, which they still further enlarged. George was the first who, after the death of the Grand Duke Andrew Alexandrovitch of Vladimir, came forward in 1304 as a

claimant of the grand ducal title; but his second uncle, Michael of Tver, had, as the eldest of the family, a better claim to it. Both went to their over-lord at Sarai, and tried to defeat each other by bribery and intrigues.

A civil war thus broke out between Moscow and Tver, which lasted almost thirty years, revealed startling depths of baseness, and cost the life of several princes. Moscow eventually won. George, who married in 1315 Kontchaka, the favourite sister of Uzbek Khan, became grand duke. Ivan I., surnamed Kalita, from the purse which he wore in order to distribute alms, knew how to win over the Church, and to induce the Metropolitan Peter of Vladimir to settle at Moscow; Theognost, Peter's successor, also resided in Moscow, which ranked as the capital after 1328.

No Russian prince made so many journeys to the Horde as Kalita. He so completely won over the Mongols that they entrusted him with the government of the affairs of his kingdom, and even placed an army at his disposal. Peace reigned for years in Russia. The amalgamation of the two nations made rapid strides. This wise policy was the more profitable since the mighty Uzbek (1312-1340) then sat on the throne of Kiptchak. Kalita was himself a merchant prince and in favour of Uzbek, and the wide expanse of the Mongol Empire helped the Russian trade. Ivan took upon himself the duty of levying the tribute from Russia.

The same policy was followed by his sons Simeon the Proud (1341-1353) and Ivan II. (1353-1359). Simeon even ventured to assume the title "Grand Duke of all Russia." Other times had come. The grand duke had formerly been to all other princes "father" or "elder brother," now he was for all his relations "lord" (gospodin). All had to feel the weight of his hand. When Novgorod, which had become a dependency of Moscow, tried to gain freedom, it was punished with severity, and the obligation imposed on it that in the future the municipal officials should kneel barefooted before the assembly of the princes and entreat their mercy. We notice here the influence of Mongolian customs. But the necessity for this severity is shown by the reign of Simeon's brother Ivan II., whose weakness

The First Prince of Moscow

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rendered insecure all the successes that had been achieved.

The position of Russia had meantime improved. While the Muscovite princes slowly united the Russian countries in their hands, the Mongol state began to break up. Some parts of the vast empire made themselves independent of Sarai under khans of their own, the same process which had formerly ruined Russia. The son of Ivan II., Dmitri Ivanovitch (1362-1389), was soon strong enough to defy the will of the Tartars and to govern in Russia as he thought best; in 1376 he actually made two petty Tartar princes his tributaries. When in the same year he conquered a governor of the able Manaj Khan, he exclaimed: "God is with us; their day is over!" But that was premature. Manaj collected an immense army, and at the same time concluded a treaty with the Lithuanian prince, Jagiello. Dmitri also rallied many princes round him, and strengthened himself by prayer in the Church of the Assumption, before he rode to the battlefield. All felt keenly that a religious war impended. Manaj

**First Blow
to the
Mongol Yoke**

is said to have threatened to destroy all the churches and bring over Russia to Islam. The battle took place on September 8th, 1380, on the plain of Kulikovo (at the confluence of the Neprædva and the Don), and was decided in favour of Russia. Fifteen Russian princes were left on the field. Dmitri received the surname of Donskoj, the Victor of the Don. On that very day Jagiello of Lithuania had been only a few miles away from the Tartars; his junction with Manaj would certainly have changed the result. The rejoicings at this first great victory were immense; Moscow, the new capital of Russia, thus received its baptism of war. Even if the Tartar yoke was still far from being shaken off, it was yet seen that the Russians in their long servitude had not forgotten how to draw the sword for freedom and honour. They had now learnt that the Mongols were not invincible; and their courage and character were increased.

Not the less important for the unification of Russia was the enactment of Dmitri, by which primogeniture became the law of the land. The eldest son of the grand duke, not the eldest of the stock, was henceforward to succeed his father. By this law, of which we have

no details, the family disputes of the ruling house were not indeed completely ended, but, happily for Russia, were restricted. The son of Donskoj, Vasilij I. Dmitrijevitich (1389-1425), now succeeded in accordance with this law of succession. Under Vasilij's successor, Vasilij II. Vasilijevitch (1425-1462), a dispute once

**Great Prize
in the Contest
of Humility**

more broke out between the supporters of the old rule of "Seniority" and the new rule of "Primogeniture." George Dmitrijevitich was opposed to the grandson of Dmitri Donskoj, the uncle to the nephew. The ambassador sent from Moscow saved the cause of his master at Sarai by a speech which throws a flood of light upon the situation. "All powerful Tsar," so Vsevoloshkij in 1431 addressed Ulugh Mahmet, "allow me to speak, who am the Grand Duke's slave. My master, the Grand Duke, solicits the throne of the Grand Duchy, which is entirely thy property, without any other claim thereto but through thy good will, thy consent, and thy warrant. Thou disposest of it as thou thinkest fit. The prince George Dmitrijevitich, his uncle, on the other hand, claims the Grand Duchy according to the enactment and last will of his father, but not as a favour of thy omnipotence."

The speech did its work; the khan commanded that George should henceforward lead his nephew's horse by the bridle. "Thus the prize in this contest of humility was assigned to the prince of Moscow." At Vasilij's coronation (such ceremonies have always taken place at Moscow since that day) a Mongolian Baskak was present. Vladimir, the old capital, now lost the last trace of its glory. The war between uncle and nephew was continued in spite of the decision of the khan. It was then seen how dependent the people were on their prince. When Vasilij, ousted by his uncle,

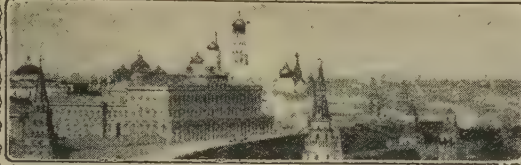
**Departed
Glory of
Vladimir**

had Kostroma assigned him as residence, the Muscovites left their city in crowds and joined him at Kostroma; the uncle, who could not maintain his position in Moscow, now voluntarily withdrew. And when Vasilij II. entered Moscow for a second time, the people thronged round him "like bees round their queen," says a chronicler. He died, blinded in 1446 by a son of George (hence called Temnyi), on March 17th, 1462.



THE RULERS OF RUSSIA FROM 1584 TILL 1762

From a series of historic medals.



THE MONARCHS OF MOSCOW AND THE DAWN OF BETTER DAYS FOR RUSSIA

THE fall of the Tartar power rendered the consolidation of Russia possible. The unerring persistent policy of the Muscovite princes was destined to bear good fruit. Their aim was to shake off the Tartar yoke and to "join" all countries formerly Russian—that is to say, to reunite them in one empire. Ivan III. (1462–1505), who now mounted the throne as "sole monarch," his son Vasilij III. (1505–1533), and his grandson Ivan IV. (1533–1584), surnamed the Terrible, effected this junction of Russia, although they were the reverse of heroic sordiers.

Ivan III., the most important among them, was the model of a Susdalian and Muscovite ruler, a cold, heartless and calculating statesman. His policy was markedly influenced by his second marriage with Sophia (Zoë), a niece of the last Byzantine emperor, who had been educated in Rome at the papal court. Cardinal Bessarion (the humanist and advocate of the union of the Churches), had first prompted that alliance. The proposal in question reached the grand duke, then twenty years old, in 1469, and had been received by the Boyars with enthusiasm. In the year 1472 Sophia entered Moscow accompanied by many of her countrymen and by the papal legate Antonio, and her arrival brought a new spirit into the Russian court. She it was who realised the humiliation of the Mongol yoke. Moscow regarded itself now as the heir of

The Pope's Bid for Russia Byzantium, and Ivan adopted the double-headed Byzantine eagle as the new arms of Russia. The outlook of

Russian policy widened; henceforward Russia was regarded as the representative and seat of orthodoxy. Moscow took up the cause of the Greek Christians in the East and actually waged war in the name of this idea, which was translated into deeds against the Ottomans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

Pope, indeed, when he sent the fair daughter of the Palæologi to Russia, was intent on the plan of winning the whole of Russia for Rome; but the cunning of the Russian sovereign frustrated such intentions. Ivan derived all possible advantages from that alliance without conferring the slightest benefits in return.

Cruelties

of Ivan "The Awful"

The entry of the Roman legate into Moscow was a humiliation for Rome; he was forced to put aside the silver crucifix, which he wished to be borne in front of him, and to face an argument with a learned Russian monk, which only caused him annoyance. Even the young Greek princess, once arrived on Russian soil, seemed to have forgotten her Roman education and her papal benefactor.

It was Sophia also who taught her husband "the secret of despotism." Ivan came forward now in a quite different character from the earlier grand dukes. He stood before the eyes of the Russians like an avenging deity, and was called not only the "Great" but the "Awful" (gnosnyi; the surname of "Terrible" suits Ivan IV. better). He inflicted death penalties and martyrdoms lavishly. When he slept after meals, the Boyars anxiously kept watch by him; women fainted at his gaze. He treated foreign potentates with almost Oriental presumption. When the Mongol Khan Ahmed sent envoys with his portrait, in order to demand the tribute, he stamped on the portrait, and ordered all the envoys to be killed except one who was to carry the tidings to Astrakhan. He communicated with the Mongol envoys only through officials of the second rank.

In a word, the bearing of the grand duke testified to unbounded pride of sovereignty. He governed without the Boyars; when one of them complained that the grand duke decided every point alone, he was beheaded. Herberstein asserts that no monarch in Europe was so

implicitly obeyed by his subjects as the Grand Duke of Russia. This self-consciousness of the Russian court often, indeed, amounted to an absurdity, and barbarous customs considerably detracted from the magnificence which was displayed at the reception of foreign embassies. Ivan carried on the work of uniting Russia

Grand Duke Ambitious for Power in the most unscrupulous manner. He began by entering into a series of contracts with his relations, in order to secure the supremacy to himself. He then put an end to the more or less independent petty principalities and lordships which existed round Moscow. Thus, in the first years of his reign, Tver, Vereja, Rjasan, and then Bjelosersk, Rostow, Jaroslav, were placed under the immediate government of Moscow.

The union of Novgorod with Moscow cost much bloodshed. This once powerful free city on the Ilmen, the cradle of the Russian state, brought on its own fall by internal factions. The princes of Moscow had long been indignant that Novgorod barred their access to the sea, and also entertained the suspicion that it might join their enemies, Lithuania or Poland. Its freedom must, therefore, be crushed; it was not enough that, having long recognised the suzerainty of the lords of Moscow, it paid them tribute without difficulty; its self-government was to be taken away.

Ivan understood how to form a political party out of the supporters of the Greek faith in Novgorod, and to play them off against the others, who were devoted to the Catholic cause, and therefore to Poland. The Lithuano-Polish party was led by the Borecki family, whose head was Marfa, the energetic widow of a former Possadnik. Ivan waited until Novgorod was guilty of a breach of faith by opening negotiations with Poland, in order to seek protection

Novgorod Falls Before Muscovite Army there against the attacks of Russia. The Muscovite army then entered the territory of Novgorod and defeated the untrained Novgorodian troops, who had been collected with great difficulty, in 1471 at the river Schelona.

The Novgorodians submitted, recognised Ivan as sovereign, and actually accepted the jurisdiction of the courts of Moscow. But in 1478 Ivan took from them the rest of their self-government, deported the

most famous families into the interior of Russia, sent his governors to Novgorod, and brought to Moscow the bell which for centuries had summoned the people to the popular assembly. The fall of Novgorod has often been sung by the poets and made the subject of drama, Marfa Borecki being celebrated as the heroine. But no one will deny that the republic outlived its day, that it never properly fulfilled its duty as a middleman between the merchants of the East and West, and that it now really stood in the way of the union of Russian countries. The capture of Novgorod and its environs gave Moscow an overwhelming superiority over the other principalities.

Besides this, Ivan conquered Perm, "the land of silver beyond the Kama." The second free city, Viatka, was conquered in 1489; an advance was made to the Petchora, the Ural was crossed, and the country of the Voguls and Ugrians made tributary. Russia thus expanded as far as the Arctic Ocean, and for the first time set foot in Asia. Vasilij III. then subjugated the free state of Pskov, where the dissensions of the citizens had opened the ground for him; many families were sent thence to other towns.

Ivan's Series of Conquests "Alas, glorious and mighty Pskov, wherefore this despair and these tears?" exclaims the poetical chronicler. "How shall I not despair?" answered Pskov. "An eagle with the claws of a lion has swooped down on me. . . . Our land is wasted, our city ruined, our marts are destroyed, our brethren led away whither neither our fathers nor grandfathers dwelt." But subordination to Moscow was for Pskov an historical necessity if the unification of Russia was to progress. When Vasilij had banished the princes of Rjasan and Novgorod Severskij and united their lands with Moscow, the union of European Russia under the leadership of Moscow would appear almost finished. Russia already directed her eyes toward newly discovered Asiatic districts, where the Arctic Ocean formed the frontier. Only the Lithuanians and the Tartars were still left to be conquered.

Ivan III. had the good fortune to shake off the Tartar yoke. There were then several Tartar kingdoms—Kasan, Astrakhan (Sarai), the Nogai Horde, the province of the Crimea, and numerous smaller independent hordes—who all fought with

THE MONARCHS OF MOSCOW

each other, and thus lightened the task of the grand duke. In the year 1480 Ivan advanced with a strong army against the great horde of Sarai, but could not make up his mind to strike; for months the two armies stood opposite each other in inaction, until at last the Tartars withdrew. It was not therefore a great victory; Russia had only ceased to pay tribute. Once again, in the year 1521, the Tartars of the Crimean horde united with their tribesmen beyond the Volga in the Nogai steppe and in Kasan, to attack Moscow. The town was so suddenly invested on all sides that the Grand Duke Vasilij hardly made good his escape. The citizens in their first panic promised to pay again the old tribute. Then discord broke out among the Tartars; they withdrew.

From that time the Tartar danger was as good as ended. But another Mohammedan power, Turkey, threatened Russia from the south; in 1475 Mohammed II. brought the Crimea under his suzerainty. At the same time a growing danger arose in the union of Poland with Lithuania. How could Russia have withstood this powerful neighbour if she had been still politically divided, and dependent on Tartar hordes? It was the merit of the grand dukes of Moscow that a liberated and united Russia could not only defend itself, but could also advance victoriously against the menacing foe.

The prestige of Moscow grew not only in all Russian districts, but also in foreign countries. The courts of Western Europe sought to win the alliance of the grand duke. Apart from their relations to Rome, Lithuania and Poland, Ivan III. and his son Vasilij received envoys from Venice, Hungary, the Emperor Frederic III. and his son Maximilian, Sweden and Denmark. From the East came envoys from Turkey, Georgia and Persia. Russia now found the leisure and also experienced the desire to devote time to the work

of civilisation. Just as when formerly the Grand Duke Vladimir married the Greek princess, Anna, the art and religion of Byzantium were transplanted with her to Russia, so the second wife of Ivan and her Greek suite now called a new age of culture into life. Byzantine scholars brought Greek books with them, which formed the nucleus of the later libraries of Moscow. Ivan III. himself took pleasure in distinguished foreigners.

Artists and scholars from Western Europe found a brilliant reception at Ivan's court. In Aristotele Fioraventi of Bologna he acquired a distinguished architect, artilleryist, and tutor for his children. Pietro

Antonio built a palace for him. Monks from the famous monastery of Athos came to Russia; amongst them a learned Greek, Maxim by name, was conspicuous. He is said to have been astonished to find such a mass of old manuscripts in the Kremlin at Moscow. The monks were entrusted by the grand duke with the translation of Greek books into Slavonic. The grand dukes owed their successes against the Tartars and petty princes partly to the artillery perfected by foreigners. The whole system of warfare was revolutionised.

At the same time mineral treasures were exploited. Ivan III. also devoted attention to the judicial

system, which in the Tartar age was often a matter of caprice, and in 1497 caused the common law to be published in the new Russian code Sudebnik.

The question of the succession, that open wound from which Russia so long bled, and to which she formerly owed her subjugation, was at last settled. The testamentary dispositions of Ivan III. showed his opinion on the point. After he had long hesitated whether to nominate as his successor his grandson or his son by his second wife, he decided in favour of his son Vasilij, probably because his mother was a Byzantine. The other sons received small provinces without

Ivan's Wife Introduces Culture



IVAN III. "THE AWFUL"

Cold, heartless and calculating, Ivan III. stood before the Russians like an avenging deity, and lavishly inflicted death penalties and martyrdoms. During his reign, from 1462 till 1505, the prestige of Moscow greatly extended.

Advance of Russian Prestige

monarchical rule; they had neither the right of coinage, nor any higher jurisdiction, and were compelled to recognise the elder brother as their lord. If one of them died without issue, his lands reverted to the grand duke. Thus the first hereditary monarchy was instituted in Russia. An era of renaissance now began for Russia—

The Dawn of a Great Glory a restoration of the political independence and union of the empire, an economic revival, an awakening of the national self-consciousness, a renewal of national culture and literature, the dawn of new and greater glory. Russia, by frequently sending embassies to foreign courts, entered by degrees into the circle of the civilised nations of the West. In short, fortune once more smiled on Russia.

But the goal was still far away, and serious obstacles remained to be overcome. The people were now the greatest obstacle to themselves. In the long period of Tartar rule they had been warped not merely politically but morally. The Russians had emerged from the Asiatic school, in which they had so long been trained, as Asiatics accustomed to murder and cruelty. The Greek Church in Russia had suffered equally; left to itself it inevitably became stagnant. It is easier to improve the national welfare and culture and to gain victories than to change the nature of a whole people; several generations at least are required for that.

The hard fortunes of the country had produced a hard ruling dynasty. The pride and self-consciousness of the sovereign, in whose person the state was bound up, grew with the progress which the union of Russia made under Moscow's supremacy, with the increase of the royal power as compared with the nobility and the popular assembly, and with the growth in the power and prestige of the nation. In Moscow the contest between the power of

Ivan "The Terrible" on the Throne the prince and that of the nobility and the popular assembly, which raged throughout Russia, had been decided in favour of the former. It was a soil on which tyranny might flourish. The Susdalian and Muscovite princes had increased the strictness of their government, and while Ivan III. had already earned the surname of "Awful," this stamp of sovereign reached the climax in Ivan IV. History calls him "The Terrible." A man of unusual gifts

and iron will, but of the worst education imaginable, he is one of the most wonderful phenomena in history, in which he has acquired a dark notoriety. It would be unfair to condemn him at once; he is too important to be measured by conventional standards.

When he was only three years old his father died. The government during his minority was taken over by his mother, Helene Glinska, a Lithuanian, whose family was originally Tartar. A council of Boyars, in which the first place was ceded to her uncle Michael Glinski, was placed at her side. But it was soon apparent that this ambitious woman would not tolerate any other will by the side of hers. Only her favourite, Count Ivan Telepnev Obolenskij, could exercise any influence over her. A reign of bloodshed began. Her brother-in-law George, her uncle Michael, her second brother-in-law Andrew, and others who seemed dangerous to her, died a cruel death, while the affairs of the empire were not maladministered externally. When Helene died suddenly in 1538, and the Boyar council alone under-

Untamed and Plundering Boyars

took the conduct of state affairs, two families, the Schujskij and the Bielskij, came forward, disputed for precedence, and fought each other. Once more there were scenes of blood; no quarter was given by either side when it had the upper hand. Russia had now been so long accustomed to self-government that even in the Privy Council a member would wish to have unrestricted liberty of language. The fact that no regard was shown the successor to the crown in the matter, and that he would have been gladly ignored, shows how untamed the powerful Boyars then were. Even in later years Ivan complained that Ivan Schujskij had not greeted him, and in his bedroom had placed his feet on his father's bed, that the treasury of his father and his uncle had been plundered by the Boyars, and that even the royal service of plate had been marked with their names.

Ivan in those days often suffered hunger; even his life was threatened. The Schujskij attacked towns and villages, tormenting and extorting without mercy. They jealously watched that no one else gained influence. One of the privy councillors, Fedor Voronzov, who seemed to rejoice in the favour of the young sovereign, was insulted and cuffed in the presence of the latter; his clothes were

torn, and he would have been killed had not the metropolitan rescued him at Ivan's petition. Prematurely accustomed to barbarity and bloodshed, the twelve-year old boy gloated over the agonies of tortured animals ; when only fifteen years old, he rode through the streets of Moscow with his young companions and cut and slashed all he met.

The Orthodox Greek Church, which might have been expected to exercise a favourable influence on the lawless youth, had sunk into such decay under the Mongol yoke, that it had not the strength to interfere. The clergy were almost as addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and other vices, as the laity ; the darkest superstition prevailed among the common people. Impostors, robbers, and fanatics roamed the land ; murder and brigandage were everyday occurrences. This was the normal condition of the society in which Ivan the Terrible grew up.

At first he submitted, until, in 1543, in blazing fury he had Prince Andrew Schujskij seized in the open street, subjected to gross indignities, and murdered.

From that day, says the **Moscow in Ashes** Chronicle, the Boyars began to fear him. He was then thirteen years old. On February 3rd, 1547, when barely seventeen years old, he married Anastasia, daughter of the chamberlain, Roman Sacharin. It is a proof of his political insight that he assumed the title of tsar, and that he obtained in 1561, personally through the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as through a council expressly called for the purpose, a confirmation of his descent from the imperial Byzantine house and of his right to the imperial crown.

Fear fell on all pagan countries, says the Chronicle of Novgorod. All the nations of the Orthodox East began to look to the Muscovite tsar as to the head and representative of their Church and their patron. In the year of his coronation three outbreaks of fire (April and June, 1547) reduced the city of Moscow to ashes. The lives of the tsar and the metropolitan were in the greatest danger. The Schujskij princes spread the report that the tsar's grandmother, Anna Glinska, had torn the hearts out of corpses, soaked them in water, sprinkled the streets of Moscow with them, and thus caused the fire. The excited populace murdered the uncle of Ivan, George Glinska, in the church,

marched to Vorobjovo, where the tsar was staying, and demanded with threats the surrender of his grandmother. The mob did not disperse until Ivan, acting on a bold impulse, had the spokesman executed. The occurrence is said to have made a weighty and lasting impression on the tsar. It was then that Ivan drew two men

The Good Influence of Pope Silvester

to his side, the Pope Silvester and a court official, Alexis Adashev. Silvester governed him completely. Ivan did not venture on a step without Silvester ; he ate, drank, dressed and lived according to Silvester's doctrines. The influence of the two was very beneficial, and not less so that of his wife Anastasia. An honourable atmosphere prevailed in court circles ; in all state business, moral and religious aspects came into the foreground. Synods and imperial assemblies were summoned, in order to discuss important business. It was an inspiring moment when the young tsar, in the year 1549, asked forgiveness from the assembled people for all injustice, and humiliated himself. He showed universal courtesy and commanded men's trust and love. Much good was really done then. In 1556 a new code of civil and canon law appeared, which from its division into one hundred chapters was called Stoglaw. Its sixteenth paragraph contained an enactment for the erection of parochial schools in every town.

At the same time the court of Moscow resolved to carry on war against the Tartars on the Volga, who still harassed Russia. Ivan, at Silvester's advice, though reluctantly, placed himself at the head of the army. Kasan was taken in 1552, not so much by the bravery as by the sheer numerical superiority of the Russians. In the year 1557, Astrakhan, the old Sarai, once so formidable to Russia, also fell. The results of this first conquest at the cost of the Asiatics were far-reaching. Not merely was the power of the Tartars crushed and the whole of the great Volga made a Russian stream, but Russian influence now reached into the Caucasus as far as Persia. Other tribes, such as the Tcheremisses, Mordvins, Tchuvashes, Votiaks, Bashkirs, who had formerly been subject to the ruler of Kasan, now made their submission. The first step towards the conquest of Asia was taken. The Crimean horde alone was left ; but it led a precarious existence and sought the

Power of the Tartars Crushed

alliance of Russia. Ivan returned to Moscow as a hero. His confident attitude towards the Boyars increased. "I fear you no longer," he is said to have exclaimed to a voivode.

He resolved at this period to disseminate the culture of Western Europe in Russia. Hans Slitte, a German from Goslar, who was at Moscow in 1547, was commissioned by him to bring scholars, artists, physicians, printers, artisans, etc., to Russia. And it was only in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Livonians, who saw in this plan a dangerous strengthening of their neighbour, that Slitte failed to bring to Russia the 123 persons whom he had engaged. From this moment the dislike Ivan felt for the Baltic Germans grew the

more intense, since the Teutonic Order in Livonia barred his road to the sea. From these reasons the determination to conquer Livonia matured in his mind despite the warnings of Silvester and Adaschev.

When in 1553, under Edward VI., a British expedition of three ships was sent to explore the route to China and India by the Arctic Ocean, and one of the ships was cast away at the mouth of the Dwina, Ivan seized the opportunity of opening commercial negotiations with England. He conceded to the English merchants highly advantageous trading privileges, and thus secured

to his empire a connection with the West. In the war for Livonia, which broke out between Russia, Poland, and Sweden, Ivan obtained only Dorpat (1558), while Poland held Livonia as a province and the duchy of Courland as a fief. Esthonia fell to Sweden. These events entirely broke off

the friendly relations between Ivan and Adaschev and Silvester. The death of his virtuous queen (August 7th, 1560) certainly contributed to this result. The guardianship exercised over him by the two men had at last become intolerable. Silvester had tried to make his master quite dependent on him, and had even taken up a position of hostility to the tsaritsa.

When the first son of the tsar died (June, 1553), Silvester declared to him that it was a punishment inflicted by heaven for his disobedience. But a severe illness of the tsar, about the end of the year 1552-1553, had brought matters to a

Treason Against the Tsar

head. Awaiting his end, Ivan called on the Boyars to do homage to his son Dmitri. But the Boyars refused; Silvester and Adaschev sided with the rebels. The noise of the disputants reached the sick chamber of the tsar.

When Ivan, contrary to expectation, recovered, his confidence in his two councillors was gone. Ivan was as yet moderate in his punishments; but little by little the number of executions increased, until his

fury against the Boyars knew no bounds. The fallen ministers had many partisans; and when Ivan later scented treason everywhere, and felt himself insecure in his own court, he was to some extent justified. Lithuania-Poland, the most dangerous enemy of Russia, kept up communications with the malcontents, and the party of the fallen made no disguise of their Polish proclivities. Prince Andrew Kurbskij intentionally brought about a shameful defeat in the Livonian campaign, and fled in 1564 to the Polish camp. Others actually admitted Tartars into the



"THE TERRIBLE" IVAN IV.

It was not without reason that this significant name, "The Terrible," came to be applied to Ivan IV. But he was the first ruler to encourage British merchants to trade in Russia, and was thus nicknamed "The English Tsar."

country. Ivan's anxiety now became a disease; he believed himself to be surrounded by none but traitors.

He at this time received a letter from the fugitive Kurbskij, in which the latter summoned him before a divine tribunal to answer for his cruelties. Ivan sent for the bearer of the letter, drove his iron-shod staff through his foot, leant with all his weight on it, and then had the letter read out. Rarely have more stinging reproaches been hurled in the face of a sovereign. The tsar thought well to answer the letter at length.

Both writings belong to the most remarkable documents of Russian history. Ivan suddenly left Moscow on December



THE METROPOLITAN PHILIP REFUSING TO BLESS IVAN THE TERRIBLE

Both for good and evil, Ivan IV., known as "The Terrible," occupies a prominent place in Russian history. Singling out a series of towns and some streets in Moscow, he declared them to be his own private property. The Metropolitan Philip was bold enough to protest, and refused his blessing to the tsar. Ivan, in hot rage, summoned an ecclesiastical court, and from the steps of the altar, on November 8th, 1568, Philip was dragged off to a convent prison, where he was strangled the following year. Ivan's reign lasted for fifty-one years—from 1533 till 1584.

3rd, 1564, in the company of his family, many Boyars, and an armed force, and went to Alexandrovskaja Sloboda. He took the most revered relics and the state treasure with him. Moscow was wildly excited. A month afterwards two missives from him arrived—one to the metropolitan, in which he said that he could no longer tolerate the illegalities of

Ivan's Enemies and Friends

the Boyars, especially since the clergy hindered him from punishing them, and that he had resolved to leave the empire and go whither God led him; a second was addressed to the Orthodox citizens of Moscow, in which he assured them that he was not angry with them.

The impression produced by these two letters was overwhelming. The people, filled with the fear of falling again under the rule of the nobles, marched with lamentations and threats through the streets of the city, ready to cut down the tsar's enemies, and requested the metropolitan to propitiate the tsar; whereupon an embassy to the tsar was organised.

Ivan came back on February 2nd, 1565. But a terrible change would seem to have taken place in him. "His mere aspect struck horror; his features were distorted with fury, his sight nearly gone, his hair almost all fallen off. He declared before a great meeting that he needed a body-guard." He then singled out a series of towns and some streets of Moscow, and declared that to be his private property, which was called Opritschina, while the rest of Russia as state property was called Semshtshina, and was left under the management of the council of Boyars. This was the first separation of crown property from national property, and was important in its consequences.

He chose out of his own lands a body-guard of 6,000 men with wives and children, mostly people of low origin, the Opritsniki. An axe, a dogshead, and a besom were

Seven Years of Strange Events

their badges, signifying that traitors would be beheaded, gnawed to pieces, and swept away. The whole

Semshtshina was assigned to them to plunder, and there was no appeal to justice against them. How they wreaked their fury is shown by the circumstance that even now in Russo-Polish countries a vagabond and robber is called "opryszok." Ivan meantime executed the traitors unsparingly, and then retired to Alexandrovo.

There he indulged in wild excesses, in brutal man-hunts, murdering, and burning. Strangely enough, he combined with all this sincere religious observances, arranging his court as a convent, and forming out of 300 trustworthy myrmidons a monastic brotherhood, of which he was abbot. He performed every duty and himself rang the bell for service. At midnight they assembled in cowls and black gowns, and Ivan struck his forehead so hard upon the floor that his face was covered with bruises.

This state of things lasted until 1572, for seven full years. Ivan was meantime conscious of the disgracefulness of these proceedings, for he endeavoured to disguise to the outside world the existence of the Opritsniki, and conducted the affairs of state as before. The Metropolitan Philip finally plucked up courage to ask him to abolish the Opritschina. Ivan, however, summoned an ecclesiastical court and impeached the bold petitioner. While Philip was standing in full robes before the altar on November 8th, 1568, a troop of the bodyguard rushed in, tore the vestments from him, and dragged him

off to a convent prison, where he was strangled in 1569. The public mourning for the metropolitan reduced Ivan to fury. Hundreds of persons were daily executed, burnt, or tortured to death, and whole communities were annihilated.

Ivan lived under the delusion that for the sake of his own and his family's existence he must exterminate the traitors. In the year 1572, tormented by fear and anxiety, the monarch, who in his soul was intensely unhappy, made his will: "My body is exhausted, my spirit gloomy; the ulcers on my soul and my body are spreading, and no physician is there to heal them. I waited if any would wish to have pity on me, but none came to me. . . . They have returned good with evil, love with hate." These are his words at the opening of this document. We now have an insane person before us. He seems to have been stung by qualms of conscience in his lucid intervals, as is seen from many indications.

A most remarkable and historically unique record of the tsar is left us in the shape of a book of masses for the souls of the deceased drawn up by his own hand, in which he instituted masses for each one of his victims. After several names stands the sinister note, "with his

wife, his children and servants," "with his sons," or "with his daughters." Or we read there "twenty men from Komenskoje," "eighty-seven from Matvejschevo," "Lord be gracious to the souls of Thy servants, 1,505 persons from Novgorod," and so on. This list alone gives a total of 3,470 victims. There was no one now at court who would have had any influence on Ivan. His second wife, a Tcherkess, who was only baptised just before her marriage, may well have increased Ivan's evil propensities by her barbarous nature.

Thus, then, the torrent, having once left its banks, rushed on, destroying all in its course. Since the time of the Roman Cæsars hardly any sovereign can have proved so clearly as Ivan the Terrible the truth of the doctrine that every human being and all earthly power require some restriction, if they are to remain within the pale of humanity. But the Russian people share the guilt with him; especially are the nobility and clergy to blame, since they did not support the efforts of the monarch in the cause of culture, but by cringing and immorality paved the way for his wicked propensities. The last liberties of the people were destroyed, and the omnipotence of the crown established for all future time.

The foreign policy was successful in the East; the Cossack Jarmak laid the crown of Siberia at Ivan's feet. But in the contest with Poland he was worsted, notwithstanding that, under the pretext of wishing to receive the Roman faith, he humbly begged the emperor and Pope to intervene. The Poles, who were ready to offer him the crown after the death of Sigismund Augustus, were deterred by his untrustworthiness and his avarice.

Fate brought grievous misfortunes on his own house. In a quarrel he struck his son Ivan such a blow with an iron rod that the prince died from it on November 19th, 1581. His third son, Feodor, was of weak intellect. Ivan's remorse hastened his end. This remarkable prince, whose crimes are not devoid of some greatness, but whose name must always be mentioned with a shudder, died on March 17th, 1584. Ivan IV. holds a prominent place in Russian history both for good and for evil.

Ivan's son Feodor mounted the throne in 1584; but his gentleness and piety would have been more suitable for a

convent. The whole power thus lay in the hands of the privy councillors, amongst whom existed a dangerous rivalry between a Schujskij and a Bielskij. The reputation of Boris Godunov at the same time was slowly increasing, more especially since Nikita Romanof, Feodor's uncle, who was at first the most influential regent,

had died in 1586, and Godunov had contrived a marriage between his sister and the young tsar; in fact, he aimed at the crown himself. Although he could neither read nor write, he skilfully conducted the business of the nation, won a great reputation for Russia in foreign countries, and appreciated the value of Western European culture. He proposed to found schools and in Moscow a university, and sent John Kramer to Germany to obtain professors for it. He sent young Russians abroad to study, and gladly employed foreigners in his service; began giving an excellent education to his children and supported art and industries.

In a word, Godunov was thoroughly capable of performing his task. His name, therefore, had a good reputation in foreign countries, but not so in Russia. There men regarded his innovations with disapproval. The clergy despised the acquisition of foreign languages as superfluous, confusing and dangerous to the faith. The great nobles muttered against the upstart. Godunov found himself compelled to look for support to the higher clergy and smaller nobility. Two important innovations owe their inception to this circumstance—the prohibition of freedom of movement of the peasants, and the founding of the patriarchate. The Russian peasant had hitherto been allowed to change his master; that alone differentiated him from a slave. But this liberty of migration only benefited the owners of extensive properties, who held out enticing advantages to the peasant in order to be

able to cultivate their broad plains. The peasantry, therefore, deserted the small proprietors, whose lands became depopulated and depreciated; yet these latter sustained the chief state burdens. Thus in this case the interests of the state coincided with those of the lesser nobility. Godunov, by taking from the peasant the right of movement, saved the lesser nobility from misery and gained it for his purposes. That must have been far

**Ivan's Weak
Son Mounts
the Throne**

**Tragedies
in the Royal
Household**

**Liberty of
Peasants
Restricted**

from his own interest, since he was himself the owner of extensive landed estates.

What was really for his personal advantage was the founding of the patriarchate. The Russian clergy had long complained that its supreme head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was the servant

The Protector of Orthodox Christianity

of an infidel monarch and possessed no proper prestige. Moscow regarded herself as the third Rome, just as Byzantium had thought herself the second. Why should Moscow not obtain ecclesiastical independence, now that Constantinople had fallen so low, and Russia was reckoned the protector of Orthodox Christianity? Just then Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, came to Moscow. Godunov seized

the opportunity to win him over to his scheme. The other patriarchs assented, and in 1598 was founded in Moscow the patriarchate which continued until the end of 1700. The first patriarch was Job, a favourite of Godunov.

Even now Godunov seems to have made all preparations for gaining the throne after the death of Feodor. But a brother of Feodor, Dmitri, son of the seventh unlawful wife of Ivan the Terrible, was still living. Although he had been sent in good time to Uglitch with all his relations, there was no room for doubt that he would mount the throne after the death of Feodor. The news then arrived (1591) that the young Dmitri was no more. Public opinion incriminated Godunov. It is true that he organised an investigation and executed the inhabitants of Uglitch; but the rumour persisted.

Nevertheless Boris Godunov mounted the throne of the tsar after the death of the childless Feodor (January 7th, 1598), since the crown was offered him by the Patriarch Job, and he had been elected in a sort of imperial assembly. In order to ensure his own safety, he threw Bielskij into prison and banished the Romanofs. One of them, Feodor Nikititsch, was compelled to become a monk under the name of Philaret; his wife, Xenia

Schestov, took the veil as the nun Marfa. Boris was at first an admirable ruler. But soon he was overcome by fears; he, too, saw himself surrounded by traitors. He completely lost his balance of mind when the news spread that Dmitri was still alive, and was preparing to recover the throne. Lithuanian magnates undertook to put a person who styled himself the miraculously rescued Dmitri on the Russian throne by force of arms. The people believed that Dmitri was the true tsarevitch. The troops wavered in their loyalty, and, in spite of the reverse which was inflicted on the pretender, his adherents increased in numbers.

Godunov died in 1605, in the middle of this movement, and the pseudo-Dmitri became master of Russia.

The whole nation shed tears of joy at seeing the son of their prince once more. His behaviour and sympathies showed that he was no Rurikovitch. He doted on the West and on the Roman Church, he associated with Jesuits, and wished to convert Russia to Catholicism. He ridiculed the native customs and the Boyars, and scorned the court ceremonial. The Polish nobles who came to Moscow with their retinue indulged in shameless behaviour towards the Russians. A month hardly had elapsed before Dmitri fell victim to a conspiracy (May 17th,



MICHAEL III. THE FIRST ROMANOV
When Michael III. was called to rule in 1613 a new dynasty mounted the Russian throne. It was a time of severe crisis, and Michael, physically weak and of small intellectual endowments, was not the necessary strong man.

1606). His corpse was burnt, and a cannon loaded with the ashes, which were then scattered to the four winds.

The succeeding period was full of disturbances. In a new assembly, summoned by the patriarch, Vasilij Schujskij, who had conducted the inquiry in Uglitch, had struck the pretender, and had the courage to tell him he was an impostor, was elected tsar.

Since a new patriarch had been installed by the pseudo-Dmitri, a change now took place in this office. The assembly imposed on the new tsar the condition that he was not to punish any offender by death without a trial, nor confiscate the property of criminals,

THE MONARCHS OF MOSCOW

and that false accusers should be liable to penalties. These formed a charter or constitution, such as the Slachta had extorted from the Polish king. Schujskij solemnly swore to it. But Russia saw in it a weakening of the royal dignity. The dominion of the nobility was feared more than the tyranny of the tsar.

Schujskij could not hold his own. Not merely were the nobility opposed to him from jealousy and envy, but new pretenders cropped up who professed to be Dmitri, or Peter, Feodor's son. A more dangerous symptom was that the King of Poland came forward as a serious candidate for the Russian crown. In 1587 the Swedish house of Vasa attained the Polish throne in the person of Sigismund III.

It was wished to procure the Russian crown for his son, Vladislav; Sigismund would certainly have liked to obtain it for himself. The Polish troops, which were already in the vicinity of Moscow, did not wish to leave Russia, since the new tsar had already been elected. Schujskij could not restore order, and was "humbly" begged by the assembly to vacate the throne, since he was unfortunate in his government and could not enforce any obedience to his rule. He abdicated and became a monk. The council of Boyars now elected Vladislav to be tsar, on the condition that he would accept the Orthodox faith. The Polish troops were already allowed to enter Moscow and commanded the city.

Then the Russian people rose throughout the empire, the monasteries also, with the Troizko-Sergievsch at their head. Nobles, merchants, and peasants banded together to save Russia from the foreign yoke. In Nijni Novgorod many, following the example of a meat-seller, Kusma Minin, sacrificed a third part of their property. The noble prince Posharskij took the lead, and the Poles were soon driven out of Moscow. In the year 1613 the new assembly was convened. The

votes now fell on a step-grandson of Anastasia, wife of Ivan the Terrible, Michael III. Romanof, the fifteen-year-old son of the Metropolitan Philaret, who had gone as ambassador to the Polish king and had been kept prisoner by him in

A New Dynasty for Russia Marienburg. Even in 1610 Michael found himself among the candidates for the throne, and had barely escaped Polish plots. With him a new dynasty mounted the Russian throne.

The state was impoverished and public affairs were in a bad condition. Many towns declared outright that they could pay no taxes. Michael, who had received a monastic education, and was physically weak and of small intellectual endowments,

was not the right man for Russia at this severe crisis. Even his father, Philaret, who really governed in place of his son, possessed no talent as a ruler, while able monarchs were seated on the thrones of Sweden and Poland in the persons of Vladislav and Gustavus II. Adolphus.

Russia thus was forced to endure still longer to be cut off from the Baltic Sea by Poland and Sweden. In the treaties which she made with Sweden at Stolbovo in 1617, with Poland at Deulino in 1618, and then at Poljanovka in 1634, Russia was forced to relinquish all claim on

Livonia, Smolensk, and a series of towns. "Russia now cannot launch a single boat on the Baltic without our consent," said Gustavus Adolphus in the Swedish diet, "and it will be hard for the Russians to leap over this stream." Even against other enemies Russia felt her weakness. When the Cossacks had conquered Turkish Azov, the tsar ordered them to evacuate the fortress. The highest merits of Michael and his father were that they governed without harshness and endeavoured to raise the economic position of Russia. After centuries of oppression from Tartars and tsars the people once more enjoyed more humane treatment. Both rulers held frequent sessions of the



PHILARET: FATHER OF MICHAEL III. The Metropolitan Philaret, who gave the first Romanof to the throne of Russia, really ruled in place of his son, but as he had no governing talents, he accomplished very little.

Russia in Fear of the Foreign Yoke

Nobles, merchants, and peasants banded together to save Russia from the foreign yoke. In Nijni Novgorod

Privy Council, which had long been in abeyance.

It was only under Michael's son Alexis (1645-1676) and under the children of Alexis, Feodor (1676-1682), Ivan (1682-1689), Sophia, and Peter the Great, that fortune once more smiled on Russia, first in consequence of the weakness of Poland

Fortune under John Casimir, and then from her own increased strength.
Smiles on The Ukraine then submitted to
Russia the tsar; in 1667 Poland in

the treaty at Andrussov was obliged to cede the Ukraine, on the left bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev; this was finally ratified in 1686 in the peace of Grzymul-tovskij by Sobieski, when Sophia reigned in the name of her infant brother. Russia also in 1667 recovered Smolensk and other territories, which had been the cause of wars for centuries. Peter the Great first began the war with Sweden on account of Livonia. It was still more important for Russia that with the Romanofs Tartar Russia ceased, and its Europeanising began.

The Tartar supremacy was the greatest calamity that befell the Russian state in its entire historical development, not merely because it lost political independence for nearly 300 years, and was treated with barbarity and became impoverished, but, in a still higher degree, because the people were nearly 500 years behind Western Europe in the progress of civilisation. A despotic government, which treated its subjects like Asiatics, a taxation which emptied the pockets of the people, a brutalisation of habits, a growth of servility among the population, and, as a consequence, a disparagement and even a contempt for culture, an Asiatic arrogance, and a tendency to aloofness from the West European world—all this was the fruit of the long Tartar thralldom. And can any one assert that even now Russia has entirely outgrown these characteristics? It was only towards the end

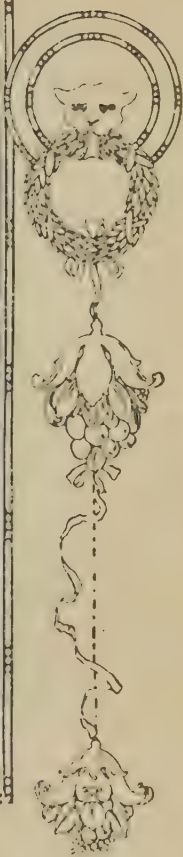
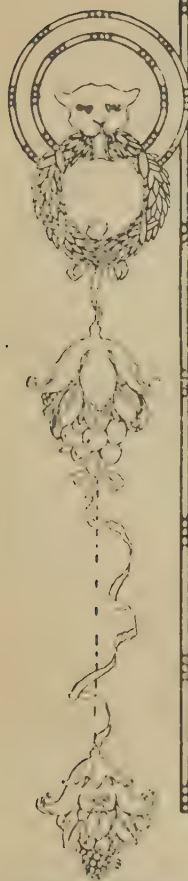
The Fruits of Tartar Thralldom of the fifteenth century that more frequent tidings of Russia reached Western Europe. On the other hand, Russia had a keen interest in the West. The Florentine Union might be regarded as the first step towards closer intercourse between East and West. But the reign of Ivan III. in this, as in many other connections, marks a real epoch. Ivan III. made himself famous by his marriage with the house of the Palæologi, and also by the fact that

he finally shook off the Tartar yoke. The Hapsburgs were the first to wish to enter into relations with Russia. Nicholas Popel von Lobkovitz (1486) and George von Thurn appeared there as the envoys of Frederic III. and Maximilian. The Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol, who died in 1496, sent Michael Snups with the order to learn Russian, and inquire into all the chief points of interest in the country.

Ivan himself instituted embassies to Hungary, Germany and Italy. He asked King Matthias Corvinus to send him skilful miners (1482). He made the same request to the Emperor Frederic III., asking at the same time for an artilleryist, a builder, and a silversmith. He summoned painters and architects, goldsmiths and bell founders from Italy; among the engineers the most famous was Aristotele Fioraventi, a Bolognese, who cast cannon and created the first artillery in Russia. An Italian, Giambattista della Volpe, was director of the Mint in Moscow after the year 1469. The Greek diplomatist, Trachaniotes, in the year 1489, conducted negotiations for the marriage of a daughter of Ivan III.

New Route From Europe to India with Maximilian. In 1520 Paolo Centurione, a Genoese merchant, came to Moscow with a papal letter of introduction. He was ostensibly commissioned to find a new route from Europe to India, but undoubtedly received other secret instructions. Important results followed the diplomatic labours of the Austrian ambassador, Siegmund Herberstein, who visited Russia on two occasions (1516-1518 and 1526-1527) and wrote a much read book, "Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii," about the results of his investigations. A Carinthian by birth, he knew Slavonic, and could therefore with great facility learn the Russian language and collect news. Nevertheless, he relates many fabulous stories of wonderful human beings and beasts in Russia.

The Venetians and English being excited by the discovery of America, like the Genoese by their merchant Centurione, wished to find a new route through Russia to India. In England, Willoughby and Chancellor, in the reign of King Edward VI. (1553) fitted out an expedition to find the north-east passage to India; Willoughby was lost; Chancellor was driven by a storm to the mouth of the Dwina. Ivan the Terrible received him very graciously



TSAR AND TSARITSA IN NATIONAL COSTUMES
OF THE MIDDLE AGES



RUSSIAN PRINCES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DRESSES OF THE GRAND DUKES
THE RICH COSTUMES OF RUSSIA'S ROYALTY

and gave the English merchants special privileges. After that time a brisk trade developed between England and Russia; in fact, an English trading company for Russia was founded, with headquarters at Moscow, and several branches which became a formidable rival of the Hansa. Ivan, a friend of the British, was nick-named by the anti-progressive Russians "the English Tsar," and even contemplated the idea of marrying Queen Elizabeth of England. The English merchants soon aimed at monopolising the trade and industries of Russia; they started factories and prepared accurate maps of separate districts. Their trading-agent, Giles Fletcher, wrote in 1591 a detailed account of Russian trade. This first discovery of Russia, as the people of England called Chancellor's journey, brought a rich harvest to the English, and produced a large output of rather valuable literature on Russia.

The Dutch, here, as in many other parts of the world, followed in the footsteps of the English. They, too, equipped several expeditions in order to find the northern passage to China and India, and their trade soon outstripped the English. Isaac Massa, their agent, who made several journeys in Russia and Asia, collected important information, studied cartography, and was the first to bring home trustworthy accounts of Siberia. Hessel Gerritsz, a Dutchman, published in 1641 a map of Russia (the first, by Anton Wied, dates from the year 1542). Even the French and Germans took steps to open commercial relations with Russia.

But the Russian nation, instead of seizing the opportunity and learning as much as possible from the foreigners, offered energetic resistance to foreign influence; only some few persons tried to bring Russia into closer relations with Western Europe. A feud broke out between the conservatives and the party of progress, between darkness and enlightenment, which characterises the inner life of Russia after its emancipation from

the Mongol dominion. It still continues with undiminished force and persistently demands immense sacrifices of blood, wealth, and the most valuable possessions of mankind. The future of Russia depends on the decision she takes to oppose or to encourage progress.

In Russia, as a despotic state, the decision ought, in the first instance, to come from the rulers themselves. But the education which always fettered the Russian tsars to the palace and its environs, and tied them with innumerable formalities, was ill adapted to make clear-sighted, level-headed men of them. The Orthodox Church in her ignorance supported the policy of resistance to Western culture. Such harmless innovations as shaving the beard, bathing on certain days, killing vermin, or wearing European clothes, were, in the eyes of the uneducated clergy, who could hardly read or write, regarded as treachery to their nationality and the Church.

It is, therefore, no mere accident that Boris Godunov, having been brought up far from the court, was the first tsar who could be called an Occidental friend of civilisation. Not only did he invite foreigners to his country, but he sent young men to study in Lübeck, France, and England, founded schools, and wished even to endow a university at Moscow, and for this purpose obtained professors from Germany. He had his children taught by strangers, and ordered a map of Russia to be prepared for his son, which was afterwards used by the Dutchman, Hessel Gerritsz, for his publication.

He was, therefore, compared by foreign nations to Ptolemy or Numa Pompilius. But he roused antagonism in Russia, and representations were made to him through the patriarch. Even Dmitri the Pretender was a friend of culture, and for this reason could not hold his own. Schujskij, a thorough-paced Muscovite, repealed the innovations of Godunov and Dmitri. The first Romanofs were friends of



THE TSAR FEODOR III.

A monarch of kindly disposition, he governed on the same lines as his father, Alexis, an accomplished and cultured ruler and the patron of foreigners. Feodor died in 1682.

THE MONARCHS OF MOSCOW

European culture. Michael summoned scholars to Russia; Arsenius, a Greek, set up a Greek and Latin school in Moscow. A still greater patron of foreigners was Alexis (1645-1676). He was devoted to hawking, although it was forbidden by the Church; he brought foreigners in numbers to Russia, protected them from the hatred of the people, and assigned them a particular quarter in Moscow, which was called the German suburb or Slo-boda. Previous tsars had not even known how to write; we have many letters written by Alexis, a treatise on hawking, and memoirs of the Polish war. It was he who fetched the Little Russian scholars Slavin-
necky and Polocky to Moscow and established the first postal communications with the West. He also first

established a court theatre. His son Feodor, a monarch of kindly disposition, governed on the same lines. Now at last private individuals and ministers were found who were zealous advocates of West European culture. The enlightened chancellor Alexis, Ordin-Nashtshokin, and the Boyar Matvejev were Westerners; they lived in civilisation, and were students of learning without paying any attention to the prejudices of their countrymen. Vasilij Golizyn, who was minister (1680-1689) and favourite of the regent Sophia, was especially praised and admired by the foreigners. Neuville, the Franco-Polish diplomatist, wrote of him that he was one of the most intellectual, magnificent, and courteous princes of his

time. Even in the bosom of the Church there appeared, under Alexis, a man who ventured to meditate ecclesiastical reforms; this was the Patriarch Nikon. Among other things, he ordered a revision of the service books, into which many errors had

been introduced by copyists. But the success of his efforts was trifling. The emendations of Nikon far from a reform, produced a schism in the Russian Church. The priests refused to accept the revised books, and regarded them as heretical. This schism still estranges from the Russian Church millions of subjects, who embody Old Russia. From the bosom of the Raskolniks came, for example, Pugatchef. After postal communications with Western Europe had been instituted, a Russian wrote: "The foreigners have knocked a hole



THE PATRIARCH NIKON, THE REFORMER

The reforming zeal of the age revealed itself in the bosom of the Church itself, where the Patriarch Nikon attempted to introduce ecclesiastical changes. Among other things, he ordered a revision of the service books, but the success of his efforts was very slight.

Reproduced from an old engraving.

between our country and theirs; the post, which possibly is financially advantageous to the tsar, only harms the country. The foreigners know at once whatever takes place in our land."

And yet what would Russia have been without the foreigners? Everything had to be brought in from abroad; architects, engineers, painters, artists, officers, cannon-founders, bell-founders, miners, silver-smiths, goldsmiths, doctors, chemists, actors, teachers, and so on. It was only under the direction of the English, Germans, and Dutch that industries, such as mines, glass manufactories, powder-mills, etc., were started. For all military successes the Russians are thus indebted to the outside world.

PETER THE GREAT STUDIES BRITISH INSTITUTIONS



The one aim of Peter the Great was to advance the interests of his country, and he devoted himself with tremendous energy and enthusiasm to this task. He was a close student of the manners and customs of other nations. During the tsar's residence in London he was taken by Lord Dartmouth to the roof of the House of Lords, where he watched the Second Chamber transacting its business.



THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PETER THE GREAT

IT was the greatest good fortune for Russia that in the long struggle between light and darkness, affecting all the aspects of Russian life, it possessed such a ruler as Peter the Great, the son of Alexis by his second wife—a lady of the house of Naryszkin. Peter, a man of rare gifts, with a marvellous memory and an indomitable will, placed himself most emphatically on the side of the party of culture; he overthrew with a strong but rough hand the enemies of European civilisation and refinement, brought Russia suddenly nearer to Europe, and procured her an honourable place among the great European powers. Like Godonov, he had not been brought up in the stifling atmosphere of the tsar's court, but in the country, since his sister Sophia wished to keep him far from the throne. A rough child of Nature, with keen mother wit, he rode rough-shod over all meaningless tradition, and while thus arousing the horror of his countrymen, he excited the admiration of the outside world. He was the first tsar who left his palace, laid his own hand to every sort of work, travelled widely, and performed the hitherto unprecedented feat of a journey to the West.

Peter became absolute tsar in 1689, after his half-sister Sophia the regent, who had even plotted against his life, had been placed in the convent of the Muscovite Sisters. His brother and co-tsar Ivan V. took no share in the government, but was merely named with Peter in all state documents down to his death on January 29th, 1696.

By the year 1725 Peter with his restless energy had accomplished a vast number of works, for the completion of which the Russians, with their natural lethargy, would have otherwise required centuries. One goal shone before him and led his steps; he wished to make Russia great and strong by culture. And since he was not for one moment in doubt that

much must first be learned from Europe, he twice journeyed westward to study, and was always eager to bring his country nearer to the Western nations and to pave the way for a systematised commerce with them. Just as his plans were diametrically opposed to the views of the Russian conservatives, so his life was an uninter-

The Dark Forces of Old Russia rupted and bitter struggle against Old Russia, against all the dark forces which openly and in secret tried to preserve

the old order—in a word, against the past. This explains his enthusiasm for the sea and the navy, which might become the connecting links with Western Europe. Russia was an inland empire, on every side somewhat remote from the sea, and her neighbours jealously watched that she should not set sail on it. This unfavourable geographical position has coloured the whole history of Russia. Condemned by Nature to seclusion, she became in the course of time accustomed to this, and soon regarded it as a natural characteristic. The little country of Greece was formerly indebted to its position on the Mediterranean, the high-road of the world, for its high civilisation, as also was ancient Italy.

For this reason Ivan IV. had already endeavoured to conquer Livonia and win a place on the Baltic. Peter grasped this idea still more clearly and applied himself to the naval question with all the fire of his soul. When he saw the sea for the first time at Archangel, he was as it were inspired. English and Dutch ships came thither by the long and seldom ice-free route past the North Cape. That was, for the time being, the only way to Western Europe, and there was the first opportunity of seeing foreign shipping; Peter was seized by a longing for the sea, like a man who, after long years in a foreign country, is smitten with home-sickness. He learnt shipbuilding, studied naval subjects, associated with mariners, and

formed the plan of journeying to Western Europe in order to gain a complete knowledge of the subject. But he first conquered the Turkish Azov, in 1696, and determined to build a fleet on the corner of the Sea of Azov.

He had been primarily indebted to the technical skill of foreign officers for the capture of the fortress, and this could only confirm him in his intention of going to the West. His victory over the Turks produced an impression in Western Europe and many sovereigns congratulated him. In the year 1697 he started on his first European journey, accompanied by 270 followers. This was an epoch-making event for Russia and for the civilised world, since Russia thus broke with her past and went to sit at the feet of the West, only to assume later one of the first places in the circle of the European powers. It was not so much the magnificence of the Western courts that impressed the royal barbarian as the culture; before that he bowed humbly.

Disguised as a simple member of his suite under the plebeian name of Peter Michailof, he went into foreign countries, not to enjoy himself, but to learn. He did not yet consider himself worthy to appear in all his state. He had for some time served in his own army as a private, then as a bombardier, later as a captain, and so through the grades, and had submitted to the orders of foreigners. It was only after great victories that he ventured to assume higher commands. He went via Riga to Holland first, and then visited England and Holland again; not France this time, because Louis XIV., as Saint-Simon tells us, dissuaded him in a courteous manner. He wished to see everything everywhere. Holland, with its highly developed navy, especially attracted him. It was an important point for the education of the Russian people, particularly

the nobles, who avoided all manual labour, that he worked there with an axe as a carpenter in order to learn thoroughly the art of shipbuilding.

Peter, on his return home from abroad, tried to utilise what he had learned in as many ways and places as he could. The knowledge that Russia emphatically required access to the sea for her development soon led him into war with Sweden, which, by the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Finland, could call the Baltic its own. This, the second or true "Northern War" with Charles XII. of Sweden ranks among the most important in European history. Peter's badly armed and ill-trained army confronted the best troops in Europe. But every defeat which he sustained only served him as a lesson. The losses of his enemies grew

larger and larger, until on July 8th, 1709, he crushed them at Poltava. At a banquet afterwards he drank the health of the captured Swedish officers for the lessons they had taught him.

From that day forward he made continuous progress on the Baltic, until at the peace of Nystad (September 10th, 1721),

he obtained Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and parts of Finland and Carelia. Sweden thus sank to the position of a second-class or third class power. The maritime problem was solved for Russia; a new era dawned. Peter and Russia were seized with a wild joy. Peter publicly danced upon the table and drank to the health of the cheering mob. He had resolved even before the close of the war to remove the centre of the empire to the Baltic. He, therefore, built after 1703 on the Neva, in the territory conquered from Sweden, a fortress and a new capital which was to bear his name, in order that Russia should not again be driven back from the sea, and that she should not forget the man who had led her to the sea. He

Peter the Great
on a
Tour of Study



THE WIVES OF PETER THE GREAT

This great monarch was twice married. It was a deep sorrow to him that his first wife, Eudoxia Lopuchin, whom, in 1698, he sent to a convent, did not share his reforming zeal but schemed against him; his second wife, Catharine, succeeded him on the throne and died in 1727.

**Russia as
a Maritime
Power**

PETER THE GREAT, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

remembered, as he did so, the ancient times when that coast had been Russian, and the men who had won the first victory over the Swedes. He, therefore, founded the Alexander-Nevskij Order. St. Petersburg, where he felt himself "in a sort of paradise," he modestly called his little window looking on Europe.

This same longing for the sea impelled him to win the shore of the Black Sea. The declaration of hostilities by the sultan, whom Sweden, the Tartars, Stanislaus Lesczynski, and the French had instigated to make war on Russia, was

therefore most welcome to him. Peter already dreamt of marching to "Zarihrad," that is, Constantinople, as once the heroes of old Russia had done, in order to free the Christians of the East—Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Wallachians—from the Turkish yoke. He calculated upon a universal rising of the Christians, but his undertaking failed simply because no such rising took place. Surrounded at Hush on the Pruth by 200,000 Turks and Tartars, he was compelled to surrender Azov on July 23rd, 1711, and destroy his fleet. He took this humiliation deeply to heart. It was reserved for his successors to conquer the northern shore of the Black Sea.

He fought with better fortune against the Persians for the possession of the Caspian Sea, across which the commerce between Europe and Asia was intended to pass. The Russians captured in 1723 Daghestan, Gilan, Mazandaran, with Resht, Asterabad, and Baku. The way was paved for their dominion on the Caspian Sea. With a thorough appreciation of the value of free intercourse, Peter provided

for new high-roads and waterways throughout his empire, and contemplated connecting the Twerza with the Msta, the Dwina and the Don with the Volga, the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea, and both by means of the Volga with the Baltic. He constructed the great Ladoga Canal, which connected the Wolchov with the Neva. Holland was his model in these operations, as Sweden was for road-making. The postal system was satisfactorily enlarged under Peter, although German officials were still employed and the postal accounts were for a long time kept

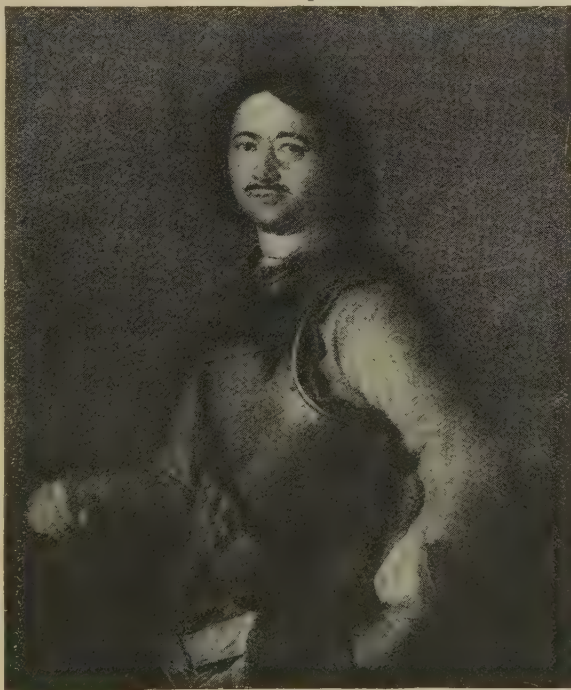
in German. Peter also tried to improve the fairs, of which there were some 1,630.

He concluded commercial treaties with several European states, ordered his Boyars to send their children abroad, and undertook himself, in the year 1716, his second journey to the West, where he devoted his special attention this time to art and science, a proof of the progress he himself had made in culture. He now visited France and took pains

to conclude a commercial treaty and a

closer alliance with Louis XV., and would have been glad to marry his daughter Elizabeth to the heir to the throne. But France only consented to a commercial treaty. Louis XV. married on September 5th, 1725, Maria, daughter of that Stanislaus Lesczynski whom Peter in 1707 had helped to drive from the Polish throne.

Peter also brought foreigners into the country that they might erect workshops there and carry on business. The French started tapestry works and stocking factories on the model of the Gobelins manufactory at Paris, and were famous for their skill in weaving Russian wool,



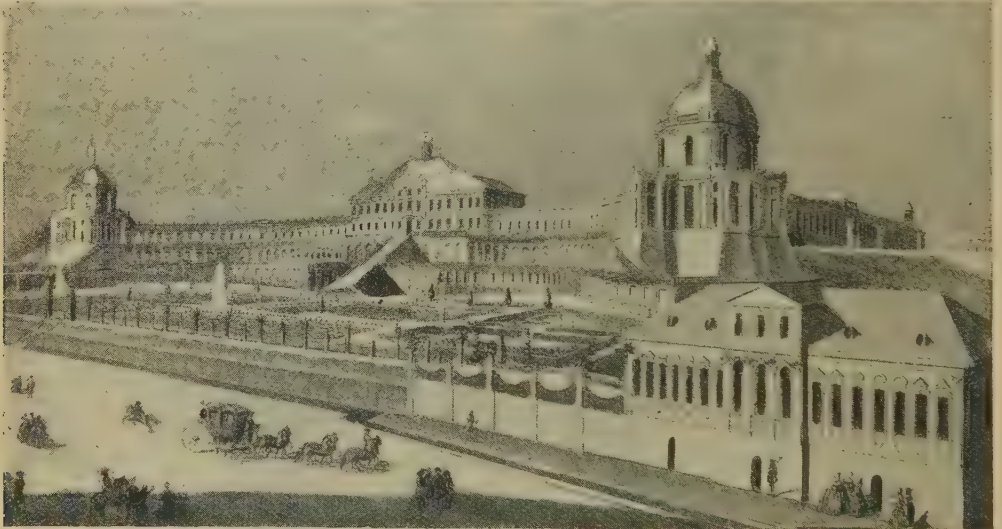
PETER THE GREAT: CHIEF OF ALL THE ROMANOFFS

Becoming absolute Tsar in 1689, Peter the Great rode rough-shod over all meaningless tradition, and soon procured for Russia an honourable place among the great European Powers. He died in 1725.

as the English were for the preparation of Russian leather. The tsar allowed foreigners to look everywhere for metals. He himself founded factories and commanded the Russian artisans to take instruction from foreigners; thus he sent a number of shoemakers from every town to Moscow to be taught by the English who were working there. He improved the conditions of mining, agriculture and stock-rearing. No aspect of economic development escaped his notice. The prosperity of the empire increased and the economic revival spread. The national revenue increased in fifteen years (1710-1725) from three to ten million roubles. The influence and prestige of Russia were

of the line, 800 vessels, and 28,000 sailors, which soon showed its value in war. There were in his army many foreign officers or Russians educated abroad, so that in the end he was able to defeat all his enemies. In this task he was especially supported by his general Patrick Gordon, a Scotsman, his admiral François Lefort, a Genevan—both died in 1699—and James Bruce, a Scotsman, who managed the artillery department. The Russians themselves soon made merry over the old army; Theophan Pososhkof, the peasant scholar and partisan of Peter, compared it to a herd of cattle. The army which Peter created beat the first commanders in Europe.

He devoted not less careful attention



THE PALACE OF ORANIENBAUM, NEAR PETERHOF, BUILT BY PETER THE GREAT IN 1714

immensely widened by the growth of national wealth and intercourse with other countries. The first place among all Russian monarchs is on these grounds most emphatically to be assigned to Peter the Great.

The chief corps in Russia had been, since Ivan the Terrible, the Strelitz. As they had several times revolted against Peter, he dissolved them in 1698, after inflicting a sanguinary punishment for their disloyalty. He now formed new regiments of foot soldiers and dragoons as a standing army, which was raised to 210,000 men and regularly levied. The Cossacks and the wild Eastern tribes supplied an unlimited number of fighting men. Peter created a large force of artillery and a fleet, numbering forty-eight ships

to founding educational institutions, so that Russia might no longer be dependent for her culture on the outside world. He thus set up technical schools, such as a school for accountants, a school for working builders, a naval academy, a school of cartography, and introduced foreign teachers, with whom he had personally much intercourse. His acquaintance with Leibnitz, whom he

An Age of Intellectual Progress nominated privy councillor with a salary of 1,000 thalers, was important. At the suggestion of Leibnitz he founded the Academy of Sciences, which was intended to have its seat in St. Petersburg (it only came into existence after his death, 1725). Peter also equipped scientific expeditions, as for example to Kamchatka, in order to

AN EARLY APPEARANCE OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA



Peter the Great was the friend of foreigners, and he is here depicted granting permission to settle in Russia to a deputation of Jews in Moscow. But although this concession was made by Peter, it was not until 1839 that a Jew could be a citizen of the first class in Russia.



RUSSIA IN WINTER: ST. PETERSBURG UNDER SNOW

solve the problem whether Asia is connected with America.

It was not less important for Russia that he brought to his court scholars from Little Russia such as Theophan Prokopovitch and Stefan Javorsky, who had already advised the founding of an academy and now found a useful outlet for their energies in the ecclesiastical domain. But the most important point was that Peter decided no one should be admitted to the service of the state who had not acquired the rudiments of school education and some technical knowledge. Nobles who were unable to read and write were to lose their nobility. Every official was bound to put his children in a national school from their tenth to their fifteenth year; uneducated children of the official class were not allowed to marry unless they had learned a trade. The tsar ordered a number of technical books to be translated into Russian, on which task he himself gave advice to the authors. They were to aim

**Tsar Encourages
Printing
and Science.**

in their translations at reproducing not so much the words as the sense, and were to guard against useless digressions. Peter also reformed the obsolete and unpractical alphabet by devising new forms of letters. Since the art of printing in Russia had made no progress since the sixteenth century, he summoned Dutch printers and set up two printing-presses in Moscow, four in St. Petersburg, one each in Tchernigov,

Novgorod, and other towns. He also was a patron of science. The author Polykarpov received 200 roubles from Peter for the "History of Russia from the Sixteenth Century onwards," which he printed. Peter did much also for geography. He ordered curious bones, peculiar stones, and even inscriptions to be collected, and human

**The Founder
of Russian
Newspapers**

and animal abortions to be exhibited, while he noticed in the ukase that ignorant people made mysteries of such things and ascribed them usually to diabolic agency. He had the monastic libraries examined and copies made of their archives.

He built hospitals, and sent young persons to study medicine abroad. From January 1st, 1700, he introduced into Russia the Christian chronology—of course according to the Julian calendar, which had become antiquated in the interval but was still tenaciously upheld by most non-Catholics—while hitherto the creation of the world had been taken as the starting-point. He even recognised the value of the public Press, and brought into existence in 1714 the "Petersburg Journal." By such many-sided and far-sighted efforts to advance the civilisation of his country, he more than justified the doctorate which he received from Oxford, and the further honour of being nominated a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The ancient provincial administration would obviously be affected by this great reorganisation, and all the more so as

PETER THE GREAT, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

the worst abuses prevailed in this domain. Since the officials, as was then the custom almost everywhere, received no salary, but only grants of land, or had to maintain themselves at the expense of the population, they became regular tormentors of the people, whom they could plunder without breaking the law. Such emoluments were called in Russia *Kormlenje*; that is, nourishment or forage. "Wait for your post and grow fat" was the formula for appointment in the days of the old tsars. Peter abolished the *Kormlenje*, in doing which he acted with his usual harshness, if not brutality, and appointed a fixed salary for every office.

In the machinery of administration complete confusion prevailed, since the departments of the individual magistrates were not clearly separated. Peter divided the empire in 1708 into eight,

in 1719 into ten, and later into eleven, governorships, and these finally into forty-three provinces. Each governor had at his side a provincial council elected from the nobles. As central authorities he created in 1718 ten governmental colleges or ministries, on the Danish and Swedish model, for foreign affairs, war, the navy, the treasury, law, the revenue, noble estates, industries, mining and trade. In each college one foreigner was given a position. In 1711 Peter instituted a senate, in the place of the Council of the Boyars, as the supreme court of justice and a supervisory authority; he nominated a Procurator-General as its president, who was to watch over the observance of the laws. He gave the towns self-government and independent jurisdiction, and established at St. Petersburg, to control them all, a chief



PETER THE GREAT ON HORSEBACK

While Peter the Great sought to advance Russia by culture and the arts of peace, he was not unmindful of its position as an empire that depended upon its strength of arms, and he aimed at making it powerful against its enemies.



PETER THE GREAT WATCHING THE WORK OF SHIPBUILDERS AT DEPTFORD DOCKYARD From the painting by D. Michaloff, R.A.
 When Russia's great ruler saw the sea for the first time, at Archangel, he became inspired with the ambition to make his country a naval power. He visited England to learn shipbuilding, and, adopting the plebeian name of Peter Michaloff, he worked with his own hands as a carpenter that he might understand the complete art of constructing ships.



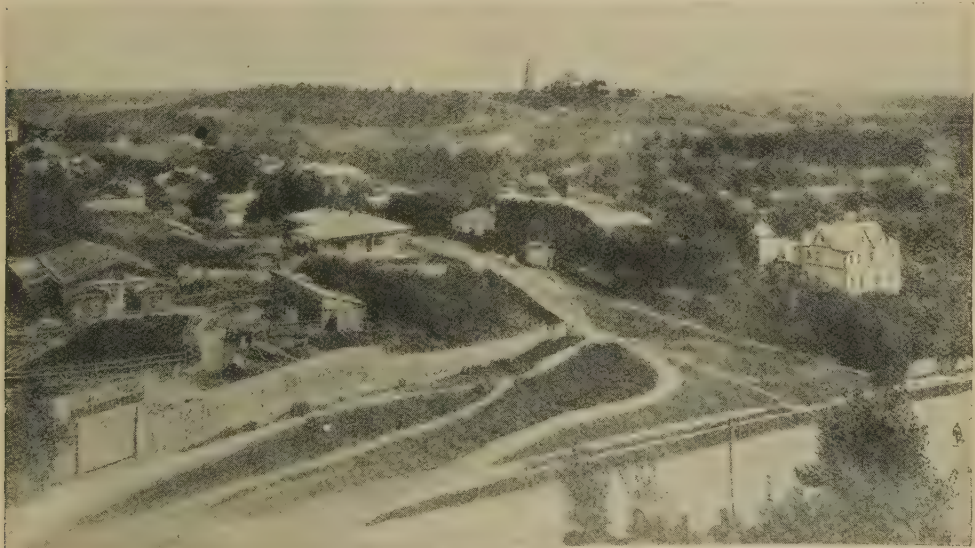
THE CROSS OF DESTINY NEAR POLTAVA

Near the city of Poltava, at the junction of the Poltava and the Vorskla rivers, stands the massive cross shown in the illustration. It marks the resting-place of many hundreds of Swedish soldiers, who, under Charles XII., were defeated by the Russians, led by Peter the Great, on July 8th, 1709. The battle at once marks the fall of Sweden's power and the beginning of the rise of modern Russia, for as the one nation retrograded the other made rapid strides forward.

magistrate who was responsible to the senate only, and had to attend to trade and commerce.

The tsar created a body of police and introduced a sort of state inquisition in order to break down the opposition to his reforms. He improved the judicial system partly after the Swedish model, more especially the criminal code, and reformed the system of taxation by substituting a poll-tax for the hearth-tax. He took the severest measures to ensure the public peace, by no means an easy

task when brigandage was so widely prevalent. He prosecuted the coiners, built workhouses, infirmaries, and lunatic asylums; he called on all his subjects to inform against thieves, and punished the guilty often with his own hand. In order to raise the tone of honour among the whole body of officials, who were both ignorant and corrupt, he ordered that everyone who entered the public service should become noble. By this expedient, and by the institution of orders, he abolished the privileges of the hereditary nobility



GENERAL VIEW OF POLTAVA, SHOWING THE FAMOUS BATTLEFIELD

Service and work would for the future ennoble a man. He introduced into the public service fourteen grades, of which the highest were to be attained by merit only, without respect of birth.

He interfered even with family and social life. He would not tolerate face-veils, or litters concealed by curtains. Women were not to live in Asiatic seclusion, but to move about freely in the European fashion. He repealed the old Russian law by which all members of a family had equal rights of inheritance, and introduced the German law of primogeniture, in order that the younger sons should be compelled to look for a livelihood

at court in any other costume; and a tax of from thirty to one hundred roubles was laid upon beards. In short, there was hardly a form of life that Peter would not have gladly reformed, all to raise his people as quickly as possible from the condition of barbarism. But although he esteemed strangers, followed their advice, and wished to Europeanise Russia, he did not do so slavishly, but only adopted useful novelties; he preserved the dignity of the Russian nation and allowed no encroachments by foreigners. Thus he punished severely anyone who propagated Lutheran doctrines; and as far as possible he placed Russians in the leading positions.

He did all this with as much haste as if he wanted to leave nothing for his successors to do, or as if he were afraid that his reforms would be reversed and his Russians brought back to the old barbarism. Nor was this anticipation altogether groundless; for, in spite of his iron rule and unparalleled energy, he had his enemies; he had not by any means conquered the darkness. The party



A CANAL DREDGER AT WORK

in trade or in the civil service. But this enactment was repealed under the Empress Anna, since it did not suit Russian conditions. Peter further decreed that serfs should only be sold by families and not separately like heads of cattle. He introduced the social forms and customs of the West, arranging, for example, balls and receptions upon the French model. Indeed, he gave orders that Western dress should be worn, in order, as an English diplomat expressed it, that his people might be transformed both outwardly and inwardly; and to make them entirely European, or, as he himself declared to the Danish Ambassador, Juul, in order to make men out of beasts.

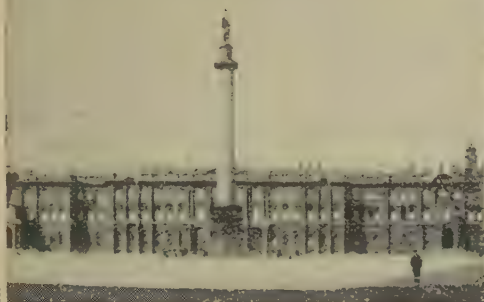
When, having returned from his first European journey, he was respectfully welcomed by the Boyars, he received them graciously, embraced and kissed them, but at the same time remonstrated with them about their dress, cut off with his own hands the beards of Field-Marshal Alexei Schein and others, as well as their long skirts and sleeves, and required that men and women alike should dress like Europeans. No one might appear



LADOGA CANAL, BUILT BY PETER THE GREAT

of Old Russia still lived; they crept away like reptiles when a sunbeam strikes into their lurking place. "Unhappily he stands alone with his dozen workers while millions block the way," wrote the enlightened Pososkof, peasant and merchant at once, in his book on "Poverty and Wealth."

The people, the body of officials, the clergy, the Boyars, and in fact his own relations were dissatisfied with the reforms. When Peter came back in 1698 from his travels, a story was current that it was not the tsar, but a stranger, while the real tsar had been rolled into the sea in a barrel by the Germans. The priests announced the



THE WINTER PALACE



MARBLE PALACE BUILT BY CATHARINE II.



THE ANITCHKOFF PALACE



HERMITAGE, ADJOINING WINTER PALACE



PALACES OF THE NOBLES ON THE FONTANKA CANAL
THE STately PALACES OF ST. PETERSBURG

approach of Antichrist, and since, according to a prophecy, Antichrist was to be born in adultery, it was said that Peter's mother, the second wife of Alexis, was the false virgin, the adulteress. Insulting notices were posted on the walls. The clergy were especially dangerous, since, being unpleasantly disturbed in their *dolce*

The Clergy as the Enemies of Progress

that shaven beards were unworthy of men; a beardless man resembled a beast. European dress was stigmatised as the badge of unchristian views. Foreigners were always in such danger that Peter had to protect them. A physician, Bremburg, was almost murdered because a skeleton had been seen in his possession. Whenever fires broke out, foreigners were not infrequently the victims. On the occasion of the revolt of the Strelitz corps, a massacre of all foreigners had been planned. It was intended to destroy the German quarter and to attempt the life of the tsar. If he had not intervened at the very first with severity and courage, a general revolution would have broken out.

The victories of Azov and Poltava contributed largely to strengthen Peter's government. Nevertheless, he was called upon to suppress numerous risings of the Cossacks and different bands, as well as the rebellions of various individuals. How far the clergy were to blame for these insurrections cannot at this distance of time be ascertained. They even knew how to sow opposition in his family. His sister, his wife Eudoxia Lopuchin, and even his son Alexis, were unfriendly to his reforms and therefore to him.

That was the greatest sorrow to Peter. He sent his wife, in 1698, to a convent, but her cell became the centre of all the machinations against him. He tried vainly to guide his son's steps into another path. Even the threat to exclude him from the throne proved unavailing. While he was on his travels, Alexis fled, in 1717, to the relations of his wife, Charlotte of Brunswick, at Vienna. But Peter sent

secret agents after him. They found him at Sant' Elmo, near Naples. He was induced to return home, and his father sat sternly in judgment over him. He forced Alexis, at a meeting of notables in the Kremlin, to renounce the throne (February 14th, 1718). He then ordered him to be thrown into prison and tortured. The tsarevitch was found dead there on July 7th. Peter the Great, in excess of zeal, had thought himself bound to sacrifice his own son on the altar of his country.

He clearly saw from which side the greatest danger threatened his immense work: it was the Church; and he therefore soon determined to limit the influence of the clergy. On the death of the Patriarch Adrian, the enemy of his reforms, in 1700, he did not again fill the vacant chair, but



ADMIRAL LEFORT

Peter the Great was by no means averse to employing foreign officers, many of whom were in the service of Russia. Francois Lefort, admiral of the fleet, was a Genevan.

nominated Stefan Javorsky as vice-patriarch. In 1721 he definitely abolished the office of Patriarch, and appointed a synod of bishops as the chief ecclesiastical authority, and, as in the case of the senate, he placed at its head a procurator-general, who was often a soldier, to represent the tsar. In the edict which announced this change the tsar stated that "the common people cannot grasp the difference between the highest spiritual and secular power, and imagine that the chief pastor of the Church is a second sovereign, who is the equal, if not the superior of the tsar." He advised

the bishops to avoid display and pride, and to forbid men prostrating themselves before them. Every bishop was to set up a school in his palace. Peter also looked into the monastic question, and forbade anyone to enter a convent before the age of thirty. He

ordered the monks to learn a trade. He did not venture to confiscate the monastic revenues, although the monasteries had piled up immense wealth, and were often merely incentives to idleness and vice. He imposed on them, however, the duty of keeping up schools and supporting the destitute. With these exceptions he interfered little in religious questions, and was thoroughly tolerant to all denominations. It was perhaps mainly from fear of

Peter Tolerant to Religions



BUILDINGS OF THE ADMIRALTY IN THEIR BEAUTIFUL GARDEN



NEVSKY PROSPEKT: THE SPLENDID MAIN THOROUGHFARE OF ST. PETERSBURG



SPANNING THE RIVER NEVA: THE NICHOLAS BRIDGE

ST. PETERSBURG, THE MAGNIFICENT CAPITAL OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

the excessive power of the Church that he retained the despotic form of government, and even wished to strengthen the power of the sovereign. Even Ivan the Terrible had condescended to convene provincial diets; his successors did the same; but Peter refused. His ministers supported him in this. Stefan Javorsky actually wrote a book in which he tried to give a scientific basis to absolutism. Peter did not, however, go so far; for instance, he forbade prostration before him and servile modes of address. But in the question of the royal title he wished to break with tradition, and assumed the style of Emperor of all the Russias. He thus placed himself on an equality with the Roman emperor, since he regarded himself as a successor of the Byzantine Cæsars. He was thus the first sovereign in Europe who no longer acknowledged the Roman idea of world empire. In order that his reforms and those of his heirs might not be exposed to an attack delivered by some crown prince of the Old Russian party, he changed the law of succession in so far that each tsar could nominate his successor.

A more versatile monarch can hardly be imagined. Peter put his hand to everything; almost everything was due to his own initiative. Even if he tried to introduce the civilisation and morality of the West into Russia by force, he never allowed Russia to become dependent on strangers or to be governed by them. He summoned young Russians as well as foreigners to his side. In Peter's eyrie, as Pushkin says, there was a wonderful brood of eaglets: Menschikov, who sprang from a small family, became prince, field-marshal and admiral; Boris Scheremetjef, the first marshal of Russia, renowned for his bravery and uprightness, whose exploits were the theme of folk-songs; the brothers Demetrius and Michael Golizyn, Feodor Golovin, Gavriilo Golovkin, Jacob Vasily, and Gregor Dolgoruki; the fiery, honest, and shrewd Jagusinsky, solicitor-general of the senate; Boris and Alexander Kurakin (father and son), ambassadors to the European courts; Peter Tolstoj,

a splendid diplomat; Alexis Kurbatof, the treasurer, and others. Even Peter III. of Holstein, the degenerate grandson of Peter the Great, said in his praise that he had reared an enlightened family and furnished the state with able generals and officials.

Peter died on February 8th (January 28th o.s.), 1725, barely fifty-three years old, the greatest of the Romanovs, and one of the greatest monarchs of any nation. Seldom has any man employed his life to more advantage. The new era of Russia begins with him. He filled the country with fresh and vigorous sap, breathed a new spirit into the giant frame of the nation, and rejuvenated the empire. His successors stand on his shoulders. The foreign diplomats were full of wonder at his person. "The tsar towers above every man in his realm," wrote the Danish ambassador; "he is a marvel of wisdom, acuteness, observation, promptness, and strength."

The tsar's own people honoured such services. The senate bestowed on him the title of Great Father of his Country. Yet he had received a very defective and old-fashioned education. The electress, Sophia Charlotte of Brandenburg, after 1701 first queen of Prussia, admirably described him: "He is at once very good and very bad," she "Great Father of His Country" wrote; "had he enjoyed a better education he would have been a perfect man." It is obvious that sometimes in his exacting labours he acted over-hastily, and that thus many of his creations appeared clumsy at first; much also that he planned was not carried out, and much proved ephemeral. Documents that have been quite recently published give us a glimpse into the indefatigableness and variety of his labours, and into his capacity for carrying a matter through. The documents for the history of his reign are not yet completely accessible, nor has any exhaustive life of Peter been written owing to the mass of materials. But with the lapse of time his true greatness has been more fully realised. In days of distress his disciples wept at his grave, and folk songs called on him to rise from the tomb.



WHEN WOMEN RULED IN RUSSIA

PETER THE GREAT'S SUCCESSORS AND THE BRILLIANT REIGN OF CATHARINE THE GREAT

IT was a misfortune for the empire that Peter the Great died without having nominated his successor, not merely because a civil war might easily have arisen, but because this insecurity grew into a malady which endured for a whole century, occasioning great dangers to the empire. Almost all the relations of Peter, his second wife, Catharine I., his nieces, his daughters, and his grandsons grasped at the sceptre. After 1598 almost every change of sovereignty from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century was effected by a coup d'état; and how many tsars died a natural death?

Peter was followed on the throne by Catharine, a Lithuanian of low origin, chiefly because she had won much credit both with the army and with the official classes by wise bribery of the Grand Vizir in the crisis on the Pruth (1711). She designated Peter II., grandson of Peter and son of the unfortunate Alexis, as her successor. She died in 1727, and he on February 9th, 1730. The throne was then held by the army, especially by the guards. Thus in 1730 the niece of Peter, the Duchess of Courland, Anna Ivanovna, the second daughter of his brother and co-tsar Ivan, came to the throne, and in 1740 Ivan VI. Antonovitch of Brunswick-Bevern, a grandson of Peter, with his mother, Anna Leopoldovna, as regent. But these latter were deposed in the course of the next years, and Elizabeth, the third daughter (born in 1709, and therefore illegitimate) of Peter, mounted the throne, which she occupied until her death, in 1762. After her, the grandson of Peter the Great by his second daughter, Anne of Holstein-Gothorp, came to the throne as Peter III., but was forced to abdicate after six months, and finally, on July 17th, 1762, was murdered by Alexis Orlov at the country house of Ropsha. His wife,

Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, mounted the throne as Catharine II. She was followed in 1796 by her son Paul I., who was assassinated on March 23rd, 1801.

It is remarkable that in the course of the eighteenth century women mostly guided the fates of Russia, while the men could not hold their own, but usually died violent deaths. Peter's sister Catharine I. Sophia had been the first to sit on the throne, at first as regent; she wished to be proclaimed sole ruler. She allowed herself more liberty of movement than her brother Peter would have liked, and in this way paved the way for other women to the throne, hitherto an unprecedented event in Russia. The respect felt for Peter I. was so intense and permanent that his second wife was able to succeed him at once. Catharine I. was the first absolute mistress of Russia. The Raskolniki alone, true to their tradition, refused to swear allegiance to her, and preferred to suffer death.

With the women came also the power of favourites, of whom some, such as Bühren (Biron), the favourite of Anna Ivanovna, behaved defiantly, and treated the whole nation with contempt; some even were desirous of mounting the throne themselves, such as Alexander Menschikov, who immediately, after the death of Catharine I., betrothed his daughter Maria on May 25th, 1727, to the heir to the throne (Peter II.), and wished to marry his son Alexander to the latter's sister; in writing to the young Tsar Peter II., he signed himself "your father," and ordered the members of his family to be inserted in the almanac with those of the imperial family, and the names of his daughters to be recited in the church prayers. Alexis Rasumovsky, who was secretly betrothed to Elizabeth, became count (1744), field-marshal, and master of the hunt; Gregory Orlov,

**Women on
the Throne
of Russia**

ennobled in 1762, "the handsomest man in the north," wished to marry Catharine II., and became in 1762 an ancestor of Count Bobrinsky.

It was a shameless state of things. The parties at court were fighting one against the other without regard for the welfare of the nation. If one party

Barbarity at the Royal Court

came to the helm, it wreaked its fury recklessly on the outgoing party. The defeated were beheaded; if mercy was shown them from the "inborn goodness" of the tsaritsa, their hands were lopped off, their tongues and eais cut off, their property confiscated, and they were sent to Siberia. Thus a series of able men were killed in barbarous party feuds. The hatred against foreigners was revived, and foreign officers were murdered from "patriotism."

The new constitutional changes were usually due to the favourites; an attempt was made in them to limit the power of the crown in favour of the councillors of the crown. After the death of the last Romanof (1730) the "High Privy Council" resolved to utilise the situation in order to obtain charters for the nobility. The Dolgorukij and Golizyn accordingly offered the crown to the female descendants of Ivan V., who stood further from the throne, in the well-founded anticipation that they would more easily accept terms. Anna Ivanovna actually signed the demands laid before her to the effect that the High Council should consist of eight members; that vacancies should be filled by co-optation, and that the council should be summoned for all imperial affairs, so that without its consent no decision could be taken as to peace and war, nor any new taxes levied; that no offices from the highest downwards might be conferred, nor any crown property alienated without its approbation, nor any member of the nobility punished without its judicial cognisance.

Anna, further, might neither marry nor nominate her successor without the approval of the council. Thus in 1730 the Russian Privy Councillors demanded all at once that which the Polish nobility only obtained in the course of centuries.

Possibly, too, the Swedish Riksråd had supplied them with a model. But the text of the capitulations which we have quoted shows that the Russians were tyros in such matters. Men would not tolerate too sudden innovations, especially when the body of Boyars and priests was intended to submit to the rule of a few persons.

The Russian nation feared the domination of the high nobility more than the tyranny of the tsar. When, therefore, a few days afterwards, a general assembly of the states was summoned and the capitulation was read out, there was no one, so Bishop Theophan Procopovitch tells us, among those present who did not tremble from head to foot when he heard the document. The members of the Senate and many others presented the empress

with petitions against the new constitution, and the officers of the guard cried: "We do not wish that laws shall be dictated to the empress; she ought to have the same rights as her predecessors." Anna, as might be expected, then carried out a coup d'état to secure the crown. Russia was not yet ripe for a more liberal constitution. Despotism, in fact, now struck deeper roots, since it had, as it were, received the sanction of the people.

In other respects the rule of the Russian empresses, with the exception of Catharine II., was thoroughly bad. Apart from the fact

that the greatest licentiousness prevailed at the court, and that some empresses, like Catharine I. and Elizabeth, were addicted to drink, they achieved nothing of note by their foreign policy, although they all governed in the spirit of Peter, and were anxious to carry out

his plans. Elizabeth, at the advice of her favourite, Ivan Schuvalov, founded the University at Moscow in 1755, and the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg in 1758. Cyril Rasumovsky wished to establish a university at Baturin in the Ukraine. The learned Privy Councillor Teplof said, with justice, of these foundations: "The Academy is without academicians, the University without students, the rules are not followed; an irremediable



PETER II. OF RUSSIA

Designated by Catharine, the widow of Peter the Great, as her successor on the throne of Russia, Peter II., grandson of the Great, became tsar in 1727. He died in 1730.

Elizabeth the Patron of Education

DECEIVING CATHARINE THE GREAT



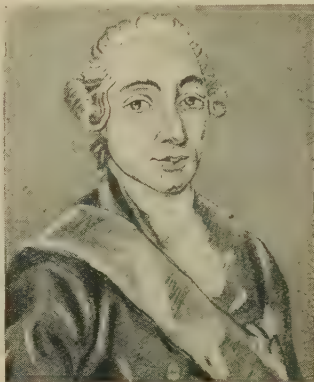
It is a remarkable fact that during the eighteenth century the fate of Russia was chiefly in the hands of women rulers. Greatest of these was Catharine II., a woman of striking intellectual gifts. She was desirous at one time to abolish serfdom, and took a deep interest in the condition of her people. During her Majesty's royal progresses it was the custom of her favourite, Potemkin, to patch up miserable villages into a state of apparent prosperity. Our illustration depicts such a deception.

confusion prevails everywhere." This confusion was apparent in foreign policy no less than in home affairs. The influence of foreigners now made itself felt in a harsh manner. Under Anna, the German influence was predominant; the Russians were treated with contempt. Anna regarded herself as a foreigner, and ridiculed the Russian nobility and all that was Russian in an unseemly fashion. She chose her court fools by preference from among the Russian nobles; even princesses were compelled to submit to whippings, to crow like hens, sit on nests of eggs, etc.

Under Elizabeth, French fashions were the vogue, and were equally exaggerated. The foreign policy was shaped to suit this movement. The greatest victories, such as that won in conjunction with Laudon in 1759 at Kunersdorf, were not made full use of. Policy was guided by sentiment rather than by regard for the public welfare. Some advantages were obtained against Turkey, but at an excessive price.

At the invitation of the Empress Elizabeth there then came to court Joanna Elizabeth of Anhalt-Zerbst, a princess of Gottorp, connected through Anna Petrovna with the Romanovs, together with her daughter Sophia Augusta Frederica. She succeeded in marrying her daughter to the heir to the throne, Peter Fedorovitch (September 1st, 1745). Sophia had already adopted the Orthodox religion in 1744, and took the name of Catharine Alexejevna; she became afterwards the great empress Catharine II. Herself a beautiful and accomplished woman, of great intellectual powers, she could not

but overshadow her husband, who possessed limited abilities and had been indifferently educated. When she was only fifteen, she read Plato, Cicero, and other classics. She studied later the new French literature, especially the Encyclopædists.



HUSBAND OF CATHARINE II. Peter III. had been on the throne for only six months when he was forced to abdicate, and on July 17th, 1762, was murdered by Alexis Orlov at the country house of Ropsha.

Thus, besides D'Alembert and others, she read and passionately admired Montesquieu, whose writings she "pillaged," and called his "Esprit des Lois," the monarch's breviary. "If I were Pope," she said, "I would canonise him." She kept up a vigorous correspondence with Voltaire: "The ancients would have ranked him among the gods," she wrote of him. She "bought" Diderot's library for 15,000 livres, but on the condition that he managed it for her during the rest of his life at a high salary. She was also familiar

with the literatures of England and Spain.

Her gifts and accomplishments were balanced by her licentiousness, in which she surpassed her predecessors. Nevertheless, the fortunes of Russia took a turn for the better when she mounted the throne on July 9th, 1762, having deposed

her husband by force. This able woman soon probed the most complicated questions. It could not, therefore, escape her notice that the future of Russia depended on the establishment of connections with the West. It was a great stroke of good fortune for the Russian nation that in her person a ruler took the reins of government who, as Peter the Great formerly, in the great struggle between reaction and progress, definitely placed herself on the side of progress. She not only possessed the will to do something for the elevation of culture, but knew how



EMPRESSES ANNA IVANOVNA AND ELIZABETH

The German influence was predominant in Russia during the reign of Anna, who, regarding herself as a foreigner, ridiculed everything that was Russian. French fashions were the vogue under Elizabeth, and the foreign policy was shaped to suit this movement.

THE SUCCESSORS OF PETER THE GREAT

to set the machinery of reform in motion with undeniable skill and intelligence.

Her powerful mind had long contemplated various schemes of reform. She found a coadjutor in the equally intellectual and beautiful Princess Catharine Romanovna Woronzov-Dashkov, the most accomplished woman of her time, who, as she said, was willing to mount the scaffold for her mistress. She did Catharine great service in the deposition of Peter III. The French were the models for Catharine in culture as well as in immorality; but she did not imitate them to a slavish or vulgar degree. As she always remained a sovereign in her attitude towards her favourites, so she always maintained her dignity among the foreigners from whom she learnt. She knew how to strike the happy mean, and did not go to extremes, as Anna and Elizabeth did, or her husband Peter III., who had deified the Prussian king, Frederic the Great, to an absurd degree. Besides French, she also brought Germans to her court, especially natives of the Baltic provinces, in which the best schools were to be found.

Above all, she allowed the French philosophy of enlightenment to influence her mind. Worshipping the views of the Encyclopædists, she was filled with the lofty thought of making her people happy. She dreamed of no less a scheme than the abolition of serfdom. "Freedom, thou soul of all things," she wrote, "without thee all is dead; I wish to have obedience in laws, but no slaves." Steeped in these ideals, she desired to inaugurate her reign with a modern code. She therefore resolved

to summon a legislative assembly, on the model of the old French estates, from the whole of Russia, and worked for some years with great diligence and acuteness at a draft scheme for its constitution, which testified to her liberal views. She wrote: "The nation is not for the ruler, but the ruler for the nation. The equality of the citizens consists in their only having to obey the law; freedom is the right to do everything that is not forbidden by the law." She condemned religious persecutions and every form of intolerance.

Voltaire expressed his astonishment to her.

Even Frederic the Great could not find words enough to celebrate the authoress, the first woman who came forward as a legislator. The legislative assembly was summoned in the year 1766. It consisted of representatives of all classes and races in the empire, 559 persons. There were to be seen senators, officials, soldiers, members of the synod, citizens, peasants, Tartars, Kalmucks, Lapps, Samoyedes, Germans, and Poles. Every member was

required to be provided with an authorisation from at least five of his electors, and received a medallion bearing the likeness of Catharine and the inscription: "For the happiness of one and all, December 14th, 1766."

All members were declared inviolable for the period of their sittings, and exempt for ever from all corporal punishments. She wrote to Voltaire: "I think that you would be pleased with an assembly in which the Orthodox believer sits between the heretic and the Moslem, all three



ANNA IVANOVNA IN HER ROYAL SPLENDOUR

From a painting in the Romanof Gallery, St. Petersburg.

listen to the speech of an idolator, and then the four of them come to a unanimous opinion." This assembly, owing to its composition, was naturally unfitted for legislative work. In the middle of an earnest discussion over the rights of citizens in towns, one member talked about hygiene, and another recommended a remedy against frost-bite. Nevertheless, in the 200 sittings or more which the assembly held, a number of questions were thoroughly discussed, and resolutions were formulated which are of the highest interest.

Owing presumably to the Turkish war, Catharine dissolved the assembly on December 18th, 1768; only the special committees continued in force until December 4th, 1774. She emphasised, at any rate, in a ukase, the belief that the proceedings had diffused light and learning over the whole realm. The question of the abolition of serfdom had also been touched upon in the assembly; even some nobles among the deputies were in favour of it. Count Peter Scheremetjev, a great benefactor to the poor, and so free from prejudice that he had married a serf, declared his readiness to emancipate them all. But on the whole the Russian nobility were not inclined to release their "souls"; for that would have meant economic ruin for most of them. Many were full of class prejudices. The poet Alexander Sumarokov expressed their view when he says: "The peasant is as fitted for serfdom as the house-dog for the chain or the canary for the cage."

Catharine herself honestly desired the complete, but gradual, abolition of serfdom, and energetically advocated its amelioration. She severely punished persons who were denounced to her for their inhumane treatment of serfs. But the question was very complicated, for serfdom had a political basis. Its beginning lies in the Tartar age, when the Russian petty princes, who were also the chief tax-collectors of the Tartar Khans,

were obliged to raise the Tartar imposts together with their own, and for this object had to introduce a new system of fiscal groups. The increased demands on the army and revenue caused by continual wars compelled the Muscovite grand dukes above all to look for means with which they could enforce the military duties of the nobility and the taxes and services of the peasantry.

A suitable machinery was found in the well-proved system of fiscal groups with common responsibility, so that the government could not touch each separate individual immediately, but only through the body of ratepayers. The same method was applied to the nobility to bring them into touch with military service



CATHARINE THE GREAT IN THE UNIFORM OF THE HUSSARS

by the creation of "districts of nobility," in which an *ocladzikh*, elected from amongst the nobles, fixed the amount and value of the military service which each of the "district nobles" had to render. As a reward for the service the prince handed over to the nobles crown lands with the resident peasants, whose numbers constituted the real value of the lands. The nobles naturally could only discharge their obligations to the state if the peasants remained on the soil and cultivated it; if these left their part of the country, the lands which they

deserted had no further value. In order, therefore, that military service might be secured, and the land-tax (plough-tax), and, after Peter the Great, the hearth-tax or poll-tax, might not be diminished, the peasants' right of moving their domicile required to be checked. At first it was only restricted. Feodor Ivanovitch, 1592 and 1597, then Boris Godunov, 1601 and 1602, Schuskij, 1607, and Peter the Great, frequently occupied themselves with this problem. First of all, emigration was rendered difficult; then it was absolutely forbidden, and the "floating element" of the population was permanently riveted to the soil. The power of the lord over his serf thus was strengthened, and the state did not interfere in their mutual relations.

In the seventeenth century, prison, fetters and neck-irons were to be found in a country house.

This patriarchal jurisdiction was not limited by any legal conditions, except that the death penalty was forbidden. The peasants, however, always endured this burden in the knowledge that their services were rendered directly to the state as payment for the officials performing military and other services; that is, the nobility. But when Peter III. in 1762 released the nobles from the obligation to serve the state, on the grounds that love for the sovereign and zeal for the service of the state were so universal that it no longer appeared necessary to maintain those compulsory measures, a great agitation was roused among the peasants, for they believed that on their side they were released from all obligations to the nobility. A responsive quiver was felt throughout the empire; even the disturbances in the Ukraine of the year 1767-1768, were influenced by it. For the first time the peasants were overcome by mistrust of the nobles, whom they accused of keeping them in slavery in defiance of the tsar's will. This idea came more prominently forward under Alexander II., and has not been entirely dissipated to-day.

Catharine would certainly have lightened the yoke of serfdom. But on the other hand the solution of this question was then far too difficult; on the other hand she had just been diverted from that idea by the barbarism of the empire, and altered her views surprisingly in 1768. Instead of alleviating the lot of the peasants, she extended the prerogatives of the land-owners, conceded to them the most extensive jurisdiction, forbade the peasants to impeach their lords, and allowed the lords to send their serfs to Siberia. Catharine, who erased the word *rab* (slave) from the Russian dictionary, reduced to serfdom a million and a half

peasants in Little Russia. The sanguinary revolt of the Ukraine peasants under Gonta and Selisnjak in 1767-1768, just at the time when the abolition of serfdom was being discussed, completely destroyed the tsaritsa's pleasure in reforms, since she was indignant at the cruelties perpetrated there, and she entirely changed her attitude, as the dangerous and sanguinary rebellion of Pugatchef fully occupied her attention.

Although the Russian nobility in the bulk was hardly worth more than the peasantry, yet it helped the state to keep the savage peasantry in check, and might be regarded, therefore, as part of the state machinery. Catharine's liberal notions received a still ruder shock when, in the course of the French Revolution, that very people, for whose welfare and freedom men had written and toiled indefatigably, perpetrated hideous atrocities. Gonta, Selisnjak, and the Jacobins, Umani and the storming of the Bastille, gave her much food for meditation. Her opinion was that the people did not deserve liberty.

Then her reactionary efforts began. She destroyed socialistic books and ordered their authors to be watched and their correspondence opened. She broke off relations with France, banished all



THE FAMOUS CATHARINE II. IN
HER ROYAL ROBES

Frenchmen who were supporters of the Revolution, and received the émigrés with open arms. Catharine did not, however, entirely sacrifice her liberal ideas; the peasants were only temporarily in disfavour with her. She gave the nobility a sort of constitution according to districts, to the towns self-government and private jurisdiction, and special privileges to the merchants. The nobility at that period enjoyed her peculiar favour. She thought the king's cause was the nobles' cause; no nobility, no monarch.

Although Catharine would not abolish serfdom, she was at least trying to prepare for its abolition. She saw that the culture of the nation must first be raised before its condition could be ameliorated, and she

threw herself heart and soul into the task of raising the standard of schools and education. In this effort she was much helped by Ivan Betzkoy, who had been educated abroad. Like Peter the Great, she founded schools, academies of science and art, and educational establishments. There was room, for example, for some

Royal Support for Learning and Science

hundreds of well-born girls in the Smolna convent, and the immense educational institute for destitute children roused the admiration of Napoleon I. She commissioned Diderot to prepare a scheme for a system of secondary schools.

But, unlike Peter the Great, she contemplated the education of the masses, and, therefore, set more thoroughly to work. She not only, in 1775, ordered the "colleges of general supervision" in the separate governments to provide for the foundation of schools in every large town, and in 1781 built in Petersburg seven schools containing one class only, which immediately received 486 scholars, but also nominated, in 1782, a special committee for the establishment of national schools. At the head of the commission, it is true, was placed Peter Savadovskij, who, in spite of his learning, was very indolent, but he had efficient scholars at his side, among them the "Illyrian" school-director Theodor von Jankovics sent by the Emperor Joseph II., in 1782, who elaborated a new curriculum and wrote text-books. The Russian Kosodavlev published twenty-eight school-books.

These were modest beginnings; no village school had yet been erected. But the National School Ordinance of August 5th, 1786, made school reform obligatory on the whole of Russia. The French educational system was the empress's ideal in this; the Emperor Joseph, whom she had met at the beginning of July, 1780, in Mohilef, influenced her in this direction, since he, too, was under the spell of the French enlightenment. At the advice

Catharine Founds a Russian Academy

of the Princess Dashkov, Catharine founded in 1783, on the model of the French, a Russian Academy, which was entrusted with the duty of "drawing up rules for orthography, preparing a Russian grammar and prosody, and encouraging the study of Russian history." The Russian Academy stood, therefore, independently by the side of the Academy of Sciences, whose director was also the princess,

from 1783-1796; the former was incorporated in the latter as a second division as recently as 1855. The Russian Academy set about the preparation of a Russian dictionary. The Princess Dashkov edited three letters; the empress composed an appendix to the first volume. Both academies performed meritorious services in elevating the progress of science in Russia.

Catharine's literary activity had many phases. When Princess Dashkov, in 1783-1785, published "The Companion" (or "Conversational Guide for Friends of Russian Literature"), the empress composed for it some anonymous sketches of a satirical character. She also wrote treatises, tales, and plays. Thus she glorified in "Oleg" the first campaign of the Russians against Constantinople; her court bandmaster, Giuseppe Sarti, composed choruses for this piece. In the piece called "Gorebogatyr," or the "Hero of Misfortunes," she ridiculed Gustavus III. of Sweden. Other works from her pen are "The Siberian Shamans," "Deceivers," "The

Blinded," "Woe for the
The Literary
Genius of
the Empress Times." For her grandsons Alexander and Constantine she wrote "The Grandmother's Alphabet," and "The Library," which was printed in Berlin. She collected linguistic notes, spent time on archæology and mythology, and extracted chronicles. She was fond of history, especially Russian. "No history supplies better and greater men than ours; I love it to infatuation," she wrote to Diderot.

An imperishable monument of her genius is to be found in her numerous letters, which testify to her grace, her good breeding, her great intellect and literary talent, as well as to her sparkling wit and sensibility. She wrote with equal facility (though, it must be owned, with equal incorrectness) in Russian, German, and French. Her French letters, according to the opinion of the Abbé Jean Siffrein Maury, surpassed even those of Voltaire. For music alone she had no talent. She commissioned many translators and paid them well, as Peter the Great had formerly done. As a patroness of belles lettres she brought distinguished poets, artists, philosophers, and scholars to her court, at which a high intellectual tone prevailed. Many famous contemporaries visited her there, among them



CATHARINE THE GREAT OF RUSSIA

Mounting the throne in 1762, after deposing Peter III., this remarkable woman did much to raise the standard of education. Liberal and tasteful, she enriched St. Petersburg with works of art and splendid buildings.



Voltaire and Diderot. With Baron Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), she once conversed for seven hours without interruption on scientific questions. He was her art and literary agent in France, and bought for her books, works of art, and collections. Voltaire was her intellectual model. Liberal and tasteful, she adorned and enriched St. Petersburg with works of art and splendid buildings of every sort. She loved brilliance and a luxury hitherto unknown in Russia.

She also patronised the Russian scholars and poets. Even in her day, Russian literature showed a list of famous names; the Russian drama was created at this time. The empress had a great share in rousing the self-consciousness of the nation. Although a German princess by birth, she felt herself a Russian. She said in jest to the physician who opened one of her veins: "That is better; the last drop of German blood is gone." The Russian party might have seen that it was possible to be a reformer and remain a true Russian. A number of Russian newspapers sprang up, and the national literature of Russia now flowed in a broad stream. In short, the culture of East Europe rose, at least in the higher circles of society, to heights of which the most sanguine had never dreamed. It was also greatly to the honour of Catharine that she employed the Church in the cause of culture. She completed a step, on which Peter the Great did not venture, namely, the confiscation of the estates of the Church. The Russian monasteries were enormously wealthy. They had been spared even by the Tartars, and their property had grown from century to century. The number of their members amounted to more than a million; the convent of Troizko-Sergiev, at Moscow, alone had 120,000. Catharine now appointed a board, which placed all Church estates under one government. The convents received for every male member a rouble and a half; from the surplus, schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions were to be erected.

Catharine divided the Russian state into districts, in order to improve the administration and facilitate supervision, and thus created forty governments. During her reign large tracts of land were settled, mostly with colonists from the West, among them many Germans. The number of the population of the kingdom rose under her to forty millions, which was due not only to the colonisation and incorporation of various regions, but also to the circumstance that she paid attention to public sanitation, and among other things introduced inoculation for small-pox. She founded many towns, several of which bear her name, constructed, like Peter, canals and roads, and promoted trade and industries.



POTEMKIN, THE FAVOURITE

The favourites of Catharine were, for the most part, highly gifted men, and in the front rank of her esteem stood Gregory Potemkin. But he was not above deceiving her Majesty on occasion.

her knack of gathering splendid men round her. She was aware of this, and just enough to admit it openly and to give the precedence to Peter the Great.

Catharine's favourites were to some extent highly gifted men, to whose suggestion she may have been indebted for many an act ascribed to her own inventive powers. It is perhaps an excuse for Catharine's weaknesses and sensuality that in her days such conduct was universal. But while other sovereigns were taken up with sensuality, she worked indefatigably; from early morning until late into the night she attended to the business of the empire. Her people readily forgave her any failings in view of her services.

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE: A.D. 376 TO 1793

A.D.		A.D.	
376	Huns invade Russia	1593	Austro-Turkish war
c. 480	Czech migration to Bohemia and Moravia	1598	Murder of the pseudo-Dmitri in Russia; murder of Feodor I., last of the Ruriks; Moscow patriarchate founded
759	Prague founded	1606	Peace of Vienna
862	Rurik the first of his line at Novgorod	1613	Michael Fedorovitch, first Romanof ruler; Russia becomes Europeanised
864	Moravia Christianised	1617	Treaty of Solbovo and cession of Finland to Sweden
894	Bohemia Christianised	1619	Revolt of Bohemia; Frederick elector palatine elected king of Bohemia
906	Magyars overcome Moravia	1648	Bohemia secured to Austria
907	Oleg invades Greek Empire	1654	Conquest of Poland by Russia and Sweden
941	Igor attacks Byzantium	1660	Poland regains independence
944		1667	Treaty of Andrussov and acquisition of Polish territory by Russia
955		1668	John Casimir abdicates Poland
988	Russia under Greek and Christian influence	1671	Cossacks subjugated in Russia
c. 992	Christianity introduced into Poland	1674	John Sobieski reigns in Poland
996	Hungarian monarchy founded	1675	Turks defeated at Lemberg by John Sobieski
1041	Henry III. conquers and devastates Bohemia	1676	Stefan Bathori reigns in Poland
1061	Hungary infested by Poles	1683	John Sobieski overcomes the Turks and raises the siege of Vienna
1077	Saint Ladislaus king of Hungary	1686	Ofen retaken from Turks
1132	Bela II. king of Hungary	1687	Hungarian crown becomes hereditary
1157	Progress of Silesia	1689	Peter the Great absolute ruler in Russia
1174	Bela III. brings Greek civilisation into Hungary	1696	Conquest of Azov by Russia
1187	Premysl Ottokar first king of Bohemia	1697	Turks defeated at Zenta; Peter the Great travels
1222	Golden Bull of Hungary	1698	He dissolves the Strelitz and forms a fleet
1223	Russia invaded by the Golden Horde	1699	Hungary freed from Turks; peace of Carlowitz
1238	Henry II. extends rule of Silesia	1700	Russia defeated at Narva by Charles XII. of Sweden; introduction of Julian Calendar into Russia
1241	Tartars ravage Hungary; Danes driven back from Russia	1703	St. Petersburg built for the capital
1242	Tartar power in Russia	1704	Stanislaus I. elected at Vienna
1274	Ladislaus of Hungary and Rudolf of Hapsburg make league	1707	Mazeppa attempts to free the Ukraine
1300	Moscow made the capital of Russia	1709	Swedes defeated at Poltava
1301	Arpad dynasty in Hungary ends	1711	Defeat of Russians on the Pruth; Russia in- stitutes a senate
1309	Charles Robert of Anjou elected king of Hungary	1715	Russian conquests on the Baltic; Finnish territory, Esthonia and Livonia added to Russia
1325	Silesia invaded by John of Bohemia	1716	Peter the Great's second visit to the West
1342	Lewis the Great king of Hungary	1718	Expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia; peace of Passarowitz; death of Peter's son, Alexis
1344-82	Lewis the Great victorious in Serbia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia	1721	Abolition of patriarchal office in Russia
1346	King John, blind king of Bohemia, slain at Crecy	1722	Pragmatic sanction in Austria permitting female succession
1370	Lewis of Hungary elected king of Poland	1723	Russian conquests on the Caspian shores
1380	Tartar war in Russia	1725	Death of Peter the Great
1383	Moscow burned	1730	Deposition of Peter II. (last of the Romanofs)
1395	Tamerlane invades Russia	1737	Austro-Russian war with Turkey
1411	Sigismund of Hungary elected emperor of Germany	1739	Cession of Serbia and Wallachia to Turkey by Peace of Belgrade
1415	Martyrdom of John Huss	1740	Prussia conquers Silesia; Hungary supports Maria Theresa
1419	Capture of Prague by Ziska, the Hussite leader; Hussite war in Bohemia	1741	War of Austrian succession; Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, reigns in Russia
1437	Bohemia and Hungary united to Austria	1757	Prussia defeats Austria at Prague
1442	Hunyadi victorious over the Turks	1762	Catharine II. reigns in Russia
1444	Ladislaus of Hungary defeated and slain at Varna; Hunyadi regent of Hungary	1763	Frederick of Prussia retains Silesia
1448	Hunyadi defeated at Kossova by Turks	1764	Murder of Ivan VI., lawful heir of Russia
1456	Hunyadi defends Belgrade	1770	Great pestilence in Poland
1462	Ivan III. reigns in Russia	1772	First partition of Poland
1471	Ladislaus, king of Poland, elected to Bohemian throne	1774	Crimea independent; peace of Kainardji
1478	King of Hungary takes Silesia	1775	Cossack rebellion in Russia; peasant revolt in Bohemia
1479	Tartar invasion of Russia repelled by Ivan III.	1781	Bohemian edict of toleration
1481	Tartars in Russia crushed	1783	Russia annexes Crimea
1491	Hungary invaded by Maximilian of Austria	1784	Protestants tolerated in Hungary
1506	Sigismund I. reigns in Poland; war between Russia and Poland	1790	Hungary independent
1514	Peasant revolt in Hungary	1791	Peace of Sistova
1516	Louis II. king of Hungary	1793	Second partition of Poland
1526	Hungary invaded by Turks; Ofen captured; Louis II. defeated at Battle of Mohacs; John Zapolya elected king of Hungary		
1531	Defeat of Wallachia		
1533	Ivan the Terrible reigns in Russia		
1548	Sigismund II. effects reforms in Poland		
1553	England opens trade with Russia		
1568	Strelitz established in Russia		
1569	Lithuania united to Poland		
1579	Ivan the Terrible of Russia seeks to marry Elizabeth of England		
1591	Hungary devastated by Turks		



SYMBOLS OF RUSSIA'S GREATNESS: CROWNS AND SCEPTRES OF THE NATION'S RULER
 1, Tsar's "globe" as Tsar of Astrakhan. 2, The costliest crown in the world, worn by the Russian Emperor as the Tsar of Novgorod; surmounted by a cross of twelve enormous diamonds. 3, The "globe" which, as Tsar of Kiev, belongs to the Emperor; and, 4, his sceptre as Tsar of Siberia. 5, The Russian crown of Siberia; and, 6, the crown of the kingdom of Kasan. 7, This sceptre, which once belonged to Peter the Great, is wielded by the Tsar as "Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias." 8, The Tsar's throne as ruler of Vladimir (16th century). 9, Crown used in ceremony of crowning heir to Russian throne. 10, Sceptre as Tsar of Moscow.



RISE OF THE KINGDOM OF RUSSIA ITS RAPID GROWTH IN POWER AND INFLUENCE

WHILE the sum total of the work done by Russia in the domain of culture during her general development was hardly sufficient for her own requirements, her military and political successes were, on the other hand, most important, although purchased by great sacrifices. The Russian people had stubbornly survived the Tartar terrorism, had subdued in the sixteenth century the Tartar khanates of Kosan and Astrakhan, had obtained possession of Siberia, had acquired in the seventeenth century the Ukraine, had conquered under Peter the Great the Baltic coast, the Caspian, and the Sea of Azov, and had carried their arms to Persia.

In the eighteenth century the diplomatists of Europe were much occupied by the Turkish or Eastern question as well as with the destiny of Poland. A happy solution of this problem was a vitally important task for Russia. Some few years

Turkey A Bone of Contention

after the great defeat under the walls of Vienna (1683), the victories of Eugene of Savoy had shaken the Turkish power to its foundations. As long as a war against the Porte seemed a dangerous enterprise, Hungary, Austria and Poland had been forced to bear the brunt of it alone; in fact they had been sometimes actually hindered by other powers. But when after 1718 the question of the Turkish succession became one of practical politics, all the powers announced their interest in what they were pleased to call the Eastern question, and thus Turkey has been as great a bone of contention as was Poland at an earlier period. Russia, France and England, who hitherto had taken practically no share in wars with Turkey, now became so susceptible on this very point that they thought they alone had a right to settle the matter.

Russia has been often surprised by events at a moment when she was still too weak to discharge some great task with which she suddenly found herself confronted; but then, after collecting all

her forces, she has often outdistanced her rivals, who had got the start. At the end of the seventeenth century, when Poland and Austria dealt Turkey such heavy blows, Russia was still too unprepared to think of making war upon the sultan. The war which she was compelled to wage for the possession of the Ukraine ended in 1681 with the inglorious peace of Bachtchissarai. Then in 1684 a joint embassy for Austria and Poland appeared in Moscow to induce the tsar to occupy the Crimea, the "right hand of the sultan." In 1686 John Sobieski ceded the Ukraine east of the Dnieper to Moscow, in order to secure its co-operation in his plan.

Russia in the Crimea

War against the Turks was then still regarded as a holy war, to which all Christian states ought to feel themselves bound; the fact that the Polish king nevertheless richly rewarded Moscow for its services shows that other motives besides those of the Crusader were brought into play. The Russian court, indeed, promised in that treaty to attack the Crimea; but two expeditions equipped for that purpose were abortive. Even Peter the Great only succeeded in taking Azov at the second attempt (1696). By these campaigns he formally opened the series of Russian wars with Turkey, just as on the west he was the first to gain a firm footing in Poland. When Peter, a year later, started on his European journey, he received congratulations on all sides, even in Poland. In Vienna the Jesuit Freiherr von Lüdinhhausen brought into his sermon the words that "God would give the tsar, as the namesake of St. Peter, the keys to open the Sublime Porte."

Peter's Favourite Scheme

But Peter had more important matters to settle first. It was not until after Poltava (1709) that he recurred to that idea. To drive out the Ottomans from Europe in the name of civilisation became a favourite scheme of his; he saw many millions of Christians of his own faith pining under

the Turkish yoke and fixing their hopes on him. He was already thinking of relieving these peoples when he sustained the reverse of 1711. Surrounded on the Pruth, he was compelled to resign Azov and destroy his fleet. Peter did not venture to contemplate a fourth war against Turkey. Austria, meanwhile, was still entangled in the War of the Spanish Succession. The Hapsburgs won, it is true, whole regions by the treaty at Passarevatz (1718); but twenty years had hardly passed before most of the fruits of these great efforts and sacrifices were once more lost. Russia filled the place of the now crippled Poland. Soon after the promotion of Russia to the rank of a kingdom (1701), the growing hostility between Brandenburg and Austria had formed the political axis of Central Europe; at the conferences of Vienna in 1720 Frederick William I. was already termed the most dangerous enemy. Hardly any other state than Russia could be taken into consideration as an ally against the house of Hohenzollern. The first alliance between them, therefore, was concluded on August 6th, 1726. The advantage lay on the side of Austria. The Viennese diplomatists cautiously assumed no responsibility towards Turkey except for Russian possessions in Europe, and succeeded in strictly limiting their obligations to their ally, while the latter was pledged in general terms to afford assistance against the house of Brandenburg.

The assistance which Austria voluntarily extended to Russia on the question of the Polish succession was possibly of more value; later, too, the friendly attitude of Austria in Polish matters was highly useful to Russia. France, however, on the one hand avenged herself for the defeat of Lesczynski in the Polish election of 1733 by Augustus III. of Saxony, by declaring war on Austria, and by inciting to rebellion the electors of Mainz, Cologne, Bavaria and the Palatinate, and on the other hand by forcing Turkey into war against Russia. Urged by Austria, Russia in 1736 sent for the first time her armies to the West, and simultaneously, supported by Austria, began a war against the Porte, after she had by a treaty with Persia, given up the conquests of Peter. This common action

is the more noteworthy since from the language of the Russian and Austrian diplomatists in Niemirow it was clearly shown that both countries had Constantinople before their eyes as the ultimate goal. While, however, Russia fought victoriously against France in Poland, and also against Turkey, Austria was beaten on both fields of battle with considerable losses. In the peace of Belgrade of 1739, Charles VI. was forced to give back Belgrade and Orsova, with Serbia and Wallachia. Anna Ivanovna, however, won on the Black Sea a strip of country between the Bug and the Dniester. The influence of Austria henceforth steadily declines in the south, while Russian influence rises; the victories of Prince Eugene in the end only benefited Austria's neighbours.

It would seem as if fear of Prussia had crippled all the energies of Austria. The watchword of Austrian diplomacy was necessarily "Freedom from Prussia." A scheme for effecting this was soon prepared; it proposed the partition of Prussia. Sweden and France declared their readiness for it, and Russia was to be the main support. But on May 3rd., 1740, Frederic the Great mounted the throne of Prussia; on October 20th, the Emperor Charles VI. died, and by December Frederic was in possession of Silesia, having stolen a march on his enemies. Austria was defeated in two wars. In their terror, the Austrian diplomatists allied themselves still more closely with Russia in the new treaty of June 2nd, 1746. Attempts were made in every possible way to bring home to Russia the conviction that Prussia was dangerous to both parties. The advantage lay again on the side of Austria; Russia was pledged to send her sixty thousand auxiliaries should the position become critical. And it was only because Frederic had insulted the Empress Elizabeth by a disparaging remark that the latter had on her part a cause for fighting.

Notwithstanding that Russian armies several times defeated the Prussian king, as at Kunersdorf (August 12th, 1759) or his generals, the opinion gained ground in St. Petersburg that Russia was only picking the chestnuts out of the fire for Austria, and that nothing could be accomplished in Polish affairs without Prussia. The court of St. Petersburg was driven

**Russia
Becomes a
Kingdom**

**Frederic the
Great Insults
Elizabeth**

**France
At War with
Austria**

to this view by the Eastern policy of Austria. In the eighteenth century Austria possessed no statesman of first rank; even the much-lauded Kaunitz really accomplished nothing. Confusion and hollow phrases mark the style of the Austrian memoirs of that age.

Since the Congress of Niemirow and the peace of Belgrade envious glances had been turned on Russia. The mediocre diplomatists of Vienna thought that Russia would help to crush Prussia and rebuild the power of Austria in the West without interfering with Turkey in return. This absence of any definite plan wearied and exasperated the two northern courts. Not to mention Peter II., who was an unqualified admirer of Frederic, even the cool-headed Catharine II. came to an understanding with Frederic as to all the essential questions of the foreign policy of both countries in the "treaty for mutual defence" of April 1764.

France now, as in the year 1736, fanned a flame in the East, since she urged the Porte to a war against Russia with the intention of diverting the latter from Poland. Kaunitz probably had a hand in the matter; he was convinced that Russia was not in a position to offer resistance, and that he would thus cheaply get rid of the danger threatened from that quarter. But the very opposite result followed. Alexander Golizyn with thirty thousand men defeated the Grand Vizir Mohammed Emin with a hundred thousand men in 1769 at Chotin on the Dniester, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia; Peter Rumjanzov similarly with a few thousand troops defeated a hundred thousand Tartars on the Large, and then with seventeen thousand beat the Grand Vizir himself with a hundred and fifty thousand men on the Kaghul. Vasili Dolgoruki conquered almost the whole Crimea (1771), after Alexis Orlov on July 16th, 1770, had annihilated the Turkish fleet in the channel of Scio. Bessarabia, some part of Bulgaria, and a few islands of the Archipelago were conquered.

The panic at Constantinople knew no bounds. Even in the cabinet of Vienna the greatest bewilderment prevailed. Russia, it was feared, would conquer Turkey single-handed. The Prussians now were acceptable to Kaunitz, who, with the approval of Emperor Joseph II., paved

the way for an understanding with Frederic. He also concluded a secret treaty on July 7th, 1771, with Turkey, which was, however, repudiated by Maria Theresa. But he did not wish definitely to abandon the old alliance with Russia.

Frederic the Great began to feel anxious about the rapid growth of Russian power. A suitable pressure exerted at this fitting opportunity, when the Russian state, on account of Austria, was dependent on the friendly neutrality of Prussia, promised success; after the brilliant victories of the Russians he saw that some enlargement of his empire was a political necessity in order to preserve the balance of power. In Poland alone was there any possibility of acquiring some enclaves, which could be permanently incorporated with the body of the empire.

The Prussian king therefore asserted that he required some parts of it. A complete annexation of Poland, such as Peter I. had contemplated for his son Alexis, was abandoned by Catharine II. who had too great interests at stake in the south, and was compelled to satisfy the claims of her two other neighbours. Prussia made the proposal, Austria took Zips while waiting to arrange matters with the other courts, and Russia put the seal to it. Thus the first partition of Poland was arranged on August 5th, 1772. The lion's share, the rest of Livonia and White Russia (Witebsk, Mstislav, half Polock, and districts on the Dnieper), with 1,800,000 inhabitants fell to Russia.

Russia, after soothing the political conscience of Prussia and Austria, could now, strengthened by Polish territory, follow out her southern aims with greater energy. From this aspect we can understand the arrangement of her favourable treaty with the Porte, concluded on July 21st, 1774, at Kutchuk-Kainardje (near Silistria). Turkey was compelled to recognise the independence of the Tartars in the Kuban country, on the Bug, and in the Crimea. Russia received Azov on the Don, Kinburn on the Dniester, and all fortified places in the Crimea; besides that, the right of sailing in all Turkish waters and the protectorate over all Orthodox Christians in the East were secured to Russia. The severance of the Tartars from Turkey rendered it easier for Russia to subdue them, and the

**Brilliant
Victories of
Russia**

**Great Panic
in
Constantinople**

**Russia
Treats With
the Porte**

protectorate over the Orthodox Christians allowed her to interfere at any time in the political affairs of Turkey. By the first stipulation, the loss of the Black Sea for Turkey, and by the second, the loss of the Balkan countries, became nearer possibilities. Catharine would certainly have dictated harder terms had not her

attention been occupied by the rebellion of Jemeljan Pugatchef (1773-1774; executed January 11th, 1775).

But reasons of foreign policy imposed moderation upon her; the Austrian statesmen, who had themselves brought on the Eastern question, terrified at the unwelcome turn of events, sounded a loud alarm. In defiance of the principle of the inviolability of Turkey laid down by the Viennese cabinet, Austria induced the Porte to cede Bukowina to her in 1774, an act which could only at bottom be acceptable to the Russian statesmen. Austria reaped the fruits of this policy in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778 to 1779), in which she was driven out of Bavaria by Prussia and Russia. The young monarch, Joseph II. (1780-1790), after receiving these new blows, became wiser than his diplomatists; he sided with his Russian neighbour, since he would not or could not come to terms with Prussia; he guaranteed to Russia her Turkish conquests by the treaty concluded in the autumn of 1782, and confirmed the agreements as to Poland.

Russia meanwhile resolutely pushed on towards her goal. In March, 1779, the Porte was induced to complete the treaty of 1774 by the agreement of Ainali Kavak. In 1783, the Kuban and the Crimea were annexed by Russia, and thus the subjugation of the Turkish Khanates, which Ivan the Terrible had begun, was completed. Petersburg actually prepared a plan for the partition of Turkey, the

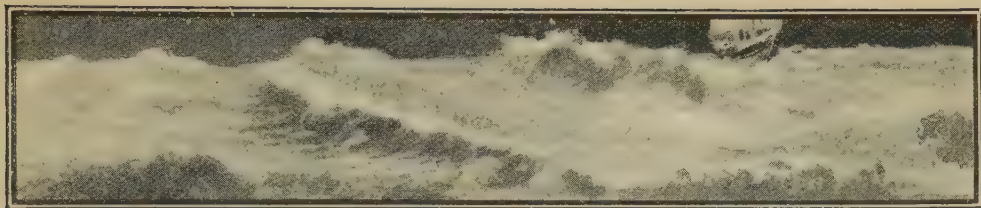
"Greek scheme" of September 10th, which Joseph II. sanctioned on November 13th, 1782. The Greek Empire was to be restored and the Grand Duke Constantine (born on May 8th, 1770) to be created emperor. The child was given a Greek nurse; he learned Greek, and was surrounded by Greeks. Potemkin's boastful inscription, "Road to Byzantium," belongs to this period. Turkey, in great disquietude, and encouraged by

Great Britain, Sweden (whose help was of little value) and Prussia, took the initiative in declaring war. The Russian commanders, Suvarof, Potemkin, Repnin, supported by Austrian generals, again won brilliant victories over the Turks. In the peace of Jassy (January 9th, 1792) Russia received merely Oczakov and the stretch of coast between the Bug and the Dniester; Russian influence over the Danubian principalities was secured.

This moderation was prescribed by reasons the same as, or similar to, those in the year 1771. Russia urged a further partition of Poland. The latter had after 1772 zealously reformed the educational and fiscal systems, raised the number of her troops to 100,000, and even abolished the liberum veto. The new constitution, which had been laboriously and judiciously elaborated by the Polish diet, was based on patriotic ideas and liberal notions. It was published on May 3rd, 1791, and held out the promise of a better future. If Russia and Prussia did not wish to suffer by this movement, they must nip it in the bud. The official pretext for intervention

was offered by the guarantee which they had given for the maintenance of the old constitution. In 1772 the powers had appropriated pieces of Poland on political grounds. Then followed in 1793 the second, and in 1795, after the insurrection under Kosciusko, the third, partition of Poland; in the latter Austria again participated, having just then (January 3rd, 1795) come to an understanding with Russia against Prussia. Only these two events properly deserve the name of partitions, since the three courts then actually contemplated erasing Poland from the map of Europe, while in 1772 it had only been a question of ceding several districts. The Polish diet, as in 1772, was compelled in 1793 also to approve the resolutions of the powers and to sign its own death-warrant. While Prussia and Austria, after numerous changes of ownership, took the central districts of old Poland, Cracow (and the old Russian principality of Halicz), Gnesen, Posen, and Polish Prussia, Russia, with the exception of Masovia (Warsaw), only occupied territories once belonging to old Russia. Catharine thus almost completed the "collection of Russia" which Ivan III. had begun.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BALTIC SEA AND THE NATIONS AROUND ITS SHORES

THE Mediterranean and the Baltic in Europe occupy an exceptional position among the secondary seas. The sea which the ancients regarded as placed in the centre of the world, and which they therefore called Mediterranean, displays for our admiration the architects of that civilisation which preceded Columbus, the representatives of an intellectualism which is imposing itself upon the whole of mankind. The Baltic Sea, again, though of smaller extent, and at the present day of no greater importance than any other secondary sea, at one time played a very similar part and exerted no small influence upon a considerable portion of Europe throughout the historical changes which took place in the countries which formed its shores. Hence the Baltic seems to deserve that special treatment which we have already devoted to the Mediterranean.

The Baltic's Historical Progress Within the last thirty years the geographical similarity between these two seas has often been pointed out, and with full justification. Both are true inland seas, which may be regarded as deep gulfs extending from the Atlantic Ocean far into the gigantic continental mass of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Mediterranean is 730,000 square miles in extent, the Baltic but little more than a seventh of that amount, namely, 111,408. The fact becomes highly important when we remember that the Mediterranean, notwithstanding its comparatively narrow area, was the sea of chief importance to the ancient world; in fact, almost the whole of the then known world was concentrated upon the length of its shores. The Baltic has never been able to claim so high a position. It has, indeed, its own cycle of historical progress and national development; but it is only one of many successive cycles, and one, too, considerably more remote. It must, moreover, be admitted that

the history of the Baltic cannot compare in uniformity with that of the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the fact that the smaller size of this sea seemed to favour concentration upon its shores. Only once—during the time of the Roman Empire—has its political uniformity found complete expression; on the other hand, attempts have often been made to unify the Mediterranean, in the colonisation of the Phoenicians and Greeks, in the establishment of the Pax Romana, in the triumphs of Christianity, and the advances of the Arabs—and these were attempts which reached the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

When Sweden Was a Great Power

In the case of the Baltic a modern attempt to secure complete political uniformity occurs only once, during the age when Sweden became a great power, though other peoples upon the coast, such as the Danes, Germans, Poles, and Russians, have aimed at the "dominion of the Baltic." Similarly, an economic and commercial uniformity has existed, not only during the prosperity of the Hanseatic League, but also again under the Swedish domination. At the present day it is possible to regard the Baltic as dominated by a German commercial system, as the business of the Russian and Polish interior is largely carried on by German firms; and in modern times Protestantism has retained its ground on every shore.

German System Dominating the Baltic Sea

Even St. Petersburg, the cosmopolitan capital, cannot influence this uniformity, as the Russian national spirit is rather repelled by than attracted to the capital on the Neva, and is, moreover, of small commercial influence. In Finland, the Swedish element of the population is largely concerned with commerce over seas, and the coasts overshadow the interior, both in economic progress and in their influence

upon civilisation as a whole. A material difference exists between the two seas, with regard both to their position and the direction which their civilisation followed. In the Mediterranean, civilisation advanced with comparative rapidity at an early date from east to west, supported as it was by similar geographical conditions on every coast. In

**Man Older
Than the
Baltic Sea**

the Baltic Sea, in conformity with its position running from south to north, the southern shores are mentioned by history far earlier than the northern, which were opened to Christianity and to European culture only at a later date. Though the geological changes which have characterised the Baltic were of no importance to the history of mankind, we do not mean to imply that man was not a conscious witness of their passage. Man was already living and hunting in Central Germany long before there was any Baltic Sea in the present sense of the word; recent discoveries seem to betoken an even wider distribution of man in the neighbouring districts. However this may be, it is likely that even as antediluvian man did not object to live permanently upon ice and glacier, so his descendants did not hesitate to follow the ice when it finally melted and retreated. Such progress was indeed imposed upon man by the fact that he depended for his hunting upon the fauna of the glacier, which he was obliged to follow until new climatic conditions opened to him a life of greater material convenience and comfort. This, however, must have been a process of such long continuance throughout the district of the retreating glaciers that the Baltic and the North Sea had time to fill their deepest recesses and to assume those general outlines which have since remained practically unchanged. As a matter of fact, certain experts upon the stone age of the north assert that the "kitchen-midden" people are not to be

**Traces of
Early
Inhabitants**

regarded as the first inhabitants of the shores of the western Baltic, but that the traces of an earlier race can be found which must have been more closely connected with the geological development of Northern Europe than those later architects of the mussel heaps can ever have been. We are therefore justified in saying that man has witnessed the formation of the Baltic. This sounds a great assertion, and seems to secure to this sea an

exceptional position among its sisters. The fact, however, is not so. Long before the connecting straits were broken through, men were living upon the rolling plains of South-eastern England; and even upon the shores of the oceans which go back to a remoter period mankind has witnessed changes which have exerted a deep influence upon the later distribution of humanity. The Baltic for a time certainly remained without influence upon the fate of its earliest settlers, for the momentous step of embarking upon the sea has been taken by humanity without exception at a late and comparatively advanced period of civilisation. If in the case of the Baltic we find it necessary to look back to prehistoric times we are therefore bound to give special reasons for our decision.

The historical importance of the sea is chiefly and most easily obvious to the eye of the spectator in so far as it evokes and consolidates certain anthropological, ethnographical, political, economic, and intellectual conditions, and in so far as its mere existence upon the surface of the earth diminishes the differences between near or

**Importance of
Large
Water Systems**

remote settlements of mankind. No single one of our larger water systems has failed to exert some such influence; even in the case of seas so sparsely inhabited as the Arctic Ocean, these results have been attained by centuries of search for the North-east and North-west Passages; in the absolutely uninhabited Antarctic Ocean the search for the "Terra australis incognita" has produced the same results. It may indeed be said that the final influence of these seas upon the formation of our modern territorial and economic relations has been far greater than that of many seas more favourably situated upon the habitable globe, and far deeper, for instance, than the influence of the Baltic, which has, however, a historical character of its own.

The special position of the Baltic is due to a point which falls outside the limits of those general considerations, and which for this reason, and also because its discovery is the work only of very recent years, has been neglected or disregarded by the ordinary historian. In the case of the Baltic, it is possible for us, using prehistoric and early historic discoveries, and utilising the sciences of comparative civilisation and comparative philology, to follow upon the shores of this sea a sharply

distinguished group of peoples almost to its birth, and to an earlier age than perhaps anywhere else in the world, with the possible exceptions of Mesopotamia and Egypt. These groups are Indo-Germanic or Indo-Keltic, or whatever other name may be chosen for this great ethnographical unity which in respect of language and civilisation is unmistakably identical, whatever differences may exist among the component members of the race. In the process of retracing these people to those remote times, generally known as prehistoric, there rises before the eyes of the modern historian, who no less than the ethnographer must deal with prehistoric facts, an ethnological unity, the foundations of which remain unshaken at the present day, though many of its numerous portions may require reconstruction.

As soon as the Baltic begins to influence the history of its inhabitants and neighbours, its special position and configuration make their effects felt as plainly as in all later times, notwithstanding the great modern improvements in means of communication. Comparison and contrast with the Mediterranean are immediately suggested. Both seas are unusually secluded from the outer ocean, and advance unusually far into the broad continent of the Old World, and to the common configuration of both seas Europe owes the fact that so many countries have been laid open to communication and well provided with coast line. At a very early period the Mediterranean facilitated contact and amalgamation between different races, and linked together spheres of civilisation which differed ethnographically and intellectually; the Baltic, on the other hand, was but a means of union between neighbours who were little more than tribes of the same race, and therefore stood upon a very similar intellectual plane. The presence of the Finns in the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia became a disturbing influence upon this unity; the Finns, however, were late in entering the circle of the Baltic people, and have, moreover, avoided its rivers more entirely than any branch of the Indo-Germanic family. Apart from the piratical Estonians and Livonians, who flourished comparatively late and were speedily crushed by the Germans and the Danes, no great maritime movement is discoverable among this

group of nations, who were predestined by their position to work by land rather than by sea.

Thus far the Baltic appears as the counterpart of the Mediterranean, with the difference that its population is more uniform, its position more northerly, and its historical force inferior. This similarity,

however, comes to an end so soon as we turn our gaze upon the economic conditions of the surrounding countries and the influence exerted by the sea upon their composition. The geographical position of the Mediterranean is characterised by the fact that its axis follow the degrees of latitude. In comparison with this axis, all other lines of extent are so short that the northern and southern shores are separated only by a few degrees at any one point. Consequently, the climate and the natural products of the Mediterranean district are everywhere characterised by a certain uniformity; the products of the various Mediterranean countries differ rather in quantity than in kind. The economic importance of the Mediterranean has been more strongly influenced by this uniformity than is commonly supposed; of native products there has been but little fetching or carrying on the Mediterranean; its importance rather consists in the fact that it gathered the products of foreign and often distant countries and distributed them equally over its breadth and other surrounding countries. To the Mediterranean there primarily belongs that unique uniformity of moral and intellectual progress, for which we justifiably employ the term "Mediterranean civilisation."

In the case of the Baltic, these conditions are largely, though not entirely, changed. The shorter axis of the Baltic is that which runs from west to east; none the less the eastern and western extremities of this sea differ remarkably in climate, in conformation, in the conditions of production and distribution. The western extremity is richly articulated, its climate is that of the ocean, and it leads to direct communication with western Europe while the eastern extremity bears the characteristics of the north-east of the European continent. The northern third of the Baltic is characterised by the scanty influence it has exerted upon the history of mankind; on the other hand, the configuration of the remaining two-thirds has resulted

Progress of Mediterranean Civilisation

Baltic and Mediterranean Contrasted

Different Climates on the Baltic

in an influence far greater. Superficially, this configuration appears to have little in common with that of the Mediterranean ; but if we disregard the exchange of commercial products, the only point in question before nations became politically active over seas, another similarity between the two seas becomes obvious. The

Varying Degrees of Civilisation

Mediterranean at every period has acted as a great collecting basin into which more has flowed from the East than has flowed out ; the eyes of the whole antique and mediæval world eagerly directed to this quarter are sufficient evidence of the fact. Eastward the Mediterranean need give but little to receive more.

Westward and northward the contrary was the case. In these directions there were to be found no peoples of a civilisation in some respects higher than that of the Mediterranean, as was the case in Mesopotamia, India, and China ; on that side existed only poverty-stricken tribes, which were regarded with scorn, as too far beneath the ideals of civilisation then prevalent. If upon occasion they were deemed worthy of commercial intercourse by no means insignificant, the fact was due merely to practical considerations ; in return for staple wares esteemed but little at the centre of civilisation, they gave those products of their Northern homes which were indispensable to satisfy the luxurious wants of the sunny South ; these were tin and amber. The general picture therefore appears as follows: From the south-east to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Syrian passes, came a strong influx of expensive wares indispensable to refined civilisation—silks, aromatic spices, etc. ; there is a weaker but well-marked flow of Mediterranean products northward and a vast consumption of such products in the great basin of the Mediterranean itself. The Baltic never had the character of a collecting basin in any

The Baltic as a Line of Passage

high degree ; it has always been, and remains at the present day, a line of passage. In other respects its circumstances resemble those of the Mediterranean, with the exception that the lines of exit and entrance diverge by some ninety degrees. The North Sea and the strait on which lie Hamburg and Lübeck serve as the line of entrance, as also at times do the three straits leading to the Skagerrak ; from this direction the most valuable articles of commerce

have reached the south Baltic, which alone can be regarded as an independent centre of civilisation ; this process has continued from neolithic times—in which, as is evidenced by the dolmens and stone burial places, a civilisation connected with ancestor worship extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the western Baltic territories—down to the Hanseatic and modern periods, which have always given and continue to give a larger amount of manufactured articles to these Baltic shores than they receive in the way of raw material. The district of exportation is the whole of the north-east. It is not until later centuries that it can be shown to have assumed this character, which then became strong enough to influence the whole commercial and economic history of central and western Europe. Its importance, however, was secured, not by tin or amber, but by boundless woods which afforded admirable timber for shipbuilding, and vast supplies of corn, which then fed the industrial districts of western Europe, and especially of Flanders. These goods still form

German Tribes in a State of Nature

the staple exports of those districts. The chief reason for the fact that the north-east part of the Baltic became of importance to international communication at so late a date is to be found in the slow development which north European civilisation pursued. The original Germanic tribes were for many thousands of years living in a state of nature ; they were dependent upon the gifts of nature to a greater extent than almost any uncivilised people in their position. In considering the part played by the Baltic in the development of the settlers upon its shores, it is obviously permissible for these reasons to regard that part, up to a certain date, as coincident with the influence exerted by the sea in general upon the life of primeval humanity.

That influence is wonderfully slight. For the majority of inferior races, it is practically non-existent, and in the case of others it does not extend beyond the occasional practice of shore fishing for purposes of food or beyond coast navigation for a similar object ; the sea becomes a means of intercommunication and a modifying influence only for a very small number of peoples living in favourably situated islands or upon broken coasts, such as the Malay Polynesians, the North-

west Americans, and Eskimo. Such influence was exerted by the Baltic at the end of the first millennium A.D. only upon the adjacent parts of the extreme west of Europe, where civilisation was more advanced; for the remaining time and over its larger eastern portion, the importance of the Baltic varies, though it never becomes an influence of direct importance to the inhabitants of these shores. As we have already observed we can pursue their history in an unbroken course to the "midden mounds" of the early Neolithic Age. Neither the sea nor its shores were of any great importance to them; no evidence has yet been found to prove the existence of the simplest methods of navigation in those early times.

During the later period of this long era, and above all in the Bronze Age, the case is entirely changed. The distribution of great megalithic buildings shows that during the early period maritime communication was continued with the Mediterranean round the west coasts of Europe. During the Bronze Age, the Hällristningar, the rock carvings in the southern frontier

**Scandinavians
in the
Bronze Age**

provinces of Norway and Sweden, with their numerous pictures of strongly manned warships, sea-fights, and other warlike enterprises, prove that the old Scandinavians were mariners almost as bold and confident as their successors the Vikings and shared their art of boat-building. In view of this close acquaintanceship with the sea, we cannot be surprised at the uniformity of the civilisation which during the whole metallic age prevailed throughout the coast lands of the southern and central Baltic; navigation proved to be the best means of equalising contrasts and differences in the native civilisation, and also of distributing rapidly and equably throughout the districts those material and intellectual importations which arrived in such number from the South and the Mediterranean.

The close connection between the European North and the Mediterranean South is one of the remarkable facts in the early history of our continent, while its illustration is one of the greatest achievements of northern archæologists. This connection was maintained by the most different routes, from the Adriatic Sea, down the Elbe and the Oder, along the Danube, and from the Black Sea

westward through Russia; all these were paths converging directly upon the southern Baltic. These facts cannot be due to chance, and we shall certainly not be wrong in assuming the true cause to exist in the civilising influence of the Baltic itself. This influence was inadequate to create unaided a special and isolated

**Talented
Northern
Peoples**

civilisation, such as characterises the Mediterranean; the arctic position, the small size, and the sparse population of the Baltic region militated against such a possibility; but when once connection had been made with the more complex civilisation of the south, the talented northern races were fully capable, not only of assimilating foreign importations, but also of adding to them new forms, which in many cases were nobler and more beautiful. Thus the Mediterranean and the Baltic stand connected in the history of the world. From the south, which was itself influenced by the east, civilisation advanced to the north, whereupon the Baltic, though exercising no creative power, continued to disseminate and unify that civilisation.

The connected history of the Baltic begins at a time when the interchange of commercial products was more often effected by force than by peaceful trade. As yet no great political heroes advance into the dawning light of history; we can observe only the representatives of considerable bodies of seafarers, whose ambition sent them forth upon bold voyages in small boats, to plunder foreign coasts. Gradually these piratical raids became more deliberate undertakings for the foundation of settlements and supremacy. The Vikings, the "men of the creeks," founded a kingdom in Russia in the ninth century under the Slavs, and in the tenth wrested Normandy from the Franks; they soon entered the Mediterranean and settled in Italy. They came forth from every part

**The Vikings
Enter the
Mediterranean**

of Scandinavia, including the islands in Jutland; the Rhos, who founded the kingdom of Novgorod came from Sveoland; others from Norway and Denmark; all were heathen and enemies to the people of European civilisation. They advanced from the Volkhov and Dwina to the Dnieper, thence into the Black Sea and extorted gold and manufactured articles from the Byzantines. They raised their dragon standard on the Volga and spread

the terror of their name to the Caspian Sea. At the same time a peaceful commerce grew up between Upper Asia and Germany by way of Kiev; thus even in England, traces are to be found of a commerce which was largely in the hands of the Arabians; Kufish coins were then current from the Black and Caspian Seas to the shores of the Baltic and to England. This commerce was destroyed by domestic confusion in Russia, by struggle between the Russian princes and also between the Slavic and Finnish tribes.

The Baltic, which sent its amber by various routes to the south, also attracted Oriental wares by other routes. The necessity was soon recognised of effecting a union among the Baltic coast lands. In the eleventh century the Danes first raised the claim of political supremacy over the coasts of the Baltic instead of making their name feared by piratical raids. Gorm the Old was prevented by Henry the Fowler from carrying out similar intentions, and the Mark of Schleswig was secured against Danish influence (934). Canute the Great (1014-1035) appeared capable of gaining that supremacy for his nation; he united England and Norway with Denmark, secured the Mark of Schleswig by an alliance with the Emperor Conrad II., wrested Pomerania from the Polish League, and extended his conquests to Samland. These great successes were to be immortalised by the conversion of this people to Christianity.

If the empire had remained in the hands of the Franconians and southern Germans, the Danish supremacy might have endured for a long period. Fortunately for the future of Germany, a Saxon, Lothar of Supplinburg, was elected emperor in 1125. The Emperor Lothar and after him the great duke, Henry the Lion, recognised the wide danger implied by the Danish advance and began measures of defence. They entered upon the struggle with their Scandinavian neighbours, in full consciousness of the political importance which the entrance to the Baltic implied to the German nationality. To secure the victory, all that was necessary was to burst through the barrier of Slav peoples which had settled on the shores of the Baltic up to the period of the great migrations and separated the Germans from their harbours.

The Days of Danish Supremacy

Concerning Jomsburg, Vineta, and the great Wendish commercial towns, we have only legendary narratives; history must confine itself to the statement that the maritime traffic of the Slavs upon the Baltic in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was of first-rate importance.

From an early period Wisby, in Gothland, was the central point of the Baltic commerce. The old town laws contained the following clause: "Let it be known that as the people of many countries have gathered in Gothland, peace is hereby assured . . . whoever comes to the coast is to enjoy the peace that has been sworn." Soon afterwards a German community was formed in Wisby by the side of the Gothlanders. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century the Germans crossed into Russia and appeared together with the Goths in Slavonic Novgorod. At the close of the century a German court existed in that town, on the Volkhov.

Together with Novgorod, Polock and Smolensk were in commercial relations with Gothland from an early time, and with the Germans there, communications being carried on by way of the Dwina. In 1201 Riga was founded from Wisby, and this became the second German town on the Baltic; from Lübeck, the first German port, the citizens of the Westphalian towns, Seost, Münster, and Dortmund, travelled to Riga, by way of Gothland, in order to found a German civic community enjoying "the rights of the Germans in Wisby." The connection between Lübeck, Wisby, and Riga formed the chief link in that chain which was joined at a later period by other Wendish and Prussian towns.

The Danes were forced to retreat before these successes. The fall of Henry the Lion in 1181 and the resulting revolt of the Danes under Waldemar I. and Knut VI., as the overlords of the Baltic Wends, proved to be of no permanent importance. It seemed, indeed, that Waldemar II. (1202-1241) might be able to extend and permanently to secure these acquisitions. The Baltic coasts were subjected to Danish supremacy in a wide curve to the south-west, from Gothland to Pomerania. Hence, Waldemar advanced to the island of Ösel at the mouth of the Gulf of Riga in 1206; but the attempts at conquest and at conversion to Christianity were alike failures. He sent forth two bishops

to Riga to inquire into the state of affairs, and would have been glad to wrest the town from the Germans. In the year 1210 he appeared in Pomerellen; the duke Mestwyn did homage to him, and he entertained designs upon Smaland. Seven years later, in 1217, Count Albert of Holstein, a vassal of Waldemar, founded a colony in Livonia and would have resumed the attack upon Ösel had he not been hindered by a thaw. In 1219 the king appeared in person, and occupied the Esthonian fortress of Lindanyssa; this was destroyed and the town of Reval was built upon the site. In the next year Waldemar again sailed to Reval. On this occasion he turned his attention to the more southerly Livonia, which had been conquered and converted to Christianity by the Germans. He immediately closed the harbour of Lübeck, to prevent any further increase of the German colony.

The year 1222 marks the zenith of Danish supremacy in the east, and the greater part of Esthonia then did homage to the Danebrog. On May 7th, 1223, the whole of this mighty edifice collapsed. King Waldemar II. was taken

**Zenith of
Danish
Supremacy**

prisoner in Fünen by his vassal, Count Henry of Schwerin; and Count Albert of Holstein also fell into the hands of the Germans. The harbour of Lübeck was reopened and counter influences made themselves felt throughout the Baltic coasts. Upon his release from imprisonment Waldemar again tried the fortune of war, but by his defeat at Bornhöved on July 22nd, 1227, the dominion of the Baltic was wrested for ever from the Danes. Waldemar surrendered Nordalbingia and the South Baltic coasts. Northern Esthonia was already conquered by the Germans, and its return to the diminished Denmark was only due to the intervention of the Pope in 1238.

About the middle of the fourteenth century a struggle again broke out between the Germans and the Danes for the predominance in the Baltic, and then it was that the union of the Wendish towns first became the great alliance of the Hansa. Under King Eric Menved (1286-1319) Denmark's supremacy had again been extended to the southern shores of the Baltic, though in a short time it was driven back by the German princes. When Waldemar Atterdag ascended the throne of Denmark in 1340, her power began to

rise again. The lost portions of the empire were recovered with the exception of Esthonia, the masters of which were chiefly German knights and citizens. Waldemar sold this province to the Teutonic knights in 1346. The main territories of Denmark were united and the kingdom recovered the power which it had formerly possessed

**The Famous
Federation
of Cologne**

under Gorm the Old, and appeared a serious menace to the Germans. In order to secure his power permanently Waldemar wrested the most valuable link from the chain of the Hanseatic towns. Wisby, which remained the staple market of Novgorod, and which for a long time rivalled Lübeck, was suddenly captured in 1361 by the Danish king, who had a short time previously recovered Schonen, with the Hanseatic towns of Bitten, Halland, and Blekinge. This event led to a firm alliance between the Hansa and the famous federation of Cologne in 1367; the towns from Flanders to Esthonia were united in a great military confederacy. Princes who were hostile to Denmark joined the League, and the proud Waldemar succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Germans. He abandoned his kingdom, and commissioned the Danish parliament to conclude peace. The towns opened negotiations in 1370 at Stralsund, and secured important commercial and political privileges; the prince concluded negotiations at Stockholm in 1371.

Only now does the Hansa appear as an independent political power on the Baltic; though internal dissensions decreased its efficiency, yet in its dealings with the outer world, under the leadership of Lübeck, it constituted a national power which did not collapse until Poland became supreme in the north. At an earlier period the Hansa had already suffered infringements of their rights. The trading privileges of the German merchants, the maintenance of which they regarded as their special duty, had been disputed upon occasion in the north-west and east; in Scandinavia the union of Kalmar paved the way for a federation of native merchants, while the Prussian towns had introduced Scottish and English traders into the Baltic. But the chief menace to the powers of the federation was the growing force of the Slav nationality. The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia had excluded the Russians and

**Scots and
English
on the Baltic**

Poles from the Baltic. In 1402 the knights bought the New Mark, and thus impeded Polish access to the coast of Pomerania; but in 1410 the Poles, in alliance with Asiatic hordes of Tartars, defeated 200 Prussian knights on the battlefield of Tannenberg, and the territory of the Order would have fallen into the hands of the Polish

East Prussia inhabitants of the interior
Becomes a had not the Livonian master,
Polish Fief Conrad of Vitinghove, sent his marshal to Prussia with

a strong force, which, with the help of German mercenaries, secured the peace of Thorn. Fifty years later, in 1466, in a second peace of Thorn, West Prussia and Danzig became Polish, while East Prussia was made a Polish fief. The white eagle replaced the black cross, and the Polish flag became important on the Baltic. In the year 1494 the Petershof in Novgorod was destroyed by Russia, which had been united under Ivan III. The Russian traders advanced to the Hanseatic towns of Livonia. The result was jealousy between these towns and the other members of the federation, as the former began to make the inland trade a monopoly of their own.

For another half-century the Slavs on the Livonian coast were held back, but without foreign help "the bulwark of Christianity" was too weak to make permanent headway against the onslaught from the east. Denmark and Sweden were divided by dissension. Gustavus Vasa destroyed the union of the Scandinavian powers, introduced the Reformation into Sweden and Finland, and prepared for the conquest of Esthonia, which was also Protestant, an enterprise concluded by his son, Eric XIV., in 1561. Livonia, however, was left to the Poles, who secured the whole seaboard from Pomerania to Danzig after the retirement of Russia; about the same time, 1562, Courland also came under Polish supremacy. This position

Poland the on the Baltic made Poland the
Principal principal northern power. With
Power strong bases at Cracow, Danzig, and Riga, extending between the Black and the Baltic Seas, Poland played a considerable part in western history, and attained a measure of scientific and artistic reputation, supported by her close connection with Rome and Italy. Sweden and Russia were unable to make head against this great power. The defects of the Polish kingdom,

were apart from her internal dissensions, very well known to her contemporaries. She required a fleet to secure the dominion of the Baltic. In the election capitulations a fleet was demanded from the kings, but the jealousy of the Polish Slachta, which had been long growing, prevented the imposition of the taxes which would have sufficed for so great a task. Adherence to the Catholic reaction against Protestantism, in addition to the want of a fleet, undermined the position of Poland, and in the course of one generation this monarchical republic began to totter to its fall.

When the great European wars of religion broke out, the Swedish Protestant king, Gustavus Adolphus II., invaded Livonia, forced Riga to capitulate in 1621, and defeated the imperial power in Germany in 1631. In another generation it was difficult to conceive that any other power except Sweden had possessed any permanent prestige or influence in the north of the continent.

The Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great, advanced from the east upon the Baltic coast. He wished, as he said, to have at least one window through which the Russians could look out upon Europe. Charles XI. and Charles XII. of Sweden accelerated the fall of their empire by their selfishness and stupidity. The Northern War, which was not inevitable, was badly conducted, and ended in the loss of Stettin with part of Nearer Pomerania in 1720, of Riga with Livonia, and of Reval with Esthonia (in the peace of Nystad, 1721). By his bold foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703 upon Swedish territory, which had not yet been ceded, Peter the Great built a bridge for his nation to the west.

The dominion of the Baltic which Poland and Sweden had attempted to exercise had disappeared after long struggles, and was never secured by Russia. It may indeed be said that the small country of Denmark, through her possession of the entrance to the Baltic and the extent of her maritime commerce, was a greater influence in Baltic navigation than the tsar's kingdom—at any rate, until the Sound tolls were removed in 1857. Since that date, the preponderance of naval force in the Baltic has passed to Germany.

KARL WEULE
JOSEPH GIRGENSOHN



EUROPE: THIRD DIVISION WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**From the Sundering of the Roman
Empire to the eve of the Reformation**

The first stage in the general treatment of Europe allowed us to treat so much of the continent as was known to the Romans, down to the final division of their empire. From that point it became necessary to introduce a geographical division between East and West for a period terminating about the time of the French Revolution.

Eastern Europe during that period has formed a single division. The greater diversity and the multiplication of detail in the history of Western Europe requires us to give the period two divisions—mediæval and post mediæval. The first brings us down to the beginning of the sixteenth century—the times immediately preceding the Reformation.

In it we shall trace the expansion of the Teutonic wave over the whole area, and its partial recession, leaving a Latinised portion and a Germanised portion. We shall see the development of the dual conceptions of Emperor and Pope as temporal and spiritual heads of Western Christendom, often in sharp rivalry; and the development of nationalities outside the empire: among the Latins, French and Spanish; among the Teutons, Scandinavian and Britannic.

We shall see also the collision between the Cross and the Crescent expressed in the Crusades. Finally we shall see the development of the new conceptions, intellectual, religious, and economic, which evolved modern out of mediæval Europe; and shall survey the fundamental characteristics of the social and political structure which was passing away.



GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD
By **Dr. Thomas Hodgkin**

THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE
By **Professor Eduard Heyck**

THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS

ITALY—THE FRANKISH DOMINION—THE EMPIRE OF
CHARLEMAGNE—THE BRITISH ISLES—THE SPANISH
PENINSULA—THE CHURCH IN THE WEST—SCANDINAVIA

By

**Dr. H. F. Helmolt, H. W. C. Davis, Professor
Heyck, Dr. Mahrenholtz, Dr. H. Schurtz,
Professor Walther, and Dr. Hans Schjöth**

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONS

THE GERMANIC EMPIRE—GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE
EAST—THE PAPACY—FRANCE—THE BRITISH ISLES—ITALY
—SPAIN—THE CRUSADES—INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE—
THE RENAISSANCE

By

**Dr. Armin Tille, H. W. C. Davis, A. D. Innes,
Professor Mayr, Dr. Clemens Klein, and others**

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIAEVAL WORLD
By **W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.**





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE THIRD DIVISION OF EUROPE

In the above map the third division of Europe, which treats of the whole western part of the Continent from the sundering of the Roman Empire down to the eve of the Reformation, is illustrated. The map is at once historical, geographical and ethnological, since it shows the territorial disposition of the land within the period mentioned as well as the cradles of the various races whose movements throughout that period constitute so large a part of its history. The shaded portion of the map on the right indicates the western extremity of that part of Europe whose history down to the time of the French Revolution has already been fully dealt with in the preceding division of Europe.

WESTERN EUROPE IN



THE MIDDLE AGES GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

THE MOULDING OF THE NATIONS AND THE TIME OF THE NORTHMEN

IN the year 500 the leading states of

Western Europe were those which had been founded by the two branches of the great Gothic nation, itself in many respects the most civilised and cultured of all the barbarian tribes that had built their homes amid the ruins of the Roman Empire. The West Goths, or Visigoths,

**The Wisest
King of the
Barbarians**

under their king, Alaric II., seventh in succession from his namesake, the ravager of Rome, occupied about three-quarters of the Spanish Peninsula and the whole of that beautiful region of Gaul which was known as Aquitaine, and which lay south and west of the broad sickle of the Loire. The East Goths, or Ostrogoths, ruled Italy and Sicily as well as Germany up to the frontier of the Danube. Their king, Theoderic, was in many respects the wisest, strongest, and most enlightened of all the barbarian rulers, and honestly strove to blend as much as possible the culture of the old Greek and Roman world with the rough strength and energy of his Gothic countrymen.

Other Teutonic states were those of the Burgundians in the valley of the Rhone, of the Vandals along the northern coast of Africa, and of the Suevi in the region which is now called Portugal.

All of these kingdoms were drawn together, not only by a consciousness of kindred origin, but also by the profession of the same creed, for all had been converted to Christianity; but all were Christians of the Arian type, refusing to

accept the statement contained in the creed of Nicæa as to the co-equal divinity of Christ with His Father.

One Teutonic nationality, destined to be the mightiest of all, remains to be noticed. Along the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse, in the flat expanses of Champagne and Lorraine, and on the left bank of the Middle Rhine, clustered the two great divisions of the Frankish nation, the Salian and Ripuarian Franks. These fierce wielders of the battle-axe remained heathen long after most of their fellow-Teutons had accepted the message of Christianity; but, four years before our story begins, their brisk young king, Chlodwig, or Clovis, embraced the faith of his Christian wife, Clotilde, and at his bidding the majority of his subjects embraced it likewise. A fact of immense importance for the future history of Gaul and of Europe was that the Christianity which won his allegiance was not of the Arian, but of the Trinitarian or Catholic type. This secured for him the hearty

**Expansion
of the Frankish
Kingdom** goodwill of the Catholic clergy and through them of the subject Romanised population throughout the whole of Western Europe, and was doubtless one cause of the rapid extension of the Frankish kingdom. In the year 507, with the words, "I cannot endure that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul," he challenged the Visigothic king to battle, and defeated and slew him on the plains of Poitiers. The Visigothic monarchy

lived on for a few centuries longer, south of the Pyrenees, and even extended its borders in 587 by the conquest of the Suevi, but, save for a narrow strip of territory, called Septimania, on the west coast of the Gulf of Lyons, its grasp on Gaul was gone.

Clovis died, a middle-aged man, in the year 511, but his sons continued his policy

**Clovis I.
and His
Successors**

of profitable religious warfare, and after some campaigns, conducted with varying success, finally added the fruitful provinces of Burgundy to the Frankish kingdom, which now included the whole of modern France—save for the little strip of Septimanian territory—and also the Netherlands, the Rhinelands, and an indefinable extent of country beyond the Rhine. It was certainly in the six hundreds and seven hundreds (seventh and eighth centuries) the most powerful of all the barbarian kingdoms, but was weakened by the perpetual, and, to a historian, most irritating, partitions of the empire between the always jealous and often actively hostile members of the royal family—surnamed Merovingian, from Merovech, the fabled son of a sea-god and grandfather of Clovis.

Another source of weakness was the rapid demoralisation of the kings, whose constitutions were ruined by sensual indulgence and who generally died before middle life worn out by their vices. Thus, then, before the middle of the five hundreds two of the Arian kingdoms, the Burgundian and the Suevic, had been overthrown, and a third, the Visigothic, had been shorn of much of its strength. And before the five hundreds had run their course it, too, was lost to the Arian cause, not by conquest, but by conversion. In 587, Recared, the Visigothic king, who is believed by some to have been the first promulgator of the so-called Athanasian Creed, formally renounced Arianism, and the vast majority of his subjects followed his example. While these events

**Rome a
Crippled
Empire**

were happening in the west, the cause of Teutonic Arianism in Italy was sustaining deadly blows at the hands of an antagonist whom it had too lightly valued, the by no means effete though crippled Roman Empire. The wise and statesmanlike Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, died in 526, his last years having been clouded by rumours of conspiracy and sedition which had seduced him, naturally one of the most tolerant

of rulers, into persecution of his Catholic subjects. A minority and a female regency followed. Theoderic's daughter, Amalasuntha, lost the love of her Gothic warriors by her unwise following of Roman fashions; her son, the lad Athalaric, died of the excesses which followed on his liberation from her maternal strictness. The whole fair fabric of Italo-Gothic prosperity was shaken, but might perhaps yet have endured for generations had not the sceptre of the Byzantine Cæsars been swayed at this time by one of the most extraordinary of its possessors.

The story of the reign of Justinian (527–565), belonging to the Eastern empire, has been told in another volume. All that needs to be said here is that by his brave and skilful general, Belisarius, he first overthrew the Vandal monarchy in Africa (533–535), and then successfully assaulted the Ostrogothic dominion in Italy. This last enterprise proved a far harder task than he had anticipated. Rome was taken and re-taken three times; once for the space of forty days she lay absolutely empty of inhabitants. The

**The Ostrogoths
Disappear
From History**

struggle lasted sixteen years, and wore out the noble heart of Belisarius, who died, if not in poverty, in some measure of disgrace. But the stubborn patience of Justinian was at last rewarded with success. By the victory which his old wrinkled eunuch general, Narses, won amid the passes of the Apennines over the gallant young King Totila the last hope of the Ostrogoths was crushed. The remnant of that nation cleared out of Italy in 553, recrossed the Alps, and disappeared from history.

Thus, then, by the middle of the five hundreds, or soon after, the whole of that powerful combination of peoples which had upheld the standard of Teutonic Arianism was dissolved. Some were exterminated, others were converted, and Catholicism was the religion of all, whether victors or vanquished. Let it not be thought that this was a matter of which only Church historians need take notice. Apart from all questions of theological soundness or unsoundness, the mere fact that the whole commonwealth of Western European nations professed the same creed and took their spiritual word of command from the Bishop of Rome exercised an enormous influence on the course of political history and national

development from the downfall of the Arian kingdoms to the Reformation.

What made this extension of the spiritual sway of Rome more memorable was the splendid success of the missionary operations of the greatest of Roman Pontiffs, Gregory I. (590–604). According to the well-known story, the sight of some handsome Anglian lads exposed for sale in the Forum caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to the then almost forgotten and unknown island of Britain. Although Christianity of a somewhat different type retained its hold on the Keltic population, and might

a strain of nobleness in his blood. Laymen and churchmen alike did more than lip-service to their new creed, and a man such as Bede, who was barely two generations removed from heathenism—he was born about 670—has won the abiding veneration of posterity both as saint and scholar.

The seven hundreds witnessed a melancholy decline in every department of Anglo-Saxon life. Murders of kings abounded, scholars were scarce, the monasteries became the haunts of the dissolute and the idle; but side by side with this decay of religious life at home



THE GREAT POPE GREGORY AND THE "ANGELS"

Gregory I., the greatest of all Roman Pontiffs, made his spiritual sway memorable by the splendid success of his missionary operations. Seeing some handsome youths exposed for sale in the Forum, he asked whence they came, and on being told they were Anglians, he replied, "Non Angli sed angeli"—not Anglians but angels. The sight of these touched his compassionate heart, and caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to Britain, at that time an almost unknown island. But it was not until 686 that the process of conversion was finally completed.

From the painting by Kelley Halswelle, R.I.

even be said to flourish in Ireland and in the Hebrides, the conversion of our stubborn Anglo-Saxon forefathers was not altogether an easy process, and, in fact, was not finally accomplished till the year 686, nearly a century after the landing of Augustine.

This century, however, during which the struggle between Christianity and Paganism was still going forward, was the heroic age of the Anglo-Saxon nation. Noble Christian kings, such as Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, led their people upwards in the path of civilisation. Even the obstinate pagan Penda was not without

there was a marvellous display of missionary energy abroad.

Wilfrid, Willibrord, Boniface, moved up and down through Friesland, Hesse and Franconia, destroying idols and converting their worshippers. They were thus preparing the way for the addition of these regions beyond the Rhine to the vast Frankish empire. It is hardly too much to say that Germany owes both her Christianity and her civilisation to the labours of Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

From the statement previously made as to the unity of religious belief in Western Europe, two notable exceptions

must, for a time, be made. They were caused by the arrival of the Lombards in Italy and of the Moors in Spain.

Only fifteen years after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Italy, the Lombards under their ruthless leader Alboin arrived in the peninsula (568). An uncouth and barbarous people, they were for generations a miserable substitute for the almost cultured Ostrogoths, and their religion, if they had any, was either Arian Christianity or absolute heathenism. Gregory the Great, even while he was planning his campaigns of spiritual conquest, was living, as he bitterly complained, "between the swords of the Lombards," and the fierce enmity between the papacy and the Lombard kings was not appeased even by the conversion of the latter to Catholic Christianity, which was effected in a half-hearted, desultory way about a century after their entry into Italy. In fact, the relations between king and pope at this period of the world's history bore a strong resemblance to those between their modern Italian representatives.

The conquest of Italy by the Lombards was only partial. From their capital at Pavia they ruled the greater part of the valley of the Po. Tuscany was theirs, and most of the country on the flanks of the Apennines, divided into the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. But the city of Naples, the toe and heel of Italy, the island of Sicily, and—in the north-east corner of the land—the all but impregnable city of Ravenna, still owed allegiance to the emperor, whose representative, called the Exarch (generally a Byzantine courtier), ruled all imperial Italy from Ravenna as his capital. Rome was, of course, also nominally imperial; but all through these centuries the Popes, who had many a theological battle with the Eastern emperor, were showing an increasing tendency to make

Venice Rising in Power Rome their own subject city, and to rule it independently of Constantinople. During the same period the little city, or group of cities, amid the mud-banks of the Adriatic, which was afterwards to be known as Venice, was quietly increasing in wealth and power, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay and professing unbounded loyalty to the distant Byzantine emperor. Visigothic and Catholic Spain

underwent in the six hundred years a process of rapid decay. It was governed by kings, none of whom was able to found an abiding dynasty; by national councils, in which the power of the bishops, which directed the forces of the state chiefly to the persecution of Jews and heretics, predominated, and by nobles rich and turbulent, but destitute of loyal devotion to their country. The old Romanised population, of whom we hear but little, was probably oppressed and down-trodden. Thus, when, in 711, the Saracen conquerors of Africa—who are generally styled Moors, though by no means all of Mauretanian descent—crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and challenged Roderic, the king of the Goths, to a fight, one obstinately-contested battle—that of Xeres de la Frontera—overthrew the whole rotten fabric of the Visigothic state. Save for a few resolute spirits who, under their king, Pelayo, kept the standard of the Cross flying on the mountains of Asturias, all Spain was Moorish and Mussulman. Nor did the wave of Saracen conquest stop with the Pyrenees. It

Great Wave of Saracen Conquest flowed over into Gaul, and for a time seemed likely to add that country also to the empire of the caliphs. Fortunately for Europe, Charles Martel, the virtual ruler of the Franks, proved equal to the occasion, and in the desperately hard-fought battle of Poitiers—about seven miles from the modern city, often, but incorrectly, called the battle of Tours—defeated the Saracenic emir, Abd-er-Kahman, and saved Europe from the Moslem yoke. It is worthy of notice that this battle—emphatically one of the decisive battles of the world—was fought in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Mahomet, "Prophet of God." So far in one century had the fierce faith of the sons of the desert carried them; but so far, and no further, did the great wave roll.

We have called Charles Martel "the virtual ruler of the Franks," for that, and not crowned king, was still the position of the members of the Arnulfing family, of which he was the head. For more than a century the kings of the Merovingian line had been sinking into a state of fatuous decline. Young men, for the most part ruined by dissipation, and seldom surviving their thirtieth year, they had allowed the reins of government to slip from their nerveless hands into the



THE RETURN OF THE VIKINGS FROM AN OVERSEAS EXPEDITION

From the eighth until the eleventh century the Vikings ravaged the coasts of Europe, but at an even earlier period—as early as the seventh century—these hardy Norsemen visited the Western Isles of Scotland. They conquered the north of Ireland in 840, and in 852 formed a Norse kingdom in Dublin which lasted for three centuries.

Specially drawn for this work by W. Edward Wigfull

strong grasp of the chief minister, who was called Mayor of the Palace; and for three generations this fortunate manager of the royal business had been chosen from the same family, the descendants of the sainted Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.

Charles Martel, the greatest man whom the family had yet produced, and made incomparably greater by his deliverance of Europe from the infidel, died in 741, having never formally assumed the regal title, though he allowed himself for the last four years of his life the luxury of ruling without a phantom master. His sons, Carloman and Pippin, from motives of policy, thought proper to repeat the old comedy, and, drawing forth a descendant of Clovis from his seclusion, ordered him to reign as Childeric III. Before long, however, Carloman himself retired into a monastery, and Pippin, sole mayor of the palace, feeling his position now secure, addressed to Pope Zacharias the suggestive question whether it was better that the man who had all the power of a king or he, who had only the show of sovereignty, should reign? The Pope gave the answer which the wording of the question evidently implied, and, with his high sanction, Pippin was crowned and anointed king by the hands of Boniface, the missionary Bishop of Germany, about the year 751.

The Frankish king was soon able to show his gratitude by important services to his papal benefactor. In the year 752 the king of the Lombards took the long impregnable Ravenna, and the dominion of the eastern emperor in the north of Italy came to an end. The triumphant Lombards pressed on towards Rome, and it seemed as if that imperial city itself would fall into their hands. Sorely pressed, Pope Stephen II., the successor of Zacharias, uttered plaintive appeals to Pippin for help, and even crossed the Alps in the depth of winter to urge his piteous case, and to gratify his patron by a second and solemn coronation. In two successive campaigns—755 and 756—Pippin vanquished the Lombard king, and compelled him to surrender the territories which he had conquered from the empire—known as the Exarchate and Pentapolis—to the Bishop of Rome. Thus was laid the foundation of that temporal power of the Popes, which, through all the Middle Ages, wrote the title "States of the

Church" on a large block of territory in Central and Northern Italy, and which, in fact, was only in the middle of last century shattered by the united arms of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel.

When Pippin died, in 768, his two sons, Charles and Carloman, succeeded without opposition to his royal inheritance. Carloman soon died, and Charles began that career of conquest and imperial organisation which has deservedly won for him the surname of Great, and has caused him to figure in countless poems of romance as the hero Charlemagne. In the first six years of his reign he conquered the Lombards and added the northern half of Italy to his dominions. In a long and stubborn conflict, which lasted thirty years, he subdued the barbarous Saxons, who dwelt in the modern province of Hanover, and forced them to accept the yoke of Christianity and civilisation. The yet more barbarous Avars, whose kingdom included at least half of modern Austria, were conquered before the end of the century; and the north-eastern corner of Spain was also won from the Moors. Thus the dominions of Charlemagne included all Europe west of the Elbe and the Danube, Italy as far as Naples, and Spain as far as the Ebro. There was no such splendid realm seen again in Europe till the days of the Emperor Napoleon.

On Christmas Day, 800, the seal was set on all this glory by the coronation of Charles the Frank as Emperor of the Romans. Though for nearly four centuries the Roman Empire had been but a shadow as far as Western Europe was concerned, the memory of its greatness had never wholly faded out of the minds of men nor had the people of the West ever heartily accepted the fiction that the true home of that empire was to be found at Constantinople. Now, when the Bishop of Rome had placed the imperial diadem on the head of the mightiest man of the mightiest nation in Europe, and when the citizens of Rome had cried with a loud voice, "Life and victory to Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific emperor," it was felt that the waters of the barbarian deluge had indeed subsided and the world had again a prospect of a peaceful and well-ordered life. Such was the second birth of "the Holy Roman Empire." But the Golden Age had not yet arrived; in fact, the eight

Martel
the Deliverer
of Europe

Charlemagne's
Great
Dominions

The Lombards
Driven
From Rome



THE ADVENTUROUS VENETIANS ON THE TRACK OF WAR

In the eighth century, when the Lombards, under their ruthless leader Alboin, were conquering Italy, the little city, or group of cities, amid the mudbanks of the Adriatic, afterwards to be known as Venice, was making a bold stand, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay, and steadily increasing in wealth and power. So great did the sea power of the Venetians become, that the enterprising and adventurous republic, from being the admitted "Queen of the Adriatic," rose, in the Middle Ages, to the proud position of "Mistress of the Seas," the maritime colonies of Venice being widespread throughout the Near East and her influence felt in the remote parts of the mediæval world.

hundreds and nine hundreds, the two centuries after the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, were in some respects darker than any that had preceded them.

This was partly due to the weakness of the rulers. The descendants of Charlemagne were not nonentities, like the Merovingians, but they were for the most

Turbulent Successors of Charlemagne part selfish and turbulent princes; and only a very strong hand grasping the imperial sceptre could have

kept the discordant elements of that vast empire in orderly subjection. Such a strong hand was emphatically not possessed by Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Good-natured. His sons revolted against him and quarrelled among themselves. France, Germany and Italy sprang apart and began those separate lives of theirs which still continue; and not only so, but in each country the principle of disintegration was at work. Counts and barons who should have been mere officials appointed for life or during good behaviour became hereditary nobles; in short, Feudalism was born. Amid all these changes the stately vessel of the Carolingian dynasty went hopelessly to pieces, the last direct descendant of Charlemagne who reigned as emperor in Germany being dethroned in 887, the last who was king of Italy dying in 950, the last who was king of France in 987. Out of the drift-wood of the family, the representatives through females and the illegitimate descendants, almost all the reigning dynasties and a large part of the ducal and baronial houses of Europe have been constructed.

Chief, however, among the causes which made Europe miserable were the ravages of the Scandinavian pirates, who seem at the end of the seven hundreds to have suddenly awakened to the fact that there were fair lands to the south of them with rich booty, which it needed but good seamanship and well-organised robber-

Great Pirate Armies in England raids to make their own. The *Here*, as the great pirate army was called, visited England at longer or shorter intervals throughout the three centuries from 787, when they first landed in Wessex, till 1066, when Harald Hardrada invaded Yorkshire and fell before his namesake Harold, son of Godwin. It is not necessary here to relate the memorable story of the victories and defeats which marked the struggle of the Danes with Alfred the

Great from 871 to 900, of their subjugation by Edward the Elder and Athelstan from 900 to 940, and of the success with which, under their king, Canute, they fastened the Danish yoke upon the neck of the English, so that it seemed for a time probable that our island would be but a humble member of a great Scandinavian empire, dominating the Baltic and the North Sea.

We must, however, call attention to the fact that in these three centuries of conflict the pirates themselves greatly changed their character, and from barbarous pagans became a Christian and civilised power; also that they settled in large numbers in the north-eastern part of England and added undoubtedly a valuable element to the population of Northumbria and Mercia. Moreover, the fierce attacks of these dreaded invaders helped to unify the Anglo-Saxon state. When all the other kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy had gone down before the ruthless *Here*, Wessex alone successfully resisted their onslaught, and therefore it is that from the royal house of

The Ravages of the Terrible Northmen Wessex the present king of England is descended. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently remembered how sorely the scourge of the Danish invasions smote France and Germany as well as England. Wherever there was a broad estuary of a river, there the keels of the Danes might be looked for; the Elbe, the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, the Garonne, all saw the Dragon-standard of the Vikings mirrored in their waters. Aachen, Charlemagne's own capital, was sacked. Rouen was taken. Paris was once taken and once suffered a terrible two years' siege (885-886). In fact, throughout the eight hundreds it would be hard to say whether England or France suffered the most from the ravages of the terrible Northmen.

But in France the most memorable result of the Scandinavian invasions, the settlement of the Northmen in the fruitful lands at the mouth of the Seine, tended eventually to benefit rather than to injure civilisation. In the early nine hundreds Rolf the Northman closed a life of piratical adventure by becoming the "man" of the Frankish king Charles the Simple, and condescending to receive from him the fair province which has ever since borne the name of Normandy. His descendants, appropriately named the "Long-sworded,"



CHARLEMAGNE AND THE SCHOLARS



Succeeding his father, Pippin, as Frankish king, Charles, afterwards to figure in countless poems and in romance as the hero Charlemagne, began a great career of conquest and imperial organisation, winning for himself the title of "the Great." His dominions included all Europe west of the Elbe and Danube, Italy as far as Naples and Spain as far as the Ebro. Possessed of a learning unusual for the period in which he lived, Charlemagne could speak Latin and read Greek, and he laboured with much earnestness to extend education. In his palace he conducted a school for the sons of his servants, and invited teachers of grammar and arithmetic from Rome to fill his public schools. He was the first Teuton on whom the dignity of Roman Emperor was conferred.

From the painting by Blaas

"the Fearless," and the like, embraced Christianity of the militant type then fashionable, inhaled the new air of chivalry, and became in some respects its typical representatives. The converted Scandinavian pirate seems to have been a finer specimen of humanity, more chaste, more temperate, and more devout than either

What the Normans Did For England

his Frankish or his Saxon neighbour; but also more ruthless, more grasping, a "better man of business."

He was the keen, well polished steel, while they were but the clumsy iron weapon. Thus, it was only in the natural order of things that when, in 1066, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, landed on the coast of Sussex, his rival, the Saxon Harold, Godwin's son, should fall before him in the battle which bears, not with strict accuracy, the name of Hastings.

But memorable as this Norman conquest, which placed a new dynasty on our throne, and introduced a fresh social and political order, must ever be to Englishmen, it is important to remember that it was not by any means the only Norman conquest which Europe witnessed in that age. From the beginning of the ten hundreds, Normans, half pilgrims, half warriors, had been making their way over the Alps and Apennines into Southern Italy. They had mingled as auxiliaries in the endless contests which were going on in that region between Lombards, Greeks and Germans. At length, in the year 1038, William of the Iron Arm, eldest of the twelve sons of a Norman knight, Tancred de Hauteville, made his prowess felt in a battle with the Saracen lords of Sicily. He obtained the dignity of Count of Apulia. One after another the sons of that prolific Norman house appeared upon the scene, eager to share his fortunes. Robert Guiscard, the sixth brother, made himself supreme in Southern Italy, dealt fierce blows at the Eastern Empire,

Foundations of a Mighty Dynasty

took the Pope of Rome, Leo IX., prisoner in battle, and soon afterwards became the vassal of his successor. Mean-

while, his brother Roger, the youngest of the tribe, by his victories over the Saracens, was building up a more enduring dominion in Sicily, and preparing the way for a royal dynasty which, in the eleven and twelve hundreds, was powerfully to influence the fortunes of the whole of Europe. And these Norman conquests in the Mediter-

anean lands were, be it remembered, strictly contemporary with that other Norman Conquest with which we are familiar as forming the greatest landmark in our history.

In order to follow the fortunes of the Northmen, we have come down to the end of our second period; but we must, for a little while, remount the stream of time in order to notice other calamities which were distressing Europe.

In the eight hundreds, the danger to Europe of Mohammedan conquest was more menacing than it had ever been since Charles Martel won the battle of Poitiers. For the Saracens had now become a great sea-power, probably in the decay of the maritime strength of the Eastern Empire, the greatest sea-power of the Mediterranean.

In the year 831 they overran and conquered Sicily, which remained theirs for more than two centuries till, as just related, it was won back for Christianity by Roger the Norman. Fifteen years later they appeared at the mouth of the Tiber; Ostia was taken, the Campagna wasted.

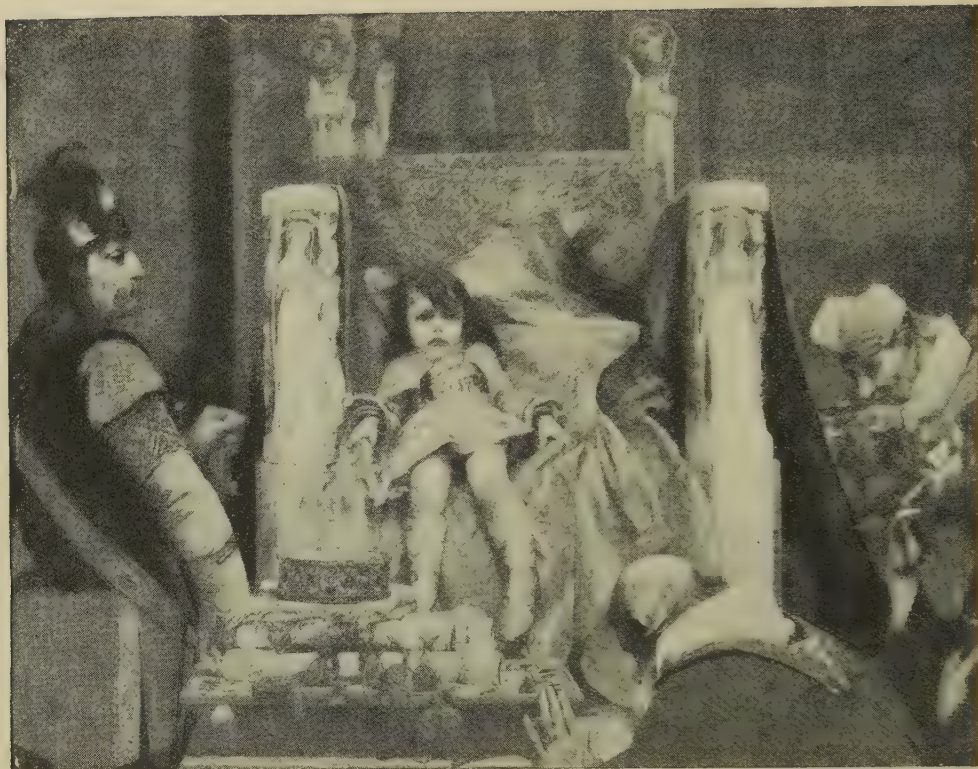
Great Wars on Land and Sea

St. Peter's itself was desecrated and robbed of the treasures of centuries; St. Paul's Without the Gates shared the same fate; the city of Rome itself only just escaped being handed over to a Mussulman emir and echoing the cry of the muezzin. It really seemed as if Mahomet's, rather than Christ's, was to be the holiest name in all the Mediterranean lands. And this lamentable eclipse of the glory of the new empire was witnessed by a generation, many of whom must have gazed on the living face of Charlemagne.

While the Saracens still threatened by sea, a more terrible, because more barbarous, foe spread desolation by land. Over the vast Danubian plains, where Attila and his Huns once encamped, the Magyars, or Hungarians, a race perhaps remotely connected both with the Huns and with the Turks, now came thundering and destroying. From 889 till 933, when they were defeated by the Emperor Henry the Fowler in the great battle of Riada, the Hungarian squadrons were a nightmare of terror to Europe. They overran Germany, Burgundy, and Southern France, crossed the Alps into Italy, burned Pavia, and threatened, but did not take, Rome. From many a terrified congregation in the churches of Italy went up the heart-



CHARLEMAGNE HOLDING AN AUDIENCE OF HIS PEOPLE
After the drawing by E. Dawant



FRANKISH LEADERS AND THE CLERGY DOING HOMAGE TO THE CHILD KING, CLOVIS II. Clovis II. was only a child six years old when he succeeded his father, Dagobert, as king of Neustria in 638. During his minority the government was carried on by his mother, Nanthildis, but Clovis, of course, was the king on the throne, and, as represented in the illustration, received the homage due to that high office. Under Clovis II. the Frankish Empire was once more united, and he thus became king of the whole of the Franks. He died in 656.

From the painting by Maiguan, by permission of Braun, Clement & Cie.

breaking litany: "From the arrows of the terrible Hungarians, good Lord deliver us." By the middle of the nine hundreds, however, they were beaten down into a reasonable frame of mind; they became civilised and Christianised. In the year 1000, a royal saint, Stefan, received from the Pope the title of King of Hungary, and in later centuries the brave and chivalrous Magyar was the great bulwark of Europe against his Mohammedan kinsman the Turk.

Beside the miseries of barbarian invasion, Europe, after the collapse of the dynasty of Charlemagne, suffered from religious terrors. As the years wore on towards the fateful era of the thousandth from the Birth of Christ, a presentiment brooded over the nations that the end of the world was at hand. When they needed most the support of religious faith, their spiritual guides most signally failed them. These centuries, the eight hundreds, the nine hundreds, and the early ten hundreds, are admitted by all historians to

have been the time of the deepest degradation of the papacy. A long succession of utterly insignificant Popes is followed by one man of eminence, perhaps of genius, Pope Formosus (891-896), but he was a violent political partisan, accused of complicity in the murder of one of his predecessors, and his dead body, having been dressed in papal robes, and subjected to the indignity of a trial, was mutilated by order of a solemn council, stripped, and thrown into the Tiber.

Then came the period of the ascendancy of two infamous women, a mother and a daughter, Theodora and Marozia, who for over sixty years (901-964) placed their lovers, their sons, and their grandsons, in the chair of St. Peter. After an interval the Counts of Tusculum, petty feudal princes in the neighbourhood of Rome, succeeded in making the papacy a virtual appanage of their house (1012-1048). With such men, licentious and profane, sitting in the holiest place of Western Christendom, the reverence which in the days of Gregory the

Great had waited upon the lightest word of "the Apostle" was rapidly departing.

The cure for the worst miseries of this anarchic age came this time from Germany. The old Frankish Empire, it is true, had split into pieces. France especially, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, had been drawing further and further away from the empire, and when, a century, later, a new royal dynasty ascended the throne in the person of Hugh Capet she no longer, even nominally, formed part of it. Still, however, the great political fabric founded by the joint action

The "Holy Roman Empire" Maintained

of Charlemagne and Leo kept its proud title, "The Holy Roman Empire," though now it virtually included only the two countries of Germany and Italy, divided into an infinite number of petty feudal principalities, over which "Cæsar"—as the emperor was styled—wielded a strange and not easily defined dominion, strong and stern in the hands of a man of firm will and with the trick of success, shadowy and of little or no account in the hands of a weakling.

To the former class of strong and successful rulers belonged the Saxon emperors, who wore the imperial diadem during the nine hundreds and whose most celebrated representatives were Otho—or Otto the Great, the final vanquisher of the Hungarians, and his son and grandson, who bore his name (Otto I. 936-973; Otto II. 973-983; Otto III. 983-1002). These strong rulers ended the political anarchy which had for a hundred years prevailed in Italy, where petty princes of provence, of Spoleto, of Friuli, in rapid and unremembered succession, had reigned as shadowy kings. In the ecclesiastical realm also they restored a certain measure

of order. In 963 Otto the Great summoned a council to meet in Rome, by which Pope John XII., a profligate and tyrannical youth, grandson of the licentious Marozia, was solemnly deposed, and a layman of decent life, a papal secretary, Leo VIII.,

The Papacy Purified by Leo IX.

was chosen in his stead. Still, however, the war of Roman factions continued, and one tumultuary pontiff followed another in rapid succession till, in 996, the boy-emperor, Otto III., placed his cousin Bruno of Carinthia, little older than himself, but a young man of pure and noble character, on the papal throne. Too good for the corrupt ecclesiastics and populace of Rome, this German Pope died in the last year of the nine hundreds, the victim, it was said, of poisonous conspiracy. Ere long followed that degrading dynasty of Tusculan Popes to which reference has been already made. It seemed as if nothing could save the office, once the most venerated in Christen-

dom, from its moral suicide, when help was once more invoked from beyond the Alps, and this time with success. Another German, Bruno, of noble descent was raised to the papacy by the Emperor Henry III. A saint and a mystic, the new Pope, who took the name of Leo IX., did much in his six years of rule (1048-1054) to raise the reputation of his office from the slough into which it had fallen. Unfortunately for him he resorted to carnal weapons for the defence of his territory against the Norman Guiscard, by whom he



THE TRIUMPH OF CLOVIS

From the painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon

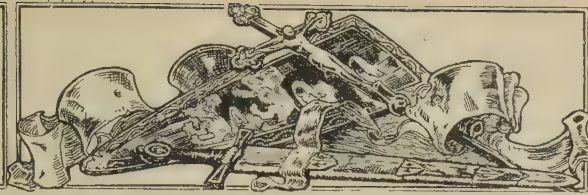
was defeated and made prisoner. The vexation of his defeat and the hardships of his captivity probably hastened his end, for he died the year after the battle, but the moral uplifting which he had given to the papedom survived its author for generations.



ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE SECOND CRUSADE

During the period of the Crusades, from 1096 till 1272, eight great expeditions, besides many smaller ones, set out for the Holy Land to do battle for its recovery from the Turks. Though preached with burning eloquence by the great St. Bernard, the Second Crusade, in 1147-48, did not arouse so much enthusiasm as some of the later enterprises.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY II
BY
DR. THOMAS
HOOGKIN

THE HEROIC AGE OF CHIVALRY

THE CRUSADES TO THE HOLY LAND AND THE DUEL BETWEEN PAPACY AND EMPIRE

THE result of two centuries of anarchy and barbarian invasions, together with the feudalism which they had called into being, was to intensify the military spirit and to bring back into life the old theory of the forest-traversing Germans, that war was the only fitting occupation for a freeman, or, in modern language, for a gentleman. Immured within his massive castle, seeing all the lands up to the horizon cultivated by serfs "tied to the soil" or by men-at-arms, his vassals bound to follow him in war, the knight, or baron, or earl, who was the only really important unit in mediæval society, accepted the excitement of the chase as making life tolerable, but longed for the more glorious excitement of the stern realities of war. Even his religion was of the militant type. As one of the early Teutonic converts said when he heard the sad story of Calvary: "Had I been there with my henchmen, I would never have allowed the Romans to nail Him to the Cross."

Thus the spirit of that age, especially in those countries where the young Norman nation made itself most manifest, might be expressed in two words: *Militant Christianity*. It was almost as if the religion of Christ and the religion of Mahomet had changed places. Faith longed to display itself by deeds, but they must be deeds such as the mail-clad

**The Days of
Militant
Christianity** warrior only could perform. There was a certain nobility of spirit about that brave ignorance. The heroic age of chivalry must certainly be placed in the two centuries which we are about to review rapidly—the centuries of the Crusades. The fuel was all laid ready for the fire when Peter the Hermit, a mean-looking figure riding on an ass, but bearing aloft

the crucifix and breathing the fiery eloquence so often given to men with one idea, went through the cities and villages of France proclaiming the hardships, the humiliations, even the cruelties which Christian pilgrims to the holy places in

**Peter the
Hermit Starts
the Crusades** the East had to endure at the hands of the Mussulmans. Once comparatively mild, the yoke pressed upon them had

become ten times harder since—in the year 1076—the fierce Seljuk Turks from Tartary made themselves masters of the sacred lands. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been demolished, the Patriarch of Jerusalem had been dragged along the pavement by his hair and thrown into a prison, from which he was released only on the payment of an enormous ransom; everywhere the Christian pilgrims were being plundered, insulted, maltreated. With all these exasperating stories in men's minds, when Pope Urban II. convened a council at Clermont, in the centre of France, in 1096, and pleaded for an armed expedition to rescue the holy places of Jerusalem from the infidels, promising the forgiveness of all sins to those who should start on such an expedition, and an immediate entry into Paradise for those who should die in its service, the well-known cry "Dieu le veut!" burst from thousands of excited hearers; the badge of the Cross was assumed by all sorts and conditions of men; the Crusades began their chequered and feverish life.

The period of the Crusades lasted for 176 years (1096–1272), and during that time eight great expeditions, besides numberless smaller ones, were launched from Europe against Asia. It will thus be seen that the average interval between each crusade was a little less than the

average length of a generation. That was the time necessary to rekindle in the bosom of the French or Norman knight the enthusiasm which had sent his father to the Holy War. France, which had been the scene of the first proclamation of the crusade, remained the chief supporter of the movement—France and her sister-

Jerusalem Won from the Infidel

land of Flanders, and her kinsfolk the Normans of England and Italy. Spain was too much occupied with her

own domestic crusades against the Moors, Germany too keenly interested in her long battle with the Popes and the internal dissensions resulting thence, to give her whole mind to the recovery or the defence of the holy places, though three of her emperors at least took some share in a crusade. French or Flemish or Norman remained the chief material forces of the long campaign, and French were its two chief spiritual champions — Peter the Hermit (1093-1099) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1146-1153).

The detailed history of the Crusades belongs to Eastern rather than to Western Europe. The First Crusade, the most successful and the most memorable of the number, that one which inspired the Italian poet to write his epic "*Gerusalemme Liberata*," lasted three years (1096-1099). It saw the Turks defeated in the great battle of Dorylæum, in Bithynia, Antioch taken, and at last, most joyful of triumphs, Jerusalem itself recovered from the infidel in July of 1099. In that holy city, when Godfrey of Boulogne was proclaimed, but not crowned king, a dynasty—a "Latin Christian" dynasty—was established, with laws and polity all its own, the very embodiment of feudalism; and this dynasty lasted with varying fortunes for nearly a hundred years (1099-1187), till it was overthrown by the Mussulman soldier of fortune, Saladin. In this crusade, Robert the Norman, eldest son of William

Failure of the Second Crusade

the Conqueror, took an important part, having pawned his Duchy of Normandy to his brother Rufus in order

to raise money for the enterprise. The Second Crusade (1147-1148), though pleaded for with enthusiastic eloquence by the great Saint Bernard, was a poor and ineffectual affair, memorable in French history chiefly from the fact that it led to the loss of the province of Aquitaine. Eleanor, the heiress of that goodly land,

had brought it as a dowry to her husband, the French king, Louis VII. The young pair went together on crusade, quarrelled, as many other travelling companions have done, and were divorced; Eleanor, marrying a second time, brought to her new husband, Henry Plantagenet, King of England, the right to that splendid inheritance along with her own unrivalled capacity for making her husband's home miserable.

The son of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Richard Lion-Heart of England, was the chief hero of the Third Crusade (1189-1192). He failed to recover the Holy City from the grasp of Saladin, but he captured Acre, and his personal bravery did something to restore in the East the fading lustre of the Christian arms. It is needless to do more than refer to the well-known story of his quarrels with Philip Augustus of France, his captivity in Austria, and the enormous ransom which was extorted from him by the mean-souled German emperor.

The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) was a tragi-comedy, played with a disastrous

The Felony of the Fourth Crusade

disregard to the true interests of Christian civilisation. Venice, Champagne and Flanders furnished the bulk

of the Crusaders, who never approached within a thousand miles of Jerusalem, but, instead of fighting the infidel, occupied themselves in overturning the Christian Empire of the East, the barrier which had for six centuries protected Europe from the ravages of Saracen invasion. A shadowy "Latin" Empire was founded when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was crowned with the diadem in Constantinople, and the Republic of Venice became sovereign of "one-quarter and the half of a quarter of the Roman Empire," and countless principalities, marquisesates, and baronies were allotted to French and Flemish knights on the coasts of the Ægean. But none of these stage sovereignties, though picturesque and romantic, had enough inherent vitality to enable them permanently to resist the rising tide of Mussulman conquest. That a Turkish sultan now sits as lord in the palace of Constantine is a direct—we might almost say an inevitable—consequence of the felony of the Fourth Crusade.

The Latin empire of Constantinople had an even shorter life than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1261 the Greek

emperors were back in their own city, but so weakened and impoverished that we learn with surprise that the final ruin of the empire was postponed for nearly 200 years. From this point onwards the story of the Crusades becomes rather monotonous. There was scarcely any fighting in the Holy Land itself, the Crusaders having apparently decided that the conquest of Palestine must be achieved in Egypt. The Fifth and Seventh Crusades (1216-1221; 1245-1250)—a short notice of the Sixth Crusade (1235-1241) is reserved for a later place in this chapter—were occupied chiefly with operations round Damietta, which was twice taken by the Crusaders, and which might, with a little prudent management, have been exchanged for Jerusalem. The hero, or, rather, the saint and martyr, of this Seventh Crusade was Louis IX. of France, who, after some successes, was taken prisoner by the Egyptian sultan and released only on the payment of an enormous ransom.

Twenty years later—in 1270—St. Louis headed the Eighth Crusade, but died of fever at Tunis at the very beginning of the expedition. Edward, son of Henry III. of England, remained in command, went forward to Palestine, landed at Acre, and took the holy village of Nazareth. His success, however, ended there. He fell sick, narrowly escaped death at the hand of an assassin, and returned to England in 1272 to mount the throne and begin a memorable reign as Edward I. This was virtually the last of the Crusades, and it will be seen that the last, like the first, was connected with the personality of a chivalrous Anglo-Norman prince.

We have seen that the Crusaders were essentially a product of feudalism, but it is also true that their influence was in the end antagonistic to feudalism. Contact with nations of an utterly different type of civilisation, with the Greek, the Egyptian and the Arab, brought new ideas and shook the mail-clad warrior out of his stolid, knightly pride. The multitude of lowly born peasants who flocked to the banner of the Cross loosened the hold of the landowner on his serfs; the impoverishment of the chivalrous classes and the diminution of their numbers increased the relative strength of the crown; above all, the spread of commerce, which was undoubtedly a result of the Crusades, augmented the wealth and power

of the *Communes*, whom we find throughout these centuries rapidly rising into importance, and who were, moreover, often able to buy valuable charters and remissions of obnoxious burdens from a knightly or baronial neighbour, who must have money at any price to enable him to start for the Holy Land. Yet it would

The New not be safe to assert that **Weapon of** the influence of the Crusades **the Papacy** was all on the side of enlightenment and freedom. On the contrary, it put a dangerous weapon into the hands of the papacy, which was now sometimes able to get rid of teaching in which it detected a menace to its claims by declaring its advocates heretics, and proclaiming a Crusade against them. A notable instance of these tactics was furnished by the Crusade against the Albigenses, engineered by Innocent III. (1209-1217), a Crusade which crushed the gay, poetic, free-thinking civilisation of Southern France, and possibly postponed for three centuries the reformation of the Church.

The German emperors had done a good deed for Christendom by helping to raise the papacy from the slough into which it had fallen, but they had not altogether promoted their own ease or security. Throughout the closing years of our second period the dominant influence in the counsels of the papacy had been wielded by the cardinal sub-deacon Hildebrand. It had ever been his voice which stimulated the Popes, his nominal superiors, to assert the claims of their office against the authority of the emperor. By his advice Pope Alexander II. had commissioned William the Norman to undertake the conquest of England. By his contrivance the momentous change had been made which transferred the election of the Pope from the people of Rome to the bishops and clergy of that city, who bore the name of cardinals. Now, in the year 1073, the great

Pope-maker
Becomes
the Pope

pope-maker consented to become himself Pope. The Cardinal Hildebrand began his short but ever memorable papacy under the title of Gregory VII. (1073-1085). There is an old and true proverb that if two men ride on one horse, one must go behind. Such had been for centuries the condition of Europe under the empire founded by Charlemagne, and till now the question had never been fully faced which of the two riders, emperor or Pope,

was to take the hindmost place. One of the two riders claimed to represent the immemorial domination of Rome, to be the successor of Julius, of Augustus, and of Constantine, and to possess all their pre-eminent rights. The other claimed to be the vicar of Jesus Christ, God's vice-regent upon earth, and the claim was generally admitted for all that concerned the religious interests of mankind; but the thought was now finding harbourage in the minds of churchmen that temporal matters ought also to be subjected to the same divinely appointed rule. "Come, then," said Hildebrand to a council of

proud princes, what may not ye do to these their servants?"

The balance of forces at the accession of Gregory VII., in 1073, was indeed, strangely altered from that which prevailed in the previous century. Then there had generally been a weak, despised, sometimes immoral pontiff over against a strong, chaste, strenuous emperor. Now there was a stern, austere, monk-pope matched against the dissolute, unstable, though not by any means stupid, young emperor, Henry IV. Each found his worst enemies in his own house. Many Italian bishops were indignant at Gregory's



AN ARMY OF THE CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the South Kensington Museum

ecclesiastics, "let all the world understand, and know that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven, ye have power to take away and to grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties and the possessions of all men according to their deserts. Ye have often deprived wicked and unworthy men of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and bestowed them on religious men. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular; and if ye are to judge angels who rule over

determination to enforce the absolute rule of celibacy on all churchmen; many German nobles resented every attempt which Henry made to convert a nominal into a real supremacy.

In the year 1076 the smouldering antipathy between the two men broke out into open war. Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of ecclesiastical law. Henry retorted by convoking a synod at Worms at which the bishops, who were his partisans,

formally renounced their allegiance to Gregory and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped: "I, Henry, by the Grace of God, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee—Down, down!"

The emperor had over-rated his power, as he soon discovered when the Pope replied with his expected counter-stroke, excommunication and deposition from the imperial dignity. The political result of this sentence, the assembling of a hostile diet, the revolt of three of the most powerful dukes, he could perhaps have

To the disgust of his Italian allies, Henry was all for submission, for petitioning the Pope to annul his sentence of deposition; but the Pope was determined not to make forgiveness easy. For three days the emperor, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered in the courtyard of Canossa. When at length admitted, he received absolution, but on the humiliating terms of submission to the Pope's will—a promise to appear before his judgment seat to answer the charges made against him, and meanwhile to lay aside the marks of his rank and perform none of the functions of royalty.



A FLEET OF THE CRUSADERS CROSSING THE BOSPHORUS

surmounted; but the social results, the loneliness and depression caused by the terrible "boycott" of excommunication—an expressive word must be borrowed from modern politics—were too much for him. In the depth of an unusually severe winter he and a few faithful followers scrambled, at the risk of their lives, over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis. At his descent into Italy the adversaries of Gregory rallied round him, and the Pope himself retired to the castle of Canossa, a fortress high up in the Apennines, which belonged to his faithful partisan Matilda, Countess of Tuscany.

This is the far-famed pilgrimage to Canossa, which profoundly stirred the minds, not only of contemporaries, but of many succeeding generations, and the echo of which was heard in modern politics in Bismarck's well-known phrase, "We certainly shall not go to Canossa."

It took place in 1077, just eleven years after the battle of Hastings. In this instance it was proved that Gregory had over-strained his power. The humiliation so joyously inflicted on the greatest of its potentates revolted the conscience of Christendom. German pride was wounded by the arrogance of the Italian,

Henry's affairs assumed for the time a more cheerful aspect, a second excommunication fell harmless. Rome was besieged, and saved from capture only by the appearance of those terrible allies, the Normans, who pillaged, burnt and ravaged worse than any of Rome's previous barbarian conquerors. Gregory himself died at

**The Great
Gregory's
Dying Words**

Salerno in 1085, uttering the memorable words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore it is I die in exile." The point at issue between the two rival potentates was not merely a personal one, though undoubtedly the natural man's desire for pre-eminence played a great part in the drama. There was also one really difficult question which for more than half a century distracted Christendom, the question of Investitures. The high lords of the Church, her bishops, archbishops, mitred abbots and patriarchs were also, especially in Germany, high lords in the state, rulers of enormous territories and entitled to the obedience of powerful vassals. Here then were two mighty organisations, the ecclesiastical and the feudal. How could these be fitted into one another? On feudal principles, all temporal power involved the feudal tie, lordship over the vassals beneath, vassalage to the lord above, and the lord paramount over all was the king.

But on ecclesiastical principles, as now asserted by Hildebrand, the dignitaries of the Church, deriving their authority from God Himself, were subject to no man, save the Pope, God's vicar. How then could the bishop or archbishop be asked to do homage to any temporal lord, even to the emperor himself? How could the hands which in the sacrifice of the Mass "could create the Creator" be pressed between the hands of a man who was perhaps an adulterer and a murderer? The symbols of the investiture of a prelate were the ring and the pastoral staff—the

**Where Pope
and Emperor
Differed**

ring to betoken the new bishop's marriage to his diocese, the staff, his duty of shepherding the flock. Where was the fitness of the bestowal of these on a churchman by an earthly potentate? Yet, on the other hand, if some of the most powerful nobles of the empire could hold their lands subject to no recognition of the emperor's supremacy, what became of feudal subordination? It will therefore be seen that the dispute about Investitures

was no mere strife about words, but that a real contest of principles was involved. At one point of the struggle a Pope—Paschal II.—was actually willing to surrender all the landed domains of the Church if the emperor would give up his claim to grant investiture to her officers; but this sacrifice was too much for his episcopal clients, and negotiations on that footing had to be abandoned.

At last, however, at the Diet of Worms in 1122, a reasonable compromise was effected. Investiture by ring and staff, the religious part of the process, was renounced by the emperor, but the newly-consecrated ecclesiastic must kneel before the emperor and receive from his outstretched sceptre the touch which conveyed to him dominion over the lands attached to his bishopric. The principle of the Concordat of Worms was apparently accepted in the other countries of Western Europe, and in some of them, at any rate, continues in force till this day. When a parish clergyman is selected for promotion to an English bishopric, after he has gone through the ecclesiastical ceremonies of election by the dean and chapter, consecration by his brother-bishops, and enthronement in his cathedral, it is his duty to take the train for Windsor, and there do homage to King Edward for the temporalities of his see.

Though the contest about Investitures was formally closed, abundant materials for strife between emperor and Pope still remained, and, as the eleven hundreds rolled on, a new element—Republicanism—made its appearance in Italy. When men first awoke from the torpor of the dark centuries, remembrances, dim, but majestic, of the mighty republics of old, of Rome, and of all the bright train of her subject sisters, the municipalities of Italy, began to stir in their souls; and now, too, the democratic side of Christianity began to display itself especially to some of the inmates of the cloister. Such a man was Arnold of Brescia (1136–1155), who preached republicanism and the abrogation of the temporal power of the priesthood in language which now sounds strangely modern; and he actually succeeded for a time in setting up a republic in Rome. All over Italy, but especially in the valley of the Po, the cities began to withdraw themselves from the feudal organisation of the empire, or to claim that the feudal rights which remained

should be vested in their own elected magistrates, to whom they generally gave the proud old name of consuls.

This movement inevitably brought them into collision with the man in whom all feudal rights and privileges were summed up, with the man who wore the imperial crown, and that man in the middle of the eleven hundreds was one of all others least likely to forgo a tittle of his rights—Frederic Barbarossa of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia and Emperor of Rome. This great emperor, one of the greatest in the long line of mediæval Cæsars, had some qualities in common with our own Edward Plantagenet. Like him, proud, brave, and strong; like him, generally a man of his word, and with a deep conviction of the duties laid upon him by his high office, but, unfortunately, with a tendency to ride his steed, the people under his rule, with too sharp a bit, thus his very virtues were in danger of becoming crimes. His determination to put an end to anarchy and to assert the just claims of the empire degenerated more than once into tyranny and cruelty. The chief quarrel of the

Milan in Ruins emperor was with Milan, that stately city which had often been the residence of the old, the genuine, Augusti. Frederic's chief ally in Italy was the Lombard city of Pavia. Milan, at first rather feebly supported by her sister-cities, drew strength from the support of the Popes—first, that of Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who has ever worn the triple crown, and then that of Alexander III. (1159–1179), who, in his turn, leant upon the somewhat uncertain help of his Norman vassal, William, king of Sicily. After seven years of war, in which the combatants had been growing ever more exasperated against one another, the emperor, having starved Milan into submission, received her unconditional surrender in 1162. He ordered the city to be levelled with the ground, and sent the citizens forth to wander as beggars through the cities of Italy, all save a remnant, who were allowed to live in four villages planted near their old home.

But here the emperor had overshot his mark. The piteous tale told by the banished Milanese roused the sympathies even of their former foes. In 1167 the Lombard League was formed, a confederation which included nearly all the cities of Lombardy; Milan was rebuilt and received again

her old inhabitants; the strong city of Alessandria was built and named after the pope, patron of the league. Frederic's armies were more than once all but annihilated by disease, engendered by summer heats and ill-drained plains; and at last, in 1176, the twenty years' struggle was ended by the battle of Legnano, in

End of Twenty Years' Struggle which the Italians won a complete victory, and Frederic, after witnessing the terrible slaughter of his men, with

difficulty escaped from the field. Convinced that it was a hopeless task to overcome the independent spirit of the Lombard republics, Barbarossa now thankfully accepted the mediation of Alexander III.—against whom he had been raising up one anti-pope after another for the preceding ten years—met him at Venice, and humbly kneeling before him, obtained the removal of the ban of excommunication for himself and his adherents. It was on this occasion that, according to a picturesque but untrustworthy legend, the Pope set his foot on the neck of the prostrate emperor, saying, with exultation: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

The emperor then returned into Germany, but in 1183 recrossed the Alps, and meeting the delegates of the Lombard cities at the fair city of Constance, concluded with them a treaty which was the basis of the public law of Italy for centuries. The regalia, or rights of sovereignty, claimed by the emperors, were greatly limited, the right of the cities to levy taxes and to elect their own chief magistrate was recognised; the Lombard League itself was solemnly authorised by the emperor. From this time onwards the dependence of the cities of Italy upon the empire was ever tending to become more precarious and shadowy. Italy and Germany began more and more to trace out

Two Great Powers in Italy

their peculiar and separate orbits. During these contests two party-names, which were destined to shed a lurid light over Italian politics for many centuries, first came into being. These were the names of Guelf and Ghibeline. The Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony—from whom, through the electors of Brunswick, our own royal family is descended—bore the name of Guelf; and these, partly from mere antagonism to the other

family, were almost invariably found siding with the Pope against the emperor. On the other hand were the two families of Franconia and Swabia, which between them ruled the whole south-western quarter of Germany, which were connected by close family ties, which ruled the empire for two centuries—the Henries belonging for the most part to the Franconian, and the Frederics to the Swabian line; and these were found with equal constancy on the side opposed to the Popes, whom the Church finally recognised, and against whom they raised up innumerable anti-popes.

The Swabian emperors, who are now generally known in history by a surname derived from their castle of Hohenstaufen, seem to have been better known among their contemporaries by the name of Weiblingen, which their Italian subjects, intolerant of the “W,” converted into Ghibeline. These two party labels were taken over from German into Italian politics, and had a far longer and more vigorous life in Italy than in their native land. Even so, we may remark in passing, the words “Whig” and “Tory” were imported into English party warfare from Scotland and Ireland respectively. Of course, in the fierce cross-currents of Italian urban strife they often drifted far from their moorings; but, speaking generally, we may say that the Guelph swore by the Pope, and the Ghibeline by the emperor; the Guelph leaned towards republicanism, the Ghibeline towards feudalism; religious democracy was the ideal of the former, the ideal of the latter was knightly loyalty.

This section must close with a sketch of the career of the last and most brilliant of the Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederic II. of Sicily. His grandfather, Frederic Barbarossa, having in his old age embarked on the Third Crusade, was marching through Asia Minor, and had already reached its south-eastern corner when, plunging on a day of burning heat into the little Cilician stream, Calycadnus, he caught a sudden chill, resulting in a fever or a stroke of paralysis, by which he was almost immediately carried off. Though he was buried in that far-off Asiatic land, the imagination of the Germans pictured the glorious emperor still living in an enchanted sleep in a cave of the moun-

tains near Salzburg, from which he should one day burst forth in the time of his country's darkest need to champion her cause. Yet Louis XIV. and Napoleon came, and still Barbarossa slumbered.

The son and successor of Barbarossa, Henry VI., emperor from 1190 till 1197, was a man of base and ignoble nature, whose most memorable action was the arrest and imprisonment of our Richard Cœur-de-Lion on his return from the Holy Land. He made, however, a most successful matrimonial venture when he married Constantia, who was ultimately the heiress of the Norman kings of Sicily. He thus acquired dominion over the whole south of Italy, and made the house of Hohenstaufen more terrible and more hateful than ever to the papacy, which saw itself girt in on every side, north, east and south, by this inexorable foe. But Henry VI. died in the prime of life, a victim probably to that fatal climate of Italy, which was the keenest of all Guelphic partisans. His wife Constantia, whom he had sorely wounded by many cruelties towards her kindred and her people, died a year after him; but before dying left her son,

The Famous Pope Innocent III. a little boy of four years old, under the guardianship of the Pope. This orphan child was the future Emperor Frederic II. Guardian and ward were each to play a great part on the stage of history, the first in the early, and the second in the central years of the century; but two more diverse characters could hardly be imagined. The Pope who received Constantia's dying charge was none other than the famous Innocent III., greatest of all the Popes but Hildebrand, the man whom we have already met organising the Fourth Crusade and ruthlessly rooting up the heresy of the Albigenses; the man who brought John of England to his feet and made the English kings his vassals; the man, too, who harnessed the enthusiasm of St Francis and St. Dominic to the chariot of the Church. A Roman noble, calm, strong, self-possessed, he showed that the imperial race had not quite forgotten the secret of “ruling the nations,” that it could still “spare the fallen and wear down the proud.”

The child Frederic, son of a German father and a Norman-Italian mother, grew up to the age of seventeen in his mother's native Sicily, amid many perils, from which he was on the whole faithfully



A TYPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: THE SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

Men loved fighting in mediæval times, and frequently engaged in war out of pure delight in the combat. But fighting was also a profession; men were hired to fight, just as to-day they are employed for business, and much fighting meant handsome recompense. Mr. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A., here admirably depicts a bluff, hearty soldier of fortune.

shielded by a Pope, the predestined enemy of his race. When his character fully declared itself, when his position as emperor of Rome and king of Sicily was established beyond possibility of question, he was indeed, as he was often called, "stupor mundi," an object of bewildered wonder to the world. The

Frederic's Praise of Sicily

emperors who followed Charlemagne, especially the emperors of the three previous centuries, had been for the most part brave, thick-headed German soldiers, silently despised as "barbarians" by their Italian vassals. But now, behold! the imperial diadem was worn by a man more Italian than the Italians, a man who spoke six languages—Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, Arabic—and who wrote poetry in one of them—the young "vulgare" dialect of Italy. Here was a troubadour upon the throne, yet also a skilled and resolute soldier; a free-thinker, too, in that most orthodox age; a man who consorted with Saracens, and who dared to say: "If the Almighty had ever seen my beautiful Sicily, He would never have given that arid Palestine as a possession to His chosen people." And yet this free-thinking emperor could also be, when it served his purpose, a cruel persecutor of heretics. There is much in the character of Frederic II. to move our just condemnation. We are always fascinated by his brilliant, many-sided personality, but we never quite love him.

By the help of the papacy the young heir of the Hohenstaufen not only preserved his Norman-Sicilian kingdom, but in 1215 won the imperial crown from a competitor, Otto of Bavaria (1198-1215), who, though sprung from a Guelfic family, had incurred the hostility of Innocent III. by his too strenuous advocacy of the rights of the Cæsar. Scarcely, however, was Frederic seated

Emperor's New Crusade

on his throne when dissensions arose between him and his foster-mother the Church. The ostensible ground for these dissensions—a real cause of quarrel between Pope and a Hohenstaufen could never be lacking—was the fact that on the day after his election, Frederic, perhaps in a moment of enthusiasm, had assumed the Cross and taken a vow to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. This obligation was solemnly urged upon

him by successive Popes, by the mild and good-tempered Honorius III. (1216-1227), and by the irascible old pontiff Gregory IX. (1227-1241), who, with octogenarian bitterness, launched the thunders of the Church at his devoted head.

It must be admitted that Frederic was exasperating in his behaviour with reference to this Crusade. He was always about to start in two years' time, "if only you will leave me unexcommunicated so long," and always found something to do in crushing Norman barons or Guelfic citizens, which, when the end of the two years came, made it impossible to leave Italy just then. When, at last, in September, 1227, he did set sail from Brindisi, a fatal sickness, the result no doubt of the neglect of sanitary precautions, broke out in his army, carrying off some of the chiefs of the expedition, and attacking the emperor himself, whereupon he, not unnaturally, doffed his armour and returned to his palace in Sicily. The sickness seems to have been genuine, but the Pope chose to consider it feigned, and hurled a furious bull of excommunication

The Pope in a Great Passion

at the offender. There was evidently more of spite than of statesmanship in this proceeding, for when in the following year, 1228, Frederic in good earnest started for the Sixth Crusade, the excommunication remained unpealed. Every place at which he might land was laid under an interdict, and this interdict was extended even to Jerusalem itself, which Frederic, it must be confessed, by diplomacy rather than by arms, had recovered for Christendom. We have said that the whole conduct of the Pope at this crisis seems to have been dictated by passion rather than by policy. If the Crusade were to have any chance of success it was essential that the Crusaders should be of one heart and one mind and should feel that they had with them the blessing of the Church.

Moreover, Frederic, who had now taken for his second wife Yolande of Brienne, and in right of that marriage had assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, had reasons of his own for making the Crusade a real success, and should surely from the narrowest point of view of the papal interests, have been encouraged to spend as much of his strength as possible in the East, instead of returning to fight the cause of Ghibelinism

in Italy. That, however, was what he actually did; and the remaining twenty-one years of his life (1229-1250) were one long and deadly duel with the Popes, first with octogenarian Gregory and then with a more subtle, but less reputable foe, Innocent IV. This Pope, in his humbler capacity as Cardinal Fieschi, had been classed among the partisans of the empire, but when Frederic was congratulated on his elevation he answered with too true a presentiment: "I have lost a friend and not gained an ally. No Pope can ever be a Ghibeline."

After the death of Frederic, in 1250,

IV., who happened to be a Frenchman, took the fateful step of inviting one of his countrymen, Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, to enter Italy as the champion of the Guelfic cause and wrest the crown of Sicily from Manfred. He came; he conquered his opponent on the desperately fought field of Benevento on February 26th, 1266. The body of the excommunicated "Sultan of Lucera," as the victor derisively called him, was buried in unconsecrated ground. The long duel between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen was ended; the old priest's crosier had beaten the young knight's

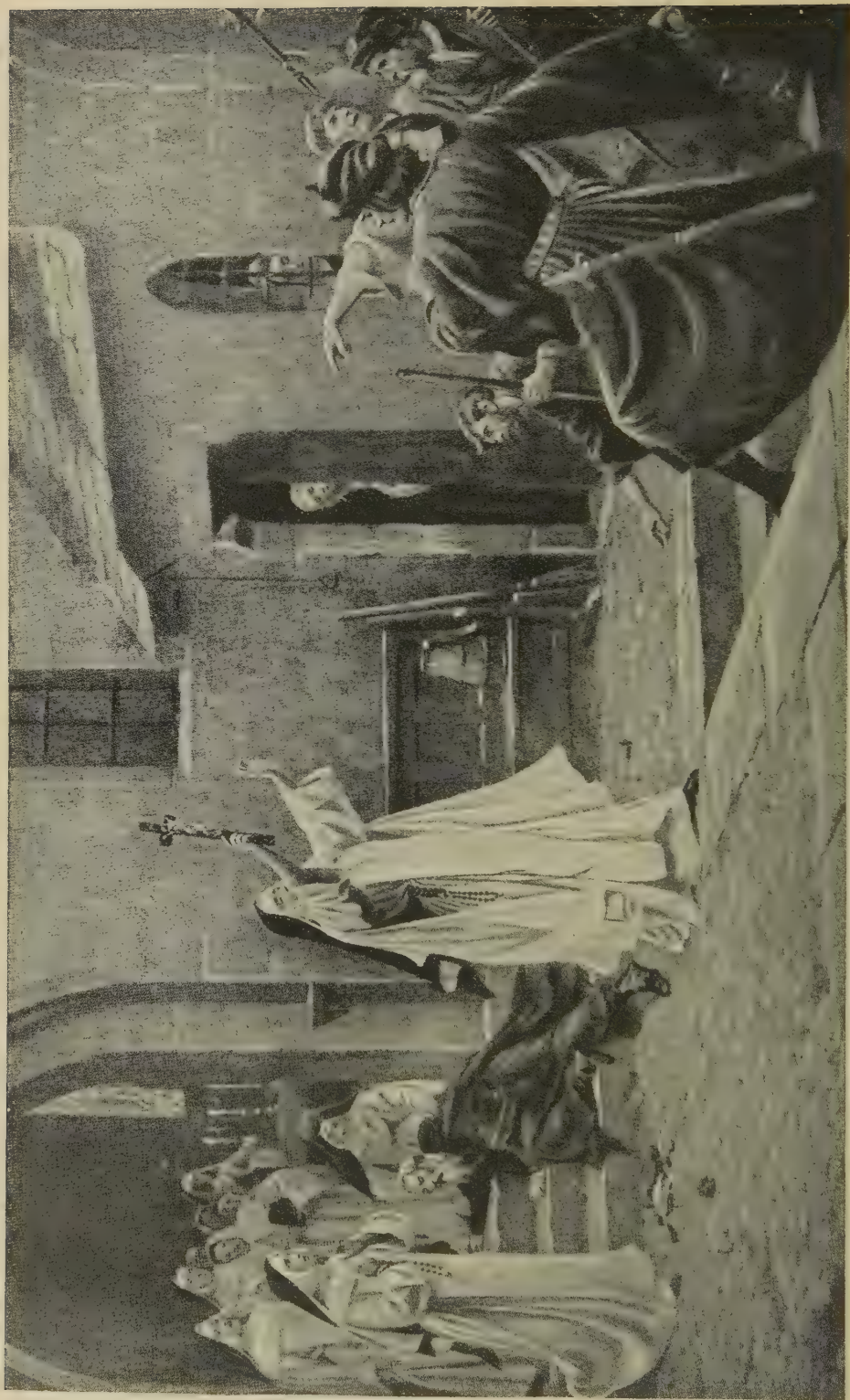


CHARACTERISTIC MARKET SCENE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

This picture is restored from a window in the Cathedral of Chartres

and the short reign of his son, the Emperor Conrad IV., the young and brilliant Manfred was proclaimed king of Sicily. An illegitimate son of Frederic II., he inherited many of his father's attractive qualities and therewith the undying enmity of the papacy. Like Frederic, he leaned much on the support of a military colony of Saracens established in the fortress of Lucera, whose vast circuit of walls, resembling a greatly magnified Caernarvon Castle, may still be seen on a hill of Apulia. Under Manfred's able guidance the Ghibeline party in Italy was fast rising into domination, when the Pope, Urban

sword; or, more literally, the victory seems to have been won by the rapier over the sabre. The French had recently introduced the former weapon, and, while the Italian soldier was lifting his great broadsword for a down-stroke, the agile Frenchman thrust in his rapier's point and let out the life of his antagonist. Here too, virtually ended the battle between the papacy and the empire. Each will have other foes in the portion of history which lies next before us; but they will not be so directly pitted against one another as they have been for these two centuries.



"IN NOMINE CHRISTI": SANCTUARY UNDER THE IMAGE OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST

From the murderous assault of the mob the patriarch seeks sanctuary, and before the image of the Cross, held aloft by the Abbess, the hands of his assailants are stayed.
 Reproduced from the painting by E. Elar Leighton, by permission of Sir R. Kopner, Bart.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY III
BY
DR. THOMAS
HODGKIN

PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY RESTORED

THIS period might fitly be called the Autumn of Chivalry and the Spring of Literature and Art. There are no more Crusades; the spirit of knight-errantry is departing; war seems to be often a sordid speculation on the value of the ransoms that may be extorted from wealthy prisoners. On the other hand, the young languages of Europe are beginning to bud and put forth leaves, as the truth dawns upon men that poems and histories may be written in other languages than Latin, that even the despised vernacular is a possible literary instrument. To this period belong the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio in Italy, of Froissart in France, of Chaucer and Langland in England. In the history of art we have a catalogue of illustrious names from Giotto to Fra Angelico; in architecture, though Norman and early English lie behind us, the beautiful decorated and stately perpendicular styles are still to come.

Nor ought we in this connection to forget the services which the fresh enthusiasm of the young Mendicant Orders rendered both to literature and to art. Both Dominic and Francis lived near the end of our third period, but the influence on the intellect of Europe of the orders which they founded was most fully felt after their deaths, and was certainly mighty throughout the later twelve hundreds and the two following centuries. The Friars—as the Mendicants were called

**The Friars
as University
Professors**

to distinguish them from their rivals, the more old-fashioned and conservative monks—chiefly known by their two most popular representatives, the Dominican Black Friars and Franciscan Grey Friars, swarmed into the universities now rising into eminence throughout Europe, and contributed the most celebrated names to the list of professors of scholastic theology, who, however the world may have now outgrown their teaching,

evidently possessed some of the strongest and keenest intellects of their day. Of the five greatest schoolmen, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas (the Angelic Doctor) were Dominicans; Buonaventura the Seraphic, Duns Scotus the Subtle, and Occam (the Invincible), were Franciscans. It was from the bosom of the Franciscan Order also that the philosopher sprang who anticipated in some degree that strictly scientific method which, in the hands of his mighty namesake, was one day to vanquish the word-splitting dialectic of the schoolmen, Roger Bacon the “Doctor Mirabilis” (1214–

**The Creator
of the House
of Commons**

1294). In reviewing the course of these two centuries, we may very lightly touch upon the well-known events in the history of our own country. England under the early Plantagenets had not been a stranger to the storm which had swept over the ecclesiastical sky in Southern Europe. She, too, had found her Hildebrand in Becket, and had witnessed her Canossa when the abject John submitted to declare himself the vassal of the Pope. Perhaps, also, it may be said that she had not been without her Guelfs and Ghibelines when Simon de Montfort, popularly known as the creator of the English House of Commons, vanquished Henry III. at Lewes, and was himself vanquished by Prince Edward at Evesham.

In 1272, six years after the battle of Benevento, Edward Longshanks, greatest of the Plantagenets, ascended the throne. In his reign of thirty-five years, he did many noble deeds both as statesman and as legislator. Even his conquest of Wales, notwithstanding some ungenerous harshness, must be reckoned among his praiseworthy exploits; but his unsuccessful attempt on the liberties of Scotland, his endeavour to convert the friendly superiority which Scotsmen were willing to grant him

into the strictest, harshest tie of feudal vassalage, wrought untold harm to the England which he surely loved. From the year 1296, when the galling acts of Edward drove the luckless John Balliol into revolt, down to 1603, when James Stuart mounted the English throne, it may almost be said that there was never

Scotland the Foe of England lasting peace between the two countries, only wars and precarious truces, raids and counter-raids, and, above all, a continual and most natural tendency on the part of Scotland to ally herself with England's other enemy, France. There was thus always a foe at England's back door who would not have been there had Edward I. shown somewhat less of the qualities of a sharp attorney in his dealings with the sister kingdom.

Though John "Lackland," by his cowardice and cruelty, had lost his father's inheritance of Normandy, the Plantagenets, till the close of our present period, never entirely quitted hold of the magnificent dower which Eleanor of Aquitaine brought to Henry II., and these possessions in the south-west corner of France often furnished a base for the operations which they undertook in what has been forcibly, if not quite accurately, called the Hundred Years' War between England and France. That war began with the invasion of France by Edward III. in 1339, and it ended with the defeat of Talbot before Castillon in 1453, the very year which for another reason has been chosen as the close of our present period. During that age of strife the English won three memorable victories, Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

We are perhaps too much inclined to forget their defeats; that of Beaugé (1421), where the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V., was slain; that of Patay (1429), where Lord Talbot was vanquished and made prisoner by the heroic Jeanne D'Arc; his final defeat and overthrow, as above

England's Triumphs over France mentioned, at Castillon. The two proudest days for the English invaders were March 24th, 1359, when, by the Treaty of London, the captive king of France yielded to Edward III. in full sovereignty all that Henry II. had ever ruled as vassal of the French crown, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Aquitaine—in other words, a full half of France; and, again, December 16th, 1431, when, apparently with the consent of the greater

part of the French nation, weary of the feuds of Armagnacs and Burgundians, the English child, Henry VI., was proclaimed "King of England and France, our sovereign lord." That title, King of France, so soon to be rendered a vain show by the enthusiasm and courage of the Maid of Orleans, was clung to with ludicrous tenacity by many generations of English sovereigns, even by James II., when he was a throneless exile at the court of the real king of France, Louis XIV., and was abandoned only in the days of our grandfathers at a time when there was no king in France, and that country, under a ruler mightier than any of her kings, was engaged in a life and death struggle with England.

The high-water mark of England's dominion in France was soon succeeded by a steady and continuous ebb of the tide. It was by a series of petty reverses more than by any great victories that the English intruders were edged out of France, until at last at the end of our present period Calais only remained to them. But the Hundred Years' War left in one way a favourable impress on

France's Gains from English Invasions France. As the Danish invasions had consolidated England, so the long misery of the English invasions unified and strengthened the national feeling of Frenchmen. When the Hundred Years' War began, the men of Aquitaine scarcely looked upon the Parisians as their fellow-countrymen. When it ended, they recognised the necessity of their position and accepted, if somewhat grudgingly, Charles VII. as their sovereign lord.

The advantage which France won, however painfully, from this struggle for her national existence was to some extent neutralised by the folly of her kings, especially of John and Charles V., in granting enormous "appanages" to members of their family, which made them almost independent sovereigns and tended to keep alive sectional and provincial jealousies. It was owing to this mistaken policy that the rival houses of Burgundy and Orleans were able to distract their country by that fatal feud which, far more than the English valour at Agincourt, laid France prostrate at the feet of Henry V.; and even when peace was restored and the English invader expelled, the reconciled Duke of Burgundy was terrible to his sovereign lord, whose

THE PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

power he gloomily overshadowed. Lords of Burgundy by inheritance, and of the rich Netherlands by marriage, these mighty seigneurs, whose beautifully carved tombs, a marvel of late mediæval work, are the glory of the cathedral at Dijon, became the traditional enemies of their French cousins, traditional allies of the English kings, whose country was closely connected with their country by the ties

proudest of European royalties, was all accomplished in the period now before us. When the mighty house of Hohenstaufen fell (1254) there was for a time anarchy in Central Europe. Phantom emperors, an English prince (Richard Duke of Cornwall), a king of Castile (Alfonso the Wise), and others flitted across the stage; but none of them exercised any real authority, till in 1273 the

Electors chose for emperor a Swabian knight of respectable position named Rudolf of Hapsburg, who was accordingly crowned with the imperial diadem in Charlemagne's city of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). The territories—of very moderate extent—over which Rudolf ruled, as well as his castle of Hapsburg, were situated in the valley of the Aar, in the north-east corner of what is now Switzerland. It is worthy of note that the cradle of that dynasty, which has pre-eminently represented the monarchic principle in Europe, and the cradle of the first, and we might almost say the typical, Teutonic republic were situated within a short day's journey of one another.

Rudolf, who had been chosen partly on account of his very insignificance, proved himself a stronger and abler ruler than had been expected. He humbled to the dust the proud Ottokar, king of Bohemia, in whose court he had once served, and after his second victory over him rent away from his slain rival the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a goodly inheritance which he bestowed upon his own son, thereby laying the foundation of the greatness of

the house of Hapsburg. Unlike his recent predecessors he was on friendliest terms with the Pope; but no invitations or exhortations could induce him to enter Italy, "that lion's cave," into which he saw many footsteps tending, but from which there were none returning.

There was as yet no willingness on the part of the Electors to permit the empire to become hereditary in the Hapsburg



ST. LOUIS DISPENSING JUSTICE

Louis IX., king of France, was one of the highest type of rulers produced by the Roman Catholic and feudal world of the Middle Ages. A sincere Catholic, he was yet no tool of the Pope, and under his reign the administrative and judicial systems of his country were greatly developed. He died in 1270.

of commerce. The very surnames of these men mark their militant position—Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, and Charles the Rash; they were men born to be assassinated or slain in battle.

Eventually, as we shall see, the fortunes of the heirs of Burgundy were closely intertwined with those of the house of Hapsburg. The uprise of this house of Hapsburg, by no means the oldest though one of the

or any other line. With difficulty did Rudolf's son, Albert, win the imperial crown, which he held for a few troubled years; and after his death, in 1308, there was no emperor of the house of Hapsburg reigning with undisputed title for 130 years. For twelve years (1314-1325) Frederic of Austria was endeavouring,

The Emperor generally with little success, to vindicate his right to the
After imperial title against his rival,
Dante's Heart Louis of Bavaria.

This interval, somewhat tantalising to the student who knows that it will end in the establishment of the empire in the Hapsburg line, was filled chiefly by emperors of the house of Luxemburg, such as Henry VII., the ruler for whose advent into Italy Dante longed, and who, when he came, was crowned emperor in Rome, but after three years' stay in Italy, years of mingled success and failure, died, as men said, from poison administered in a cup of sacramental wine. Henry's son, the blind King John of Bohemia, who fought so bravely at Crécy, was never emperor; but his grandson, Charles IV., the Parson's Emperor, as he was called, because of the ecclesiastical influence which secured his election, by his celebrated Golden Bull (1356) weakened the prerogatives of the Imperial Crown and established the Seven Electors as almost independent sovereigns. These Electors were three ecclesiastical potentates in Rhineland, the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves; and four secular princes, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the King of Bohemia (who after 1437 was generally a Hapsburg), and the Duke of Saxony. By this instrument, as Mr. Bryce has well said, Charles IV. "legalised anarchy and called it a constitution." Yet it is interesting to note the prevalence at this date in Central Europe of a form of government which has now entirely disappeared. In the

Experiments some time longer, Germany,
in the Art of Bohemia, Hungary and
Government Poland were all elective monarchies. In other ways at this time some new and interesting experiments were being made in the art of government. Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf, to whose short tenure of the imperial dignity reference has been made, was successfully resisted (1307-1308) by the inhabitants of the four

Forest Cantons which cluster round the Lake of Lucerne. This was the germ of the Swiss Confederation, which at Morgarten in 1315, and at Sempach in 1386, defeated the knights and men at arms sent against them by the Austrian princes, and for ever established the independence of Switzerland.

During the same century, the century of the thirteen hundreds, the confederacy of German merchants known as the Hanse Towns—the chief of them Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen—were fitting out fleets and armies, and comporting themselves like sovereign princes on the shores of the Baltic. By the treaty of Stralsund in 1370 they obtained from Waldemar III., king of Denmark, the right to receive for fifteen years two-thirds of the Danish revenues and a provision that thereafter none of his successors should ascend the throne without the consent of the Hansa. When, in 1397, the daughter of this king, Waldemar, Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North," succeeded in uniting Denmark, Sweden, and Norway by the Union of Calmar (1397), the power of the Hanseatic League was somewhat abated; but to the end of the

The Arrogant period under consideration it
Claim of remained a most important
Frederic III. factor in the politics of the
Baltic states.

Returning for a moment to the Hapsburg princes, we have to note that at last, in 1437-1438, a Hapsburg, Albert II., having married the heiress of the house of Luxemburg, was elected king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and emperor; but he held these dignities only for a short time, dying in 1439. On his death, his cousin, the Duke of Styria, was raised to the empire as Frederic III., and thenceforward the imperial title was borne by none but his descendants for nearly four centuries, at the end of which time the empire itself ceased to be. Frederic III., himself, a dull, slow man, with the heavy under-lip of the Hapsburgs, dabbled in alchemy and astrology, and derived, apparently from these studies, an intense conviction of the proud destiny of his house. This conviction he expressed in the mystic letters A.E.I.O.U., which he caused to be carved abundantly on all his furniture, and which signified "Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Untertan (the whole earth is subject to Austria), which we might paraphrase "All Europe Is Ours Undoubtedly," the equivalent in the fifteenth

century of the nineteenth century song, "Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles."

As that song is now sung chiefly by the Northern Germans, we may here remark that the Hohenzollern princes, who are now represented by the Emperor William II., obtained possession of Brandenburg, which has now been for many centuries the stronghold of their dynasty, in the year 1417. The Hohenzollerns, like the Hohenstaufen and the Hapsburgs, came originally from Swabia, that picturesque south-west corner of Germany, watered by the sharply turning Rhine, which almost alone of the provinces of Germany was once part of the Roman Empire.

We recross the Alps and inquire what are to be the fortunes of Italy now that the Swabian sons of her Norman conquerors are vanished out of the land. Not absolutely, however, did they vanish when Manfred fell at Benevento. In 1268, Manfred's nephew, the gallant youth Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV., descended into Italy with a large army. For a time fortune smiled upon him, and even when he joined battle with his enemy, King Charles, near Tagliacozzo, under the

**Conradin
Dies on the
Scaffold**

shadow of the Sabine Mountains, the battle at first went in his favour; but a well-planned ambushade threw his army into disorder. Victory was for Charles, death on the field of battle for a multitude of German knights, the followers of Conradin; a more ignominious death at Naples, by the hands of the executioner, for Conradin, himself a captured fugitive. It was considered a foul and unknighly deed when the Frenchman thus punished the captive lad who had but striven to regain the inheritance of his fathers; and later writers described how from the scaffold he threw his gauntlet down on the pavement of the Piazza del Mercato, crying, "Take that glove to him who will avenge me." Criticism has thrown doubt on this story, but there is no doubt that it was as the avenger of Conradin that his cousin by marriage, Pedro, king of Arragon, Manfred's son-in-law, before long appeared upon the scene.

Charles of Anjou, a hard and hateful man, vexed his subjects with all manner of new taxes rigorously exacted; but even more than by pecuniary oppression the souls of the people, especially the hot-blooded Sicilians, were fired by the insolence of the French soldiers who

swaggered as conquerors among a nation whom they despised. Vengeance slumbered for fourteen years; but during all that time the gauntlet of Conradin—real or metaphorical—was being treasured at the court of Arragon, and when at last, on the evening of Easter Monday (March 30th, 1282) the low insults of a French soldier

**Terrible
Massacre of
Frenchmen**

to a Sicilian matron roused the people of Palermo to revolt. King Pedro was ready to aid them. The massacre of all Frenchmen, which began with the ringing of the vesper bell at Palermo, was accomplished with dreadful thoroughness all over the island, and is known to history as the Sicilian Vespers. Charles of Anjou, of course, did not surrender the beautiful island without a struggle. Messina endured a terrible siege, but survived untaken. Pedro of Arragon was declared king, and successfully established his kingdom, which was held by his descendants down to our own time.

Charles remained king of Naples and of all Southern Italy, which by a legal fiction received also the name of Sicily, and hence came that absurd title, "King of Both the Sicilies," which, when the two kingdoms afterwards came together under descendants of the king of Arragon, was borne by their rulers.

Thus, as far as Sicily was concerned, the arrogant French invader was repelled, but, alas, freedom had to be purchased at the cost of submission to another foreigner, a Spaniard. The conditions were similar to those which inspired Byron's lines addressed to Italy.

"The stranger's sword"

Is thy sad weapon of defence, and so,
Victor or vanquished, thou the slave
of friend or foe."

Thus the fall of the Hohenstaufen brought little peace to Italy. Let us now see how it affected the fortunes of the Hohenstaufens' great enemy, the papacy. In 1294, on the occasion of a papal vacancy,

**"Wild Man"
on the
Papal Throne**

the cardinals, divided among themselves, and tired of one another's intrigues, took the unexpected step of choosing as Pope a holy hermit in the mountains of the Abruzzi, who most unwillingly donned the papal crown and took the title of Celestine V. It was soon seen, however, that a great saint might make a very bad Pope. This wild man from the mountains, with his shaggy beard and vile raiment, though kings held

the bridle of his ass as he rode into the city of Aquila, could not adapt himself to the splendour of his new position or manage with decent ability the complicated affairs of his world-wide spiritual kingdom. Almost at once he began to meditate abdication and a return to the roots and water of his cell; and one of

The Pope Celestine V. Abdicates

the cardinals, the astute Benedetto Gaetano, was ever at his ear whispering that this would be his wisest course. In December, 1294, after little more than four months' pontificate, Celestine abdicated—if a Pope could abdicate—his great office, making, as Dante says, "through cowardice the grand refusal," and was succeeded by his benevolent adviser, Gaetano, who took the title Boniface VIII., and before long committed his predecessor to a strict imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, from which, after a few years' captivity, he was released by death.

In the pontificate of Boniface VIII. the papal power seemed to reach its greatest height, only to undergo its most terrible humiliation. He out-Hildebranded Hildebrand in the language which he addressed to kings and emperors. "There are two swords," he said, quoting the words of Christ in the garden. "These are the spiritual and the temporal. One sword

must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. We assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

For a time all went well with the haughty and grasping Boniface. He banished the whole family of the Colonnas, his personal enemies, he razed their fortresses, and forbade their city of Palestrina to be rebuilt. He imposed peace on the warring kings of England and France. He proclaimed a Jubilee in the year 1300; men, women, and children flocked to Rome to obtain eternal salvation; and two priests stood by the altar of St. Peter's with rakes in their hands sweeping in the gold and

Pilgrims and their Gold at St. Peter's

silver coins offered by the pilgrims. It was said that during this Jubilee Boniface wore an imperial crown as well as the papal, that the purple sandals of the emperor were on his feet, and that two swords, signifying temporal and spiritual power, were borne before him.

But this man, so proud and domineering, met his equal in the king of France, Philip the Fair, grandson of St. Louis, and in all things the opposite of his sainted



A CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

From a copperplate by Albert Dürer



FUGITIVES: THE MONASTERY AS A HARBOUR OF REFUGE

This reproduction of a painting by Mr. E. Blair Leighton is wonderfully suggestive. In an age when war was an everyday event, and executions were easy and frequent, no one knew when his or her end might come, and it people felt that enemies were on their track, they escaped while they had the opportunity. Not infrequently the monasteries offered themselves as harbours of refuge, and there fugitives were safe from the dangers that threatened them.

From the painting in the Mackelvie Art Gallery, Auckland

ancestor. Hard, covetous, and revengeful, Philip came into collision with Boniface over his claims to tax the revenues of the Church; and he found his pretensions ably supported by the rising school of lay lawyers, who magnified the office of Cæsar as much as the ecclesiastical lawyers magnified the office of the Vicar of Christ. The Pope thundered forth his bulls; the French king replied with his angry decrees. There were excommunications on one side, outlawry and confiscation on the other; but it was plain that Philip had the majority of his subjects on his part, and that he would

The Duel Between Pope and King

not have to go to Canossa or feel on his neck the pressure of the Pontiff's sandal. Far from this, he and his legal advisers began to moot the question of Boniface's own right to the Popedom, the weak point in which was, of course, his election during the lifetime of his predecessor, and to press for his trial before a general council on some strange and scarcely credible charges of heresy, blasphemy, and immorality. But ere such a council could

be summoned Boniface, who, to avoid the heat of a summer in the city and the turbulence of Roman citizens, had retired to his native town of Agnana, was attacked there by a band of ruffians, headed by one of his old enemies the Colonnas, and by a myrmidon of Philip, William of Nogaret; and by these men and their followers he

was so roughly handled that in less than five weeks he expired. **Boniface Dies from Assault** The assailants and all but murderers of the Pope were never punished, but, on the other hand, the memory of Boniface was spared that solemn condemnation which Philip longed to inflict. The influence of the French king, however, was now triumphant at the papal court; one Frenchman after another was raised to the papacy and came to nestle under the wing of French royalty at Avignon on the Rhone. Avignon was not at this time actually part of the French territory, though closely bordering upon it. Thus began the Seventy Years' Captivity which amazed and scandalised Europe. For the greater part of the thirteen hundreds,

from 1305 to 1376, during the hottest of the war between Edward III. and the Valois kings, we must think of the Pope as the humble client of the French king, it might be said hardly more than his domestic chaplain.

It was in this position of meek subordination to the king of France that Clement V., the first Avignon Pontiff (1305-1314), sanctioned the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars, on account of their alleged immorality, heresy, and secret practising of obscene and blasphemous rights. For these alleged crimes, mainly on the strength of confessions extracted by torture, the aged Grand Master of the Order, John du Molay, and 113 of the knights were burned in Paris. Hundreds perished in the French prisons. In England the Order was also suppressed, and some of its members appear to have been subjected to the torture, but the punishment was for the most part limited to lifelong seclusion in a convent. The degree of justification for the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars is one of the disputed questions of history, and in some respects resembles the similar question with reference to the suppression of the English monastic orders in the fifteen hundreds.

In both cases large and terrible accusations were brought against the incriminated parties, and it is not easy to understand how these rumours can have arisen absolutely without cause; but in both cases also the chief crime of the accused was evidently their large possessions, which attracted the desires of a greedy and extravagant king, in England, Henry VIII., in France, Philip the Fair. The execution of Grand Master du Molay especially moved the pity of Europe, which heard of the martyr's dying summons to king and Pope to meet him speedily before the bar of the Most High—a summons which was followed by the death of Clement V. within thirteen months and of Philip IV. within twenty-one months of the murder of their victim.

**King and Pope
Answer
Dying Summons**

The sojourn of the Popes for more than two generations at Avignon is one of the strange paradoxes of mediæval history. How, we ask ourselves, was it possible for ecclesiastics whose sole title to the obedience of the Church lay in the fact that they were Bishops of Rome to spend the

whole of their official lives in a city on the Rhone, a month's journey from the imperial city? Theoretically the position was certainly indefensible. Practically, it is easy to see how the thing came to pass. The French influence having once become strong in the College of Cardinals, tended to become ever stronger, since each French Pope created more and more of his own countrymen. The king of France, not yet engaged in his deadly struggle with England, overshadowed the weak Bohemian emperors of Germany.

Italy, now that the emperor was no longer in any sense arbiter of her destinies, was falling into a state of disorganisation, city warring against city, and almost every city having its own knot of exiled citizens who were yearning to return to their homes and to wreak vengeance upon their opponents. After a short and glorious existence, the Italian republics in the thirteen hundreds were falling one by one under the yoke of tyrants—in the Greek sense, masters of a city which had been free—the Visconti at Milan, the Della Scala at Verona, Castracani at Lucca, and so forth.

**Florence
Tossed by
Faction**

Florence, the great Guelf city, it is true, was still free, though sorely tossed by faction, and Venice, that marvel of aristocratic state-craft, had naught to fear in the way of tyranny from her tightly-curbed and muzzled Doges. But elsewhere the Republicanism which had largely prevailed in Italy under the theoretical rule of the Franconian and Swabian emperors was giving place to a form of government which was not feudalism, still less constitutional monarchy, but the irresponsible, unlimited, often cruel *governo d'un solo*. In the states of the Church turbulent barons alternated with turbulent democracies, and both, as opportunity offered, availed themselves of the assistance of those predatory bands of soldiers representing no nationality and responsible to no sovereign, who were called Condottieri, or free companies, and who were, unfortunately, to a large extent the outcome of the long and devastating wars of the Plantagenets in France.

In addition to these troubles came the terrible scourge of the Black Death—perhaps the most awful pestilence that the world has ever seen, which from 1346 to 1368 swept over Europe, destroying in some regions as much as two-thirds of the population, and, on an average, of the



AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE MOORS IN SPAIN
From the painting by Clutha, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Cie.

whole probably not less than a quarter. From these varied causes the condition of Italy in the middle of the thirteen hundreds was doubtless a sad one, and it is not perhaps surprising that the Pope and his cardinals, for the most part Frenchmen, should have preferred the splendid semi-regal fortress-palace of Avignon and their luxurious villas by the Rhone in beautiful Provence to the fever-haunted streets of alien Rome. For a short time it seemed as if the great absentee landlord would lose his hold upon the property from which he took his title.

Rienzi the Meteoric Reformer

The splendid dreamer, Nicolas Gabrini, who is known to history by the name of Rienzi, musing on the miserable state of Rome, agitated as she was by the faction fights of turbulent nobles, and comparing it with the calm majesty of the old Roman Republic, as revealed to him by inscriptions in the Forum, and interpreted by the pages of Livy, decided to call his fellow-citizens to revolt, and assumed the historic title of Tribune (1347-1349). He was marvellously successful for a time; the proud nobles, the Orsini and the Colonnas, were awed into silence and submission, and the papal legate found it expedient to be a humble partner in the tribune's administration. But Rienzi's record in history is essentially meteoric. As a meteor he burst upon Europe; as a meteor he fell, the victim partly of his own vain, unstable character. If he had possessed the brave, modest nature of a Garibaldi, he might, perhaps, have changed the course of history and re-established, half a millennium ago, the Roman Republic. But he was only Rienzi, and his meteor light left the sky dark behind it.

The Seventy Years' Captivity at Avignon, itself somewhat of a scandal, died out in the greater scandal of the Forty Years' Schism. Under the earnest pressure of the

Humble Monk Raised to the Pope's Chair

public opinion of Christendom, as represented by such enthusiasts as Catharine of Siena, Pope Gregory XI. returned to Rome for a visit, which proved to be a farewell visit, for he died there early in 1378. Where the Pope died, there must the Conclave be held. The cardinals assembled in Rome to choose a new Pope, appalled by the furious shouts of the populace, who demanded a Roman, or at least an Italian, Pope, went outside

their own college—more than half of whom were Frenchmen—and elected Bartolommeo Prignani, an Italian of low origin, but skilled in the canon law and famed for his piety, who took the title of Urban VI. The humble monk, when raised to the papal throne, developed qualities of insolent and ferocious pride, some of the manifestations of which seem to indicate a vein of lurking insanity. The luxurious and high-born cardinals found themselves restricted to one dish at dinner, and heard their new master bellow at them such courtesies as: "You have talked long enough," "Hold your tongue," and so forth. Worst of all, the Pope declared his intention of remaining in Rome, and was about to make a large creation of Italian cardinals in order effectually to bar the way of a return to Avignon.

At this, a large party of cardinals, chiefly Frenchmen, broke away from their allegiance, declared the election of Urban invalid, as having been made under duress from the Roman mob, and elected as Pope the high-born soldier-cardinal, Robert of Geneva. He took the name of Clement VII.,

Rival Popes and their Supporters

and ere long found his way back to Avignon, and, though with diminished splendour, kept high court there, like the six Popes before him. His rival remained in Rome, or when frightened thence by the turbulence of the mob or by the soldiers of the Queen of Naples, with whom, though Neapolitan born, he had continued to quarrel, he took up his abode at Genoa, at Lucca, at Perugia, at any Italian city which could give him a constrained welcome.

The chief powers of Europe ranged themselves under one or other of the rival banners. Northern Italy, Germany and England were in obedience to Urban VI. France, Spain, Scotland and Naples were in obedience to Clement of Avignon. It will be seen how large a share national quarrels had in determining ecclesiastical partisanship. France, of course, took the side of the Pope who hankered after pleasant Avignon; Germany and England, as foes to France, took the side of his rival; Scotland, as deadly enemy to England, followed France.

The schism thus begun lasted, as has been said, for nearly forty years. When Clement VII. died, in September, 1394, a successor to him was chosen who took the



POPE URBAN VI. RECITING HIS BREVIARY TO ENCOURAGE TORTURE

On the death of Pope Gregory XI., in 1378, the populace furiously demanded that a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be raised to the papal throne, and the cardinals, with whom the election rested, appalled by the clamour, chose Bartolommeo Prignano, an Italian of low origin. The new Pope took the title of Urban VI. Hearing of a conspiracy among his cardinals, the Pope invited the ringleaders to his country residence, the Castle of Nocera, and put them to torture in order to extract from them the details of the plot. While this barbarous work was in progress, Urban VI. walked beneath the window of the torture chamber reciting his breviary aloud to encourage the torturers in their work.

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title of Benedict XIII. To his rival, who had died five years before, three Popes in succession were elected by the Italian cardinals, the last of these being the octogenarian Gregory XII. (1406-1417). At each election the same professions of earnest desire to end the schism were clamorously repeated, and each successive

**Three Popes
at the
Same Time**

pontiff expressed his willingness to abdicate if his rival would do the same. "I would abdicate," said Benedict XIII., before his election, "as easily as I take off my hat." "I long for a conference which shall restore unity," said the venerable Gregory XII. "If there is not a galley to take me to the place of meeting, I will go in a fishing boat. If horses fail for the land journey, I will take my staff in my hand and will go on foot." But practically all yearning after conciliation and compromise resolved itself into a willingness to accept the unconditional surrender of the opponent. Each Pope would graciously allow the anti-pope to kiss his foot, but was invincibly resolved not to perform the converse operation.

The anarchy of the Church reached its climax when, at the Council of Pisa in 1409, both the rival Popes were called upon to resign and a devout Franciscan friar was elected in their stead, under the title of Alexander V. But the existing Popes, though formally deposed, refused to accept their deposition, and it was soon evident that the council, instead of ending the schism, had only widened it by adding a third Pope to the list. More dreadful was the entanglement when, after the short pontificate of Alexander, the tiara was bestowed upon a man who, though a cardinal, was little better than a general of *condottieri*, Balthasare Cossa, who took the title of John XXIII. The well-meant endeavours to end the schism had but ended in the election of one of the most disreputable pontiffs who ever sat

**The Famous
Council
of Constance**

in the chair of St. Peter. The extraordinary evil called for an extraordinary remedy. This was none other than the far-famed Council which assembled at Constance under the presidency of Sigismund, last emperor of the house of Luxemburg, and which sat for three years and a half—from November, 1414, till May, 1418. The assembling of this council, at which 29 cardinals, three patriarchs, 33 archbishops, and 2,400 other ecclesiastics from all parts of

Europe were present, besides 100 dukes and earls, 2,400 knights, and 116 representatives of cities, was one of the greatest events of the Middle Ages. Had it corresponded to the jubilant expectations formed of it, the Council might have been their glorious finale.

Much had been hoped for from the assembling of so many grave and learned men, especially in the reformation of abuses which, in the course of ages, had crept into the administration of the Church. What was accomplished? The obliteration of the three obstinate old men, each of whom persisted in calling himself the Vicar of Christ, and the election in their stead of a capable and respectable Italian noble of the house of Colonna, who took the title of Martin V. This was a wise and statesmanlike act, though some think that even after the lapse of three years the Council showed undue haste in electing a Pope before, instead of after, passing those measures of reform which became practically unattainable after it had given itself a master in the person of Pope Martin.

Not so wise or so statesmanlike were the acts by which the Council sought to demonstrate its own orthodoxy, the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two devout and learned Bohemians who, in the spirit of Wiclif, and partly in consequence of his teaching, had defended what would now be called the Protestant position against the mediæval papacy. In the case of Huss, this murder was especially to be condemned, as he had come to Constance of his own free will, trusting to a safe conduct which he had received from the emperor. Of this fact he reminded Sigismund when he stood before his tribunal to receive his condemnation, and it is said that the emperor blushed with shame. Practically, a Pope elected and two heretics burned were all the outcome of this memorable and long-labouring Council.

Underlying the discussions on temporary points of policy at the Council of Constance was the important question of the constitution of the Church. If the power of an œcumenical council could be magnified, if its sittings could be repeated at short and regular intervals, it could be made impossible for the Pope to take any important step without its advice, the constitution of the Church would become aristocratic; if Martin V. and his successors

THE PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

could succeed in negating these proposals, and could keep the papacy on the old lines on which it had moved from Hildebrand to Boniface, it would remain monarchical. The second alternative event was that which actually happened. Council after council was held during the thirty years after the Council of Constance; Basle, Ferrara, Florence, each had its council, the first defying the Pope, and even renewing for a time the misery of the schism, the second and third working with the Roman Pope and effecting a

papacy in the centuries that we have been lately traversing is really central in the history of Europe. Financially, the enormous drain of bullion to Rome or to Avignon, in order to meet the demands of the papal tax-gatherers, diverted the course of commerce, created the profession of bankers, sometimes helped and sometimes hindered the struggles of English parliaments with their kings. And in the purely political domain, in the war of dynasties and the collision of nations the papal question played a most



THE SPANISH INQUISITION: READY FOR THE ACCUSED

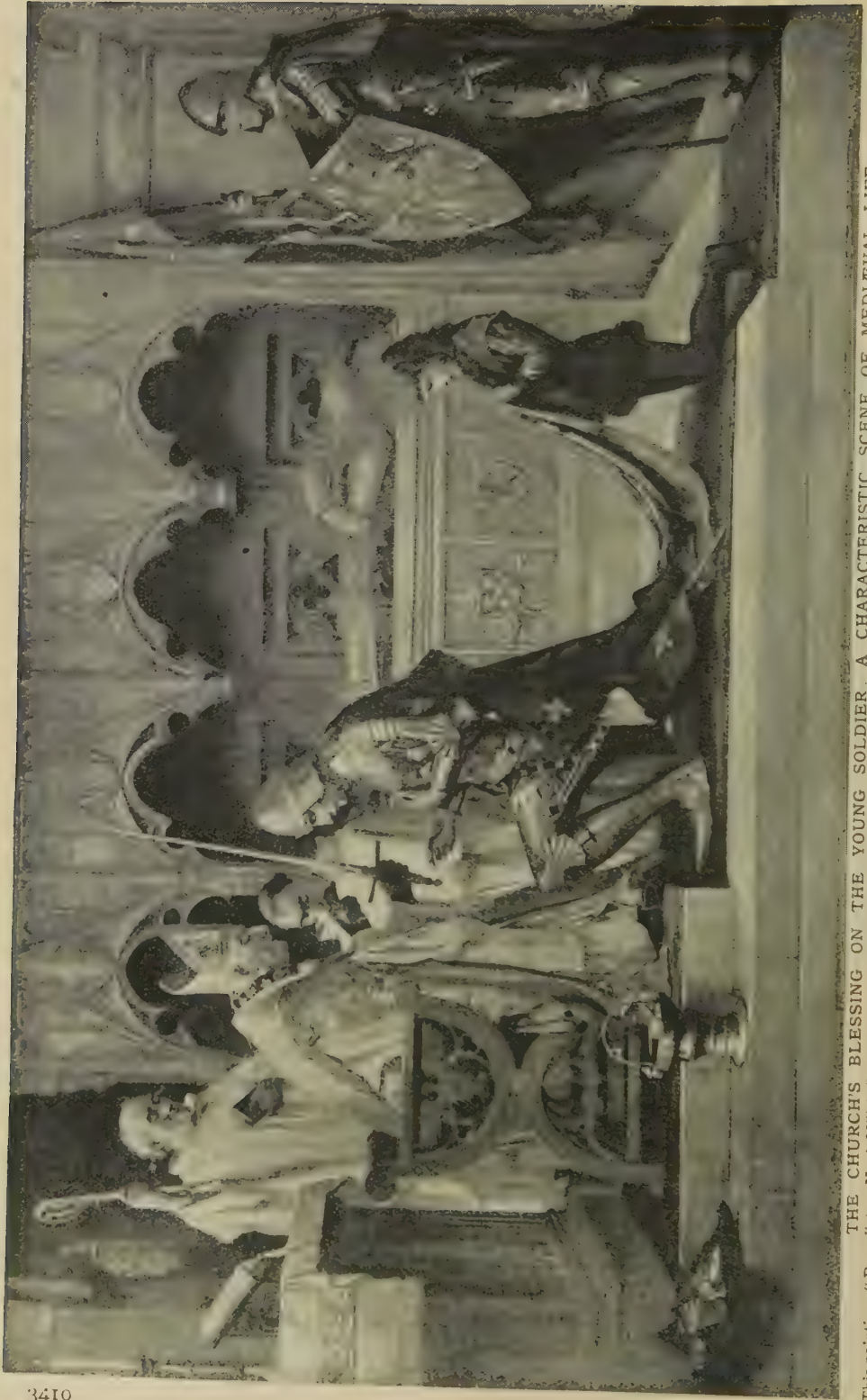
This tribunal, established by the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages for the punishment of heresy, was a terrible instrument. All the inquisitors were churchmen, and one of them, the infamous Torquemada, is said to have condemned no fewer than 9,000 persons during his tenure of office. It was not till 1835 that the Inquisition was finally abolished, and though it still exists as the Holy Office, its function is confined to the detection of heresy in books.

Reproduced from the painting by the Hon. John Collier by the artist's permission

short-lived reconciliation between the Latin and Greek Churches. But all ended in a re-establishment, apparently on a firmer basis than ever, of the papal supremacy; and our fourth period closes with the pontificate of Nicolas V., a lover of peace, a lover of the arts, and one of the best of the mediæval pontiffs. He is said to have died of grief on hearing of the fall of Constantinople.

Let it not be thought that in this brief sketch too large a space has been given to ecclesiastical affairs: The history of the

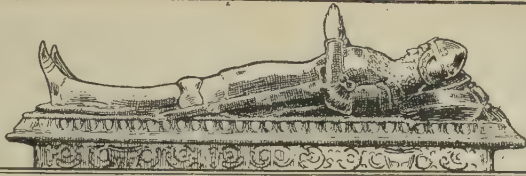
important part. Anyone, who studies the history of Naples, of Florence, of Milan, of Bohemia and of Hungary, or reads the story of the wars between England and France, will find his steps continually dogged by the Seventy Years Captivity and the Great Schism. It is worthy of note that Agincourt was fought in the first year of the Council of Constance, and that in the interests of his schemes for papal reform Sigismund tried to arrange a three years' truce between France and England.



THE CHURCH'S BLESSING ON THE YOUNG SOLDIER. A CHARACTERISTIC SCENE OF MEDIEVAL LIFE
This painting, "Benedictus Novi Militis," represents the religious service of blessing the young soldier, much in vogue in mediæval times, and still observed in the Catholic Church.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Taylor, by permission of the artist

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY IV
BY
DR. THOMAS
HODGKIN

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

ENORMOUS as have been the changes in the aspect of the world and in human life which have been wrought by the nineteenth century, it may probably be asserted with truth that at least equal changes were wrought by events which occurred in the last half of the fourteen hundreds.

The first of these was the fall of Constantinople (May 29th, 1453). While emperors and kings were still playing with the question of possible crusades, for which Popes were pleading in deadly earnest, the believers in Islam, reversing the crusading process, crossed the Bosphorus and took the great city which for more than a thousand years had preserved in strange union the two memories of Cæsar and of Christ. Western Christendom was horrified at the news, but did little to stay the onrushing Ottoman tide which for more than 200 years—till the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683—was always more or less of a terror to Europe. But cruel as was the loss to the East, the West was in some sort a gainer, by the dispersion of eminent scholars who reinforced the ranks of the Humanists—the lovers of the illustrious classical literature of bygone ages and the opponents of the schoolmen—both by their oral teaching and by the priceless manuscripts which they preserved from the sack of Constantinople. As was finely said by a modern scholar: "At this time Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." This new learning, powerfully aided by the art of printing, which was invented somewhere about 1450, set fermenting in the minds of such men as Erasmus and Luther thoughts which were destined to work marvellous changes in the mental atmosphere of Europe. Geographically, the voyages of discovery which signalled the closing years of our present period were the most

important that were ever made since the first Phœnician mariners pushed through the Pillars of Hercules into the vast and shoreless Atlantic.

Throughout the fourteen hundreds the work of maritime discovery along the east coast of Africa had been entirely undertaken by the Portuguese, who were cheered on their adventurous career by the patronage of their noble prince, Henry the Navigator, a man who had English blood in his veins, being the grandson, on his mother's side, of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

From his eyrie on Cape St. Vincent he watched the departure, in 1419, of two frail vessels which sailed a little beyond the Peak of Teneriffe. Later voyages were much more successful, and before his death, in 1460, the Portuguese discoverers had crept down to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, twenty degrees nearer to the Equator than that ominous Cape Nam (Cape No) which, when Prince Henry began his enterprise, had been the southern limit of European navigation.

After the prince's death, his great work went steadily forward. Guinea and the Gold Coast, the mouth of the mighty River Congo, and Angola were discovered, and in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household, with the double hope of discovering a passage to India and meeting with the mythical Prester John, steered due south for many days and discovered the promontory which he called the Cape of Storms, but which the Portuguese king on his return insisted on renaming the Cape of Good Hope. But the long eastward bend of the coast of South Africa seems to have hidden from him and his sailors the real meaning of their discovery. It was not till eleven years later, in 1497, that the illustrious Vasco da Gama succeeded in fairly rounding the southern end of the great

**Greece
Rises "from
the Dead"**

Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." This new learning, powerfully aided by the art of printing, which was invented somewhere about 1450, set fermenting in the minds of such men as Erasmus and Luther thoughts which were destined to work marvellous changes in the mental atmosphere of Europe. Geographically, the voyages of discovery which signalled the closing years of our present period were the most

continent, and, steering across the Indian Ocean, reached the coast of Hindustan and beheld the Zamorin of Calicut in his palace.

It is a strange thought that the vain hope of doing in another way that which was thus accomplished with comparative ease by Vasco da Gama had driven Christopher

Columbus five years previously, in 1492, on his desperate voyage westward across the Atlantic. On the well-known

circumstances of those memorable months of suspense, which ended on October 11th, when Columbus, standing on the poop of his vessel, saw the moving lights of Guanahani, there is no need to dwell. Only we ought to emphasise to ourselves the change which the discovery of this western world, expanding every year, as it evidently seemed to expand, by the reports of the successors of Columbus, must have wrought in the mind of the ordinary commonplace mediæval European. It is perhaps not too much to say that it was as great as that which would be wrought in us by the discovery of a means of communication with the inhabitants of Mars or Venus.

It was hard that when a Portuguese prince had been the prime mover in this crusade of discovery, the glory and the gain of it accrued chiefly to the Spanish sovereigns. As the well-known motto on the tomb of Columbus, dictated by Ferdinand of Arragon himself, ran :

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

(To Leon's and to Castile's throne
Columbus brought a world unknown.)

Besides the discovery of America and the riches resulting therefrom, many other causes concurred in the fourteen hundreds to push Spain, hitherto somewhat solitary and self-absorbed, into the front rank, the fighting line of the nations of Europe. In the seven centuries that had elapsed since the Moorish con-

Spain's quest she and the sister state of Portugal had been slowly winning back their country from the Moors. At first the

Rapid Rise process was a slow one ; but in the twelve hundreds, after the great Christian victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, it went forward with giant strides, and by the middle of that century the only region of Spain left to the Moslems was the fertile but comparatively small province of Granada. There, however, a compact kingdom was

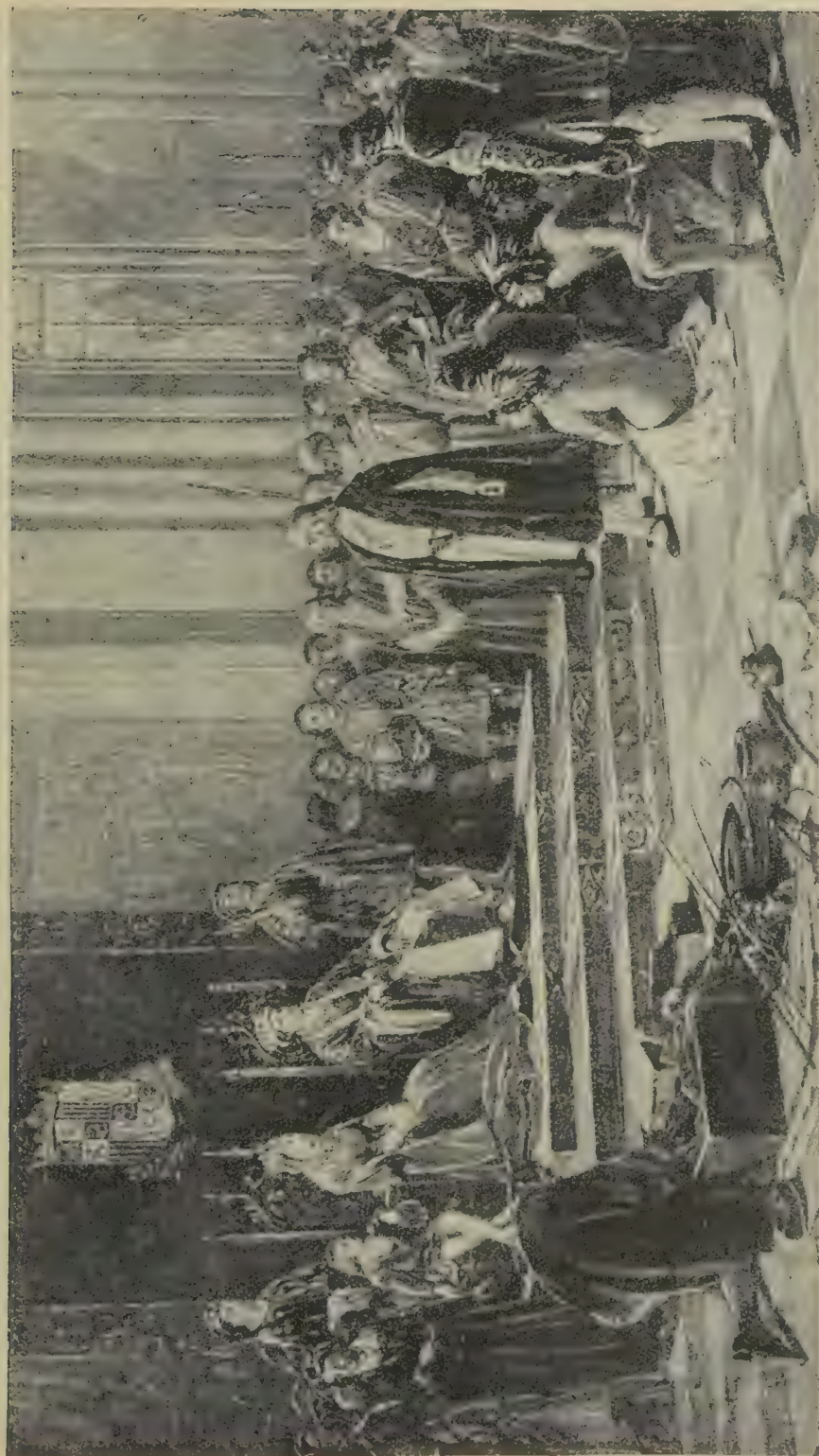
founded which endured for more than 250 years (1238-1492). One reason for its continuance, probably the chief reason for all the long pauses in the Christian advance, was the number of petty kingdoms into which the peninsula was divided. Leon, Castile, Navarre, Barcelona, Arragon, Portugal—all had for long their separate existence, and were frequently at war with one another.

Now, however, at last, by the marriage of Ferdinand of Arragon with Isabella of Castile in 1469, almost the whole of Spain was united in one powerful monarchy. The exception was Navarre, which was not appropriated by Ferdinand till 1512. The actual union of Arragon and Castile did not take place till 1479, on the death of Isabella's brother, Enrique IV. One of the earliest enterprises of the royal pair after they had come into full possession of their sovereignty was the annexation of Granada. For ten years the war went on, the patient strategy of Ferdinand being greatly aided by domestic quarrels in the Moorish palace, son rebelling against

Granada in father, and uncle fighting
the Hands of against nephew. At length,
the Christians on January 4th, 1492—three months before Columbus set sail from Seville—the last blow was struck. Granada itself, hopelessly blockaded, surrendered to the Christians, and its weeping king, Abu Abdallah, looking his last on its stately pinnacles, rode forth into exile.

The subjugation of the last Mohammedan state in Spain was perhaps regarded by Christendom as some slight compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Unhappily, the Christian sovereigns showed themselves less tolerant towards their conquered subjects of another faith than the Turkish sultan. Ferdinand's promises of toleration for the Mussulman Moors were soon evaded ; forcible conversions were attempted ; the Inquisition put forth its baneful energies—everything was prepared for that disastrous revolt of the Moriscos, disastrously quelled, which inflicted so deep a wound on Spain in the following century.

The "kings" of Arragon and Castile, so fortunate in all else, suffered the disappointment of seeing their male issue expire in their own lifetime. It was evident that their magnificent inheritance must fall to the lot of the descendants of one of their daughters ; and that daughter



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS IN THE PALACE OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN

The life of Christopher Columbus makes a wonderful story of romance. Born in the neighbourhood of Genoa about the year 1450, he went to sea at the early age of fourteen. People laughed at him in after years when he spoke of crossing the Atlantic to India; but instead of reaching India he actually discovered America. In this picture he is seen in the royal palace of Barcelona, in April, 1492, bringing the news of the discovery of America to the King and Queen of Spain. Columbus was not always thus honoured, and died in poverty.



SEA-GOING NORMAN WARRIORS: ANCESTORS OF ENGLAND'S CONQUERORS

Inhabiting a province of France, the Normans were regarded by their French neighbours as pirates and heathen till the close of the tenth century, yet under Rolf's grandson, Richard the Fearless (942-996), they gradually adopted French Christianity and feudalism. William the Conqueror, the seventh Duke, united Normandy to England in 1066.

eventually proved to be Princess Joanna, wife of Philip of Hapsburg, whose eldest son, Charles, the future Charles V., was born in the last year of the century, the fateful year 1500.

Meanwhile, during the whole of the previous period there had been a growing community of interest between the two peninsulas, the Spanish and the Italian, and a growing tendency in Italian affairs to embitter the relations between Spain and France. Two successive queens of Naples, descendants of Charles of Anjou, Joanna I. and II., both of them women of tainted reputation, had embroiled the politics of Italy by adopting as their heirs both French and Spanish princes. The French claimants, three successive Louis of Anjou, had never succeeded in making good their title for any lengthened period, and the last of the line, "le bon roi René," troubadour and master of pageants, but more interesting to Englishmen as father of Margaret of Anjou, of fatal memory in our civil wars, was himself as shadowy a king of

Naples as his forefathers. But in 1442 the great prize fell to another adopted son of the latest Joanna, to Alphonso, king of Arragon, and also king of Sicily. Thus at last was the death of Conradin fully avenged, and the descendant of Frederic II., king of both the Sicilies, possessed the full inheritance of his Norman forefathers. On his death, while his Spanish dominions and Sicily went to his brothers, Naples, which he had won with his sword and with his bow, became subject to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, and thus till near the end of the fourteen hundreds we have the Sicilies again parted, Naples itself ruled by this Ferdinand, and Sicily by his first cousin, Ferdinand of Spain, the husband of Isabella. And over all hovered the spectral, shadowy claims of the titulars of Anjou, which had bred wars in the past and were likely to be the cause of wars to come.

Notwithstanding these dynastic conflicts, the solid strength of *Il Regno*, as the kingdom of Naples was called, was always looked upon with something of

envy and admiration by the northern states of Italy. There almost every city was at war with its nearest neighbour, the trade of the *Condottieri* flourished, and, as before stated, the turbulent freedom of the republics which had leagued against Barbarossa was being crushed under the heel of petty local despots. An Italian patriot surveying the condition of his country in 1453 might well think that the liberation from the yoke of the empire, which had been won by generations of Guelfs, had been after all but a doubtful blessing.

One of the last of the republics to fall into slavery—and even after her fall she struggled up once and again into liberty—was Florence. In 1464 died old Cosmo de Medici, who by the combined influence of wealth, eloquence, liberality, and some real patriotism, aided by the blunders of his opponents, had made himself virtual master of his native city. It was certainly a wonderful story, that of the

Medicean house. They had no claims to feudal nobility; the party which they led was by profession the Liberal party; Cosmo himself with his vast wealth might be looked upon as the Gladstone-Rothschild of Florence; yet he succeeded in leaving to his offspring a power which, in the hands of his grandson, the “Magnificent” Lorenzo, was little less than regal; his collateral descendants for two centuries were grand dukes of Tuscany, and their blood, through the intermarriage of Catharine and Marie de Medici with the kings of France, now flows in half the royal families of Europe.

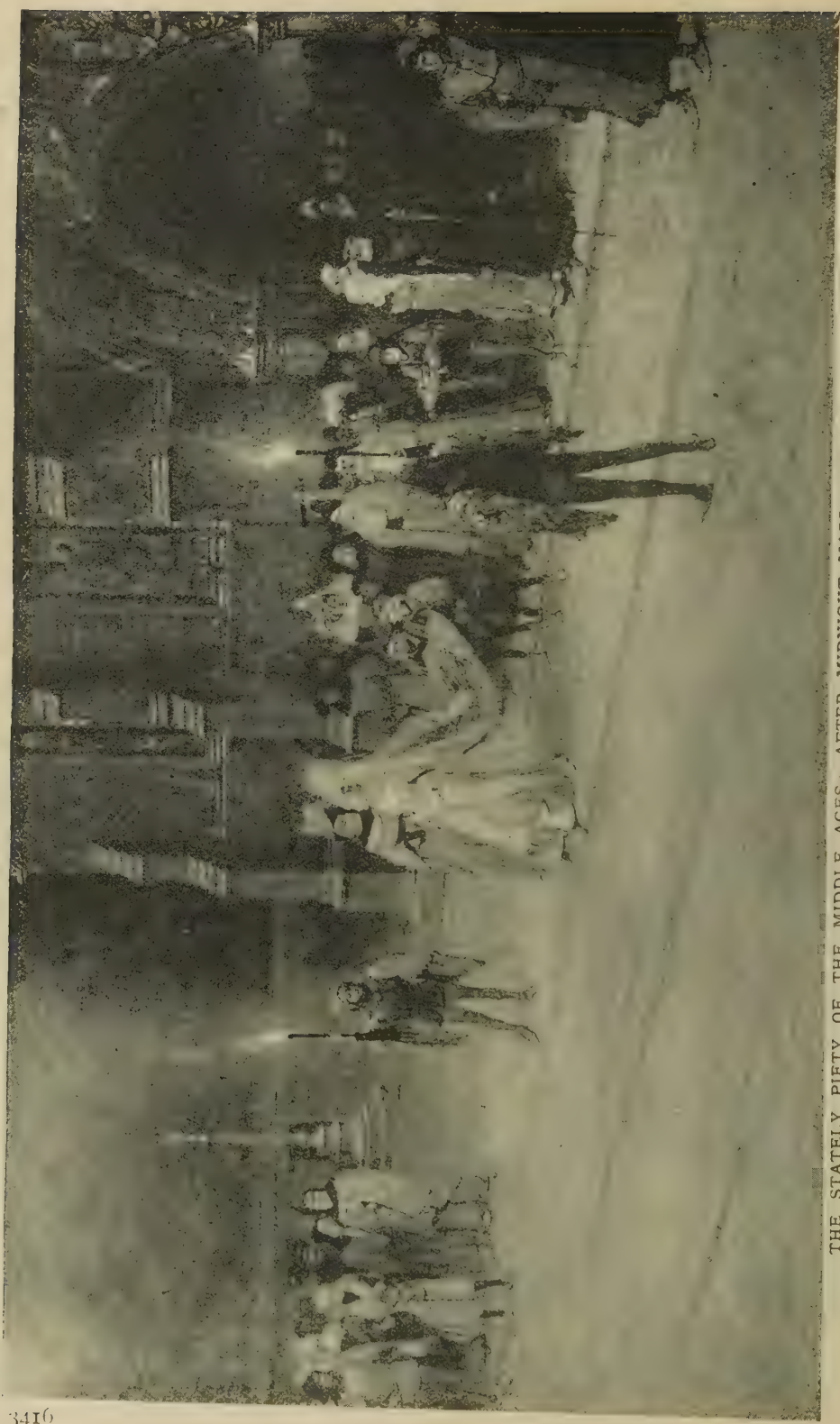
Lorenzo de Medici died in 1492, the same year which, for other reasons, we have already seen to be indeed *annus mirabilis*. The other great Italian commonwealth, Venice, preserved indeed through all her more than a thousand years of life her republican freedom, but changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as “the Closing of the



THE DOGE PRESIDING AT A COUNCIL OF WAR IN MEDIÆVAL VENICE

After preserving, in outward form at least, her republican freedom for more than a thousand years, the great Italian commonwealth of Venice changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as the Closing of the Grand Council. Limiting the right of election to the great offices of state to aristocratic families, the tyranny of the oligarchy was supreme.

From the painting by Sir J. Gilbert, R.A.



THE STATELY PIETY OF THE MIDDLE AGES: AFTER MIDNIGHT MASS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
From the painting by George H. Boughton, R.A.

Grand Council," which limited the right of election to the great offices of state to certain aristocratic families, and she thus became that jealous and suspicious oligarchy whose methods have been so lovingly described by many a tragedian and writer of romance.

In the periods which now lie behind us she had many a bitter struggle with her rival Genoa, in one of which, the war of Chioggia (1378-1381), she all but lost her national life; and the domineering Viscontis of Milan had, especially towards the close of the thirteen hundreds, rolled up dangerously near to her borders.

(Filippo Maria), who died in 1447, leaving no legitimate progeny. Thus were the Sforzas established on the throne of Milan, where they reproduced most of the unamiable characteristics of their Visconti ancestry. In 1492, the year to which so much of our narrative converges, the young prince, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, was nominally reigning in Milan, the real ruler being his uncle Ludovico il Moro—so-named from his swarthy complexion—who was generally believed to be plotting his nephew's murder.

Here, however, as well as in Naples, there was also a French claimant in the



A LADY OF RANK RETURNING FROM CHURCH IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

In the mediæval ages, hardly less than in the great days of Greece and Rome, the ceremonial observance of rank and power was maintained, and characterised the commonest actions of daily life, no less than the affairs of state. This painting, and that on the opposite page, serve to illustrate the display made by ladies of rank in attending church.

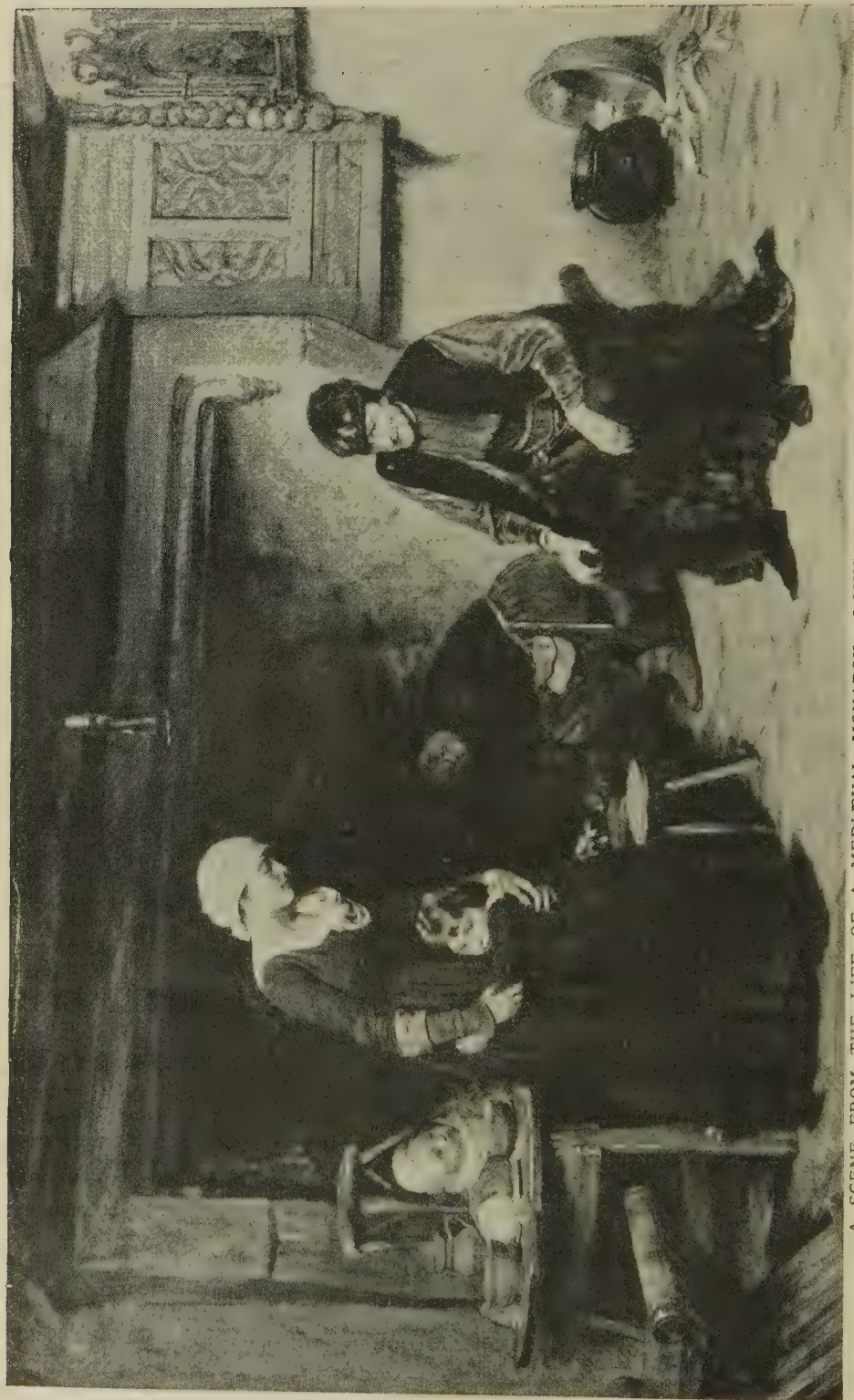
From the painting by George H. Boughton, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

Since then, however, the tide of conquest had turned; she had become a great land power as well as a sea power, and in the period before us it may be roughly computed that she was mistress of two-thirds of Lombardy, the remaining, the western third, being under the dominion of the dukes of Milan.

Those dukes were no longer Viscontis but Sforzas, the renowned Condottieri general, son of a Romagnole peasant, Francesco Sforza, having succeeded with infinite trouble in winning the hand of Bianca, daughter of the last Visconti

person of the Duke of Orleans, who was descended from a legitimate Visconti princess, while the Sforzas could claim only through Filippo Maria's bastard daughter.

Of the condition of the papacy during the half century now under review it is not easy to speak. Unfortunately Nicolas V. had few successors like-minded with himself. The pontificates of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere) and Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) were an open scandal to Christendom; and that of Alexander, which began in 1492, was



A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF A MEDIÆVAL MONARCH : LOUIS XI. IN THE HOME OF A PEASANT

As king of France, Louis XI. raised his country from the degradation of the Hundred Years' War, and did much to strengthen internal administration. Simple in taste, he frequently wandered in the public streets, and, upon occasion, as represented in the illustration, visited the home of a peasant, sharing in the poor repast of his humble subjects.

From the painting by J. Seymour Lucas, R.A., by the artist's permission

undoubtedly one of the events which prepared the way for the Reformation. It is perhaps a matter of praise rather than blame that all the Popes of this period were eager for the strengthening of the temporal dominion of the Church in Central Italy. After the troubles of the last two hundred years, the turbulence of Rome and the absurdity of the Avignonese "captivity," it was certainly a more sensible policy to try to build up a secure and independent papal state on the basis of the old "donations" than to repeat the obsolete pretensions of a Hildebrand or a Boniface to the deposition of emperors and the government of the world.

Turning now to the northern nations, we find that the later fourteen hundreds were a dreary time for England. In 1445, only two years after England's expulsion from France, began those terrible Wars of the Roses, in which it is difficult not to see the righteous judgment of heaven on the nation which had so wantonly devastated the fair fields of France.

One change, possibly beneficial, was the result of these sixteen years (1455-1471)

**The Old
Feudal System
Broken**

of more or less continuous fighting. By them, and by the increasing use of artillery, which made the mediæval castle no longer impregnable, the power of the old feudal baronage was to a great extent broken, and king and people were left practically alone to make what they could of their country's fortunes. The century closed with Henry Tudor, the silent, statesmanlike, unamiable king, hoarding the treasures which were soon to be scattered by his lusty son.

In France a somewhat similar process was going on under the rule of Louis XI. (1461-1483). The characters of these two kings, Henry and Louis, present some points of resemblance, though it would not be fair to put that eminently respectable and devout paterfamilias, Henry Tudor on a level with the unscrupulous Louis of Valois, who hesitated at no crime to attain his ends, and who spent his lonely old age surrounded by his hireling Scottish archers in abject fear of death, "rising up at the voice of a bird" and oscillating between blasphemous irreverence and abject superstition. Yet Louis XI. had also some clear perception of the duty which he owed to the country over which he ruled. He was a most industrious king; he encouraged commerce and learn-

ing, and even in his successful endeavours to free himself from the strait-waistcoat of the feudal nobility, by which at his accession he found himself constrained, he had probably some consciousness that he was working for his people as well as for himself. The first revolt of the nobles against him called itself "The League of the Public Weal."

**Ambitions
of Charles
the Bold**

Reviewing his reign at its close he might fairly have said, "At least I did more than they for the public weal to which they professed their devotion."

Chief of all the antagonists of Louis XI. was, of course, the head of the great house of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, who, with his wide domains for which he owed vassal-homage partly to France and partly to the empire, aspired to make himself independent of both realms, and would probably, had he lived and conquered, have founded a middle state, a kingdom of the Rhine, or something of the sort, which might have proved itself a blessing to Europe as a "buffer state" between France and Germany. This, however, was not to be. After years of open or secret conflict with his cousin Louis XI., a war of the Lion against the Fox, in which the Fox once or twice very nearly perished, he became involved in hostilities with his southern neighbours, the peasants of the Switzers' confederation. To the surprise of Europe the Swiss peasants overcame the mighty feudal lord; the stoutly held pike vanquished the battle array of chivalry. In three battles, Granson in 1476, Morat in 1476, and Nancy in 1477, Charles was completely beaten, and after the last a page found his dead body lying covered with wounds in a frozen swamp—the battle was fought on the fourth of January—and the Switzers took it up and bore it into Nancy for burial. In that frozen swamp lay dead the schemes of the aspiring house of Burgundy; and yet in a certain

**Marriage of
Emperor
Frederic III.**

sense they rose again when Charles' orphaned daughter Mary gave her hand to the heir of the house of Austria. This heir was Maximilian. The Emperor Frederic III., who slumbered on the imperial throne for fifty-three years (1440-1493), did, at any rate, one sensible thing when he married, in 1452, the clever and beautiful Princess Eleonora of Portugal. The offspring of this union, Maximilian, born in



A GLIMPSE OF VENICE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement et Cie.

1459, was almost the last of the knights errant of Europe, a versatile and accomplished but somewhat unstable prince, a mighty hunter but an erratic statesman, who was elected king of the Romans in 1486, and who, on the death of his father, obtained the imperial crown.

All this, however, was still in the future, when, soon after the death of Charles the Bold, his daughter, beset with enemies on every side, gladly gave her hand to the goodly young knight Maximilian, saying: "Welcome, thou noble German blood, how has my heart longed for thee." It was a happy union, too soon closed by death—the young duchess died in 1482—but it changed the fate of Europe, for the issue of this marriage were two children, a son and a daughter, and the son, Philip the Handsome, is the prince who, as we have already seen, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and thus transmitted to his son Charles the heirship to the crowns of Spain and the New World. Let us just consider to what a height the house

The Great Possessions of the Hapsburgs

of Hapsburg, founded by the little Swabian knight only two centuries before, had now reached. They owned the Austrian provinces, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Archducal Austria, etc., by inheritance; they had acquired, by Maximilian's marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the wealthy and populous Low Countries, Holland and Belgium, together with Franche Comté—this, which was called the County of Burgundy, escaped for the time absorption by France. The duchy of Burgundy was successfully assimilated by Louis XI. on the death of Charles the Bold. Spain, too, and the Indies became theirs when Ferdinand and Isabella had gone, and the child born at Ghent in 1500 had a better chance of being elected to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire than any of his contemporaries.

Later on—but this is beyond our present horizon—Bohemia and Hungary fell to a son of the same house, Ferdinand of Austria, by his marriage with Anne, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg.

Well might other European houses have looked with envy and amazement at the immense possessions earned by this

simple process of marriage, a sort of fortune-hunting in empires. A Latin epigram on the subject may be thus translated:

While other princes wage their toilsome wars,
Thou, lucky Austria, needest but to marry!
Realms which to others are the spoils of Mars
Propitious Venus to thy sons doth carry.

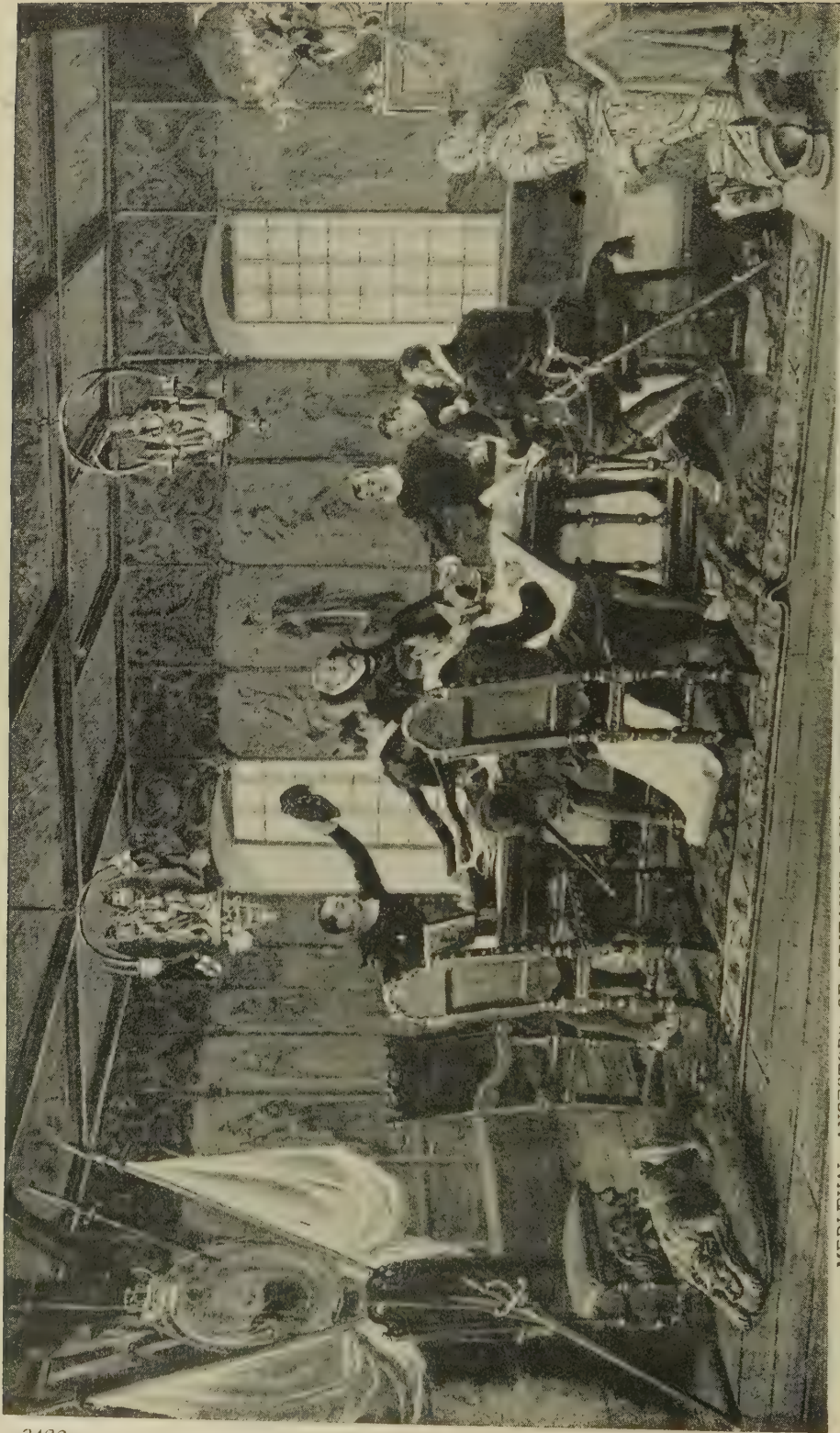
Truly the old emperor's five-vowel motto seemed to be growing near to fulfilment, perilously near for a Europe which might not wish to be altogether the heritage of Austria. It was probably clear to anyone who, with statesmanlike vision, surveyed the political horizon in the year 1500 that there was an inevitable struggle impending between two great states. On the one side was this wide-stretching Hapsburg domain, clutching at France on her southern, eastern, and north-eastern borders, ruling a large part of Eastern Europe, and possessing, for whatever it might be worth, the magic title of Holy Roman Empire, possessing also territories of unknown expanse beyond the Atlantic—truly a boa constrictor of an empire. On the other side was France, far smaller, but compact, rich in natural gifts and strong in the national spirit, which had been begotten in her by the hundred years of war with England. Such a contest, in truth, was the dominating factor in European politics for three centuries, strangely complicated and interfered with by another conflict which was to be born of thoughts already tentatively expressed by the middle-aged Erasmus, but which had not yet begun to germinate in the brain of the "poor scholar," Luther.

Italy was to be the prize for which the two great powers were first to strive, and the lists were; in fact, opened in 1494 by the Neapolitan expedition of Charles VIII., son of Louis IX. But the story of that expedition connects itself most naturally with the Italian wars of the following century. It seems better, in the words of Hallam, "here, while Italy is still untouched, and before as yet the first lances of France gleam along the defiles of the Alps, to close the history of the Middle Ages."

THOMAS HODGKIN

Shadows of a Coming Struggle

Italy's Fate in the Balance



MEDIEVAL ANCESTORS OF BRITAIN'S ROYAL HOUSE: DRAWING LOTS FOR THE GUELPH SUCCESSION

In accordance with the wishes of their father, and for the interests of the house, the seven sons of William the Pious agreed that only one of them should marry and continue the succession, and they decided to draw lots. This took place in 1192. Into the reputed helmet of their famous ancestor, William the Lion, six silver balls and one gold ball were placed and drawn for. The prize fell to George, the second youngest, who became grandfather to George I. of England. The above is reproduced from the painting by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.



THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE

THE ORIGINS OF THE TEUTONS

RISE OF THE GERMANIC RACES AND THE COMING OF THE BARBARIANS

THE original home of the Indo-Germanic races is not yet definitely known, notwithstanding many hypotheses proposed by experts. The comparative philology of these races provides no special reason for placing it in Scandinavia. While the proofs adduced by supporters of the theory are little to the point, the history of "prehistoric" civilisation can produce many contrary arguments. It is true that in their earliest home the Indo-Germanic races saw the phenomena of winter, such as snow; they knew the beech and birch-trees, the wolf and the bear, but no animals belonging definitely to a southern climate.

It remains to be explained how it was that the Indo-Germanic tribes left the wide continent of Asia to other races, and established themselves upon a line to the south of the Black and Caspian Seas and of Lake Ural, extending thence to India, thus occupying primarily the Asiatic district of South-east Europe and forcing their way among other races; it must be explained, again, how they contrived to conquer Europe, and to drive back or to hem in the primitive inhabitants

**Whence Came
the Indo-
Germanic Tribes**

in possession. Again, linguistic evidence contradicts the theory of a northern settlement, and the general picture of Indo-Germanic distribution points to some early centre which was situated in Europe itself and must be sought rather in the south. But, in plain terms, it is not at present possible to claim anything more than plausibility for any particular

theory which professes to have located the original cradle of the Aryan peoples.

Among the Aryan peoples, the Teutons form a definite separable group. The phonetics and grammar of their language and its vocabulary, their science, their household implements, their mode of life and constitution, their legal conceptions and their religious ideas display three distinctive facts.

In the first place, they were merely developing materials which were the common property of all Indo-Germanic tribes; in the second place, they shared a civilisation always distinctive of west Indo-Germanic unity; and, in the third place, they maintained their old connection for a long period with the Slavo-Lithuanians on the one side and with the Kelts on the other, and it was from these groups that they broke away last of all. Further, they never reached a complete and self-contained unity, afterwards differentiated by further disruption. On the contrary, they grew as an incoherent group, always united by a bond of connection, and upon occasion by the special tie of relationship, but never attaining complete domestic uniformity, for the reason that their numbers prevented the rapid acquisition of any such ideal, and because their wide extension allowed the old underlying differences to revive and to complete the disruption of the whole group, when reinforced by new points of difference developed in a later stage of progress.

These unifying and differentiating processes continue, neither gaining the preponderance, throughout the further stages of Teutonic history, and remain to the present day as forces operative upon the Teutonic nationality by way of opposition and contradiction. As civilisation increased, other conditions of difficulty were added to those of mere spatial distance; these were primarily political, and made themselves felt, for instance, in distinctions arising from differences of dialect and the desire to secure a written language.

Tribes in Search of Settlements

During the distribution of the Indo-Germanic tribes we find the Kelts advancing from the south and west and preceding the Teutons and Slavs upon routes which had been unquestionably marked out from early antiquity. The Slavs, on the other hand, are found to the east of the Teutonic tribes, which thus stand between the two. These Teutons reached the sea upon the shores of the Baltic, while the Indo-Iranians, the Greeks, the Illyrians, and the Italians reached it upon the south. We do not know how far they came into collision with the Kelts, and with the non-Aryan Finnish tribes lying to the west upon the northern line of advance. At any rate, they reached the Baltic long before the Slavs, and settled there as the western neighbours of the Finnish group.

The chronology of this movement is entirely unknown. We cannot say when the interchange of civilisation began which sprang up between the Teutons and the Finns, and continued until historical times. Possibly some more accurate evidence may be obtained by the science of comparative philology. Such inquiries will show what Teutonic or what Finnish elements were the earliest or came into closest connection. The Finns, at any rate, have retained a number of

Civilisation of Finns and Teutons

Teutonic words in extremely ancient form, corresponding almost precisely with the "Primitive Teutonic" which philologists have restored. On the other hand, this Finnish tendency to form loan-words from Teutonic has continued to a recent period; for instance, the Roman word *caupo*, the innkeeper whose inn was used as a shop by the simple Teutons, reappeared among the Finns in the form *kauppias*. Further evidence of the kind is the fact

that about the period when Tacitus wrote, and afterwards, the Germans showed far more interest in the Finns than in the Slavs, and Roman authors and geographers obtained much information from them concerning the Finns. This information contained errors such as Germans would make. A branch of the Finns called themselves Quæns, while the Germans called them Finns, in their terminology. Originally, indeed, groups of peoples had no special appellation of their own. It was their neighbours who felt the necessity of discovering and popularising such appellations. In this way such terms as Welsh, German, Negro, Indian, Finn have arisen. The Germans called these Quæns by their own name Quen—the English Queen—and popular etymology then explained the word by supposing a female supremacy to exist among the Finns; this is accepted by Tacitus who gives full respect to all that he hears, but himself makes a fresh confusion of names. The debt owed by the Teutons to their intercourse with the Finns can probably be determined only by the excavations of the

Prehistoric Mines in Siberia

archæologists, who have recently discovered a new mode of tracing foreign influence by comparing the style and workmanship of domestic utensils; this clue takes us back through the Teutonic north of Europe to the Finno-Ugrian districts and to the primitive mines of the Ural and Siberia.

As yet we are not aware whether the Teutons reached the Baltic at the point where this coast turns to the north or to the south. As evidence for the first supposition we can hardly regard the fact that the southern Teutons at a later period, with their "protective clothing," their mode of house construction, their astonishing powers of endurance, and many other preferences and customs, appear as a nation living much as the present inhabitants of the north, standing in this respect in a certain contrast to those who lived upon the same isothermal lines. There is, however, no doubt that the settlement of Scandinavia was not accomplished from this point, but only when the South-west Baltic was reached, though we cannot venture to say that the question is solved by supposing an early ignorance of navigation. It has been shown elsewhere that the ship is one of the earliest means of transport known to mankind. It is,



THE TEUTONS ON THE MARCH

in fact, far easier to travel along the coasts and to cross even open stretches of sea in simple vessels than to advance overland through uncleared forests and swamps with cattle and carts. This is an experience that forces itself upon the notice of any traveller who visits a forest country or archipelago washed by the sea and not yet open to civilisation. From

The First Inhabitants of Denmark

their food it has certainly been concluded that those first inhabitants of Denmark, who left behind them the famous mussel heaps, or "kitchen-middens," were deep-sea fishers and mariners. Confirmatory evidence is afforded by the boldness with which these Germanic tribes, who afterwards belonged to the Frankish and Saxon alliances, ravaged during the first millennium of our era Britain and even more distant shores and coast lines of the Roman Empire. We know, again, how the Vikings, who harassed the Frankish kingdom, crossed the great North Sea upon vessels which could be rowed up rivers. We know what bold mariners were the Goths when they reached the Black Sea in the third century; even bolder at a later date were the Vandals of Africa; while later again the Scandinavian Waräger (Väringjar, Varinja, Varanger), who were thorough representatives of the old Teutonic civilisation, crossed the Baltic eastwards and reached the Finns, travelling as "rowers." They journeyed by river as far as the Black Sea, and even greater distances, dragging their ships from the Dwina to the Dnieper. There is no reason why the early Teutons should not have borne this character. Water communication wherever it exists is readily used, and a civilisation speedily arises astonishing in its complexity. The collections of antiquities from Stralsund, Schwerin, Kiel, Copenhagen and Stockholm display a civilisation with which no inland culture could compare. The similar impression of

Prehistoric Memorials on the Baltic

an early settlement relatively close and endowed with strong vitality is forced upon anyone who makes a personal acquaintance with the coast lands and islands of the Baltic; the old and remarkable prehistoric memorials and remains which are to be found around this sea far surpass anything of the kind upon the mainland. Their dispersion over the extensive districts of the Baltic produced an effect upon the Teutons corresponding to that

of the Indo-Germanic dispersion. Local communication, which would have favoured the process of unification, was replaced by disintegrating influences; a unity that was never uniform, but in course of transition, began to break into subordinate groups. These were not formed instantaneously, but they began to arise, and we can speak of north Teutons and south Teutons. The latter are fundamentally identical with the so-called west Teutons, and these we know to be the same as the Germans.

To the north Teutons belong the modern Scandinavian tribes, where they are not of Finnish or Lappish origin, and the Danes, whose early settlements were also upon the southern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the dawn of history the southern Germans are to be found upon the south coast of the Baltic, both in Mecklenburg, in West Pomerania, and further south, and also upon the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, which for simplicity will henceforth be referred to as Jutland. The traditions of the peoples themselves must be

accepted as evidence with the greatest caution, and certainly cannot be regarded as providing proof upon problems of such remote antiquity. At the same time, the powers of memory in nations which possessed no writing have been proved to be remarkable; in their simple poems, composed under the reverent and critical examination of the whole community, they created "annals" for themselves, as Tacitus calls them, and we may therefore refer to the fact that the south Teutons, in contrast to their related tribes, know nothing of any sudden change of abode; as Tacitus learnt, they regarded themselves as indigenous. The fact would be true if the original home of the Indo-Germanic tribes was actually about the Baltic and the North Sea; and they certainly were native to the soil in so far as they did not pass the Baltic.

Teutonic borrowings from the Kelts are obvious. The Kelts were early neighbours of the Teutons; they had retained their sympathy with Mediterranean culture, and especially with the Italians, and had advanced to the North Sea at an early period from the other side. In the case of the many points of linguistic contact between the Kelts and the Teutons, we must naturally separate

those elements which are due to common association in late Indo-Germanic times, and the borrowings of a later period, when the Germans came into contact with the Kelts in a second intimacy, and with newly acquired wishes for civilisation. Naturally the absence of any permanent geographical division from the neighbouring settlers, and German desire for instruction and capacity to learn, both perhaps acting as alternate influences, made this nation especially inclined from the outset to borrow from others. The Kelts thus first acted as the tutors of the Germans, and this to a remarkable extent, until the Romans relieved them of the task; the Germans then transmitted part of these acquisitions to the remaining Teutonic tribes, and also to the Slavo-Lithuanians.

Among a large number of borrowings from Keltish etymology were many terms dealing with war and settlement, and especially with means of transport, also the word "riks" = "commander." The Germans, indeed, as a result of their peculiar political system, made no proper use of the term; but the word became

**How the
Germans Got
Their Names**

popular as an element in the proper names of distinguished people; for instance, Bojorix among the Cimbri (the later termination "rich" in Friedrich or Frederic, etc., is the same). Teutonic name-formations of various kinds point to close connection with these recently discovered Keltic sources. At a later period we find names like Flavius, Claudius, Civilis, Serapion; at the time of the Hunnish supremacy we find Hunwulf, Hunigais, with other similar borrowings throughout German history to the time of Jean, Louis, Henry and Harry, wherever foreign fashion overmastered the Teutons; similarly, in the earliest period, we find the formation of proper names under Keltic influence. From time to time, however, the Germans were obliged to find names for larger or smaller groups of people; at a later period they do not disdain to borrow from vulgar Latin—for instance, Ribuarii, Ripuarii, afterwards Germanised as Reiffer and Reifferscheid. So, on the Teutonic side, we can show phonetic similarity or parallel formation between Gaulish and German tribal names. Such instances as Brigantes and Burgundians, both appellations of a mountaineering people, explain the fact, though such cases may again be due to chance.

The Teutons received but few elements of civilisation from the Lithuanian group during their immediate neighbourhood, and equally little from the Slavs when these latter gradually advanced to their immediate frontiers. On the other hand, Lithuanians and Slavs received much from the Teutons. Their relationship is analo-

**Influence of
Teutons
on the Slavs**

gous to that of the Teutons and Kelts. Among other things they gained from the Teutons expressions for the idea of lordship, and received the Keltic term "riks" and the Teutonic "-walt" and "kuningass." "Kuningass" became the Lithuanian "kuningas," and was used as a distinctive title of superiority, which was applied to the priest at a later date; in Slavonic this latter form was reduced to "kuas" and "kneese." Eventually "karol(us)" also became "kral" and "kröll" ("krull"). The Slavonic method of forming proper names was also influenced by Teutonic methods; "vladimir" corresponds exactly with the "walt-" and "-mero" of Teutonic names, and "mero" (Segimer, Sigmar, Ingwimer, etc.) appears to correspond with the frequent Keltic termination "-marus," used in proper names. Finally, the Slavo-Lithuanians received from the Teutons a considerable number of expressions dealing with intercommunication and economic facts.

Between the south Germans, next to the Kelts and the Slavo-Lithuanians, were settled for some time, apart from the Finnish peoples, another branch of the Teutonic group—namely, the east Teutons. The name has been chosen by philologists, whose researches are founded upon the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, other literary works of an ecclesiastical nature, a few inscriptions upon domestic articles, some scattered words in Latin texts, and numerous proper names belonging to kindred nationalities. These

**Gothic
Translation
of the Bible**

latter lost their original characteristics or disappeared at an earlier or later date. In the seventeenth century we hear of the last east Teutons—namely, the Crimean Goths. Philology regards as east Teutons those Teutons of the mainland who were linguistically more nearly related to the Scandinavians than to the Germans. At the same time the east Teutons on the continent lost all sense of connection with their northern relatives, and either

developed independently, or under the strong influence of the west Teutons. On philological grounds, east Teutons include the Goths, together with the Gepids, Rugians, Skires, Vandals, Burgundians, Herulians, and perhaps some earlier ethnographical unities. The pioneer work of Julius Ficker has thrown light upon these problems from the side of comparative jurisprudence—a more valuable, because a more conservative source of information.

A comparison of the common elements in the earliest legal codes has shown that, besides the Goths and Burgundians, the Lombards and Frisians possessed a system of tribal law closely related to that of the north Teutons. Where the sciences of philology and comparative law proceed side by side in this matter, they support one another entirely, and no contradictory points are apparent. It must only be remembered that the linguistic development of the groups proceeds upon geographical principles and not according to "genealogical relationship," which for historical purposes is practically useless.

If at the present day we carefully consider as a whole the legal, philological, geographical and literary evidence, and any other points of the kind, no doubt can be felt as to the origin of the east Teutons. They are emigrants from Scandinavia, who settled upon the continent. They broke away from the north Teutons, and, in fact, are nothing more than the early Vikings, who went out as colonists in historical times, attempted to establish themselves, and while they succeeded in some districts they were driven back in others.

A certain number at least of these old east Teutons are by no means a nation which emigrated as a whole, but represent discontented fragments broken away from original

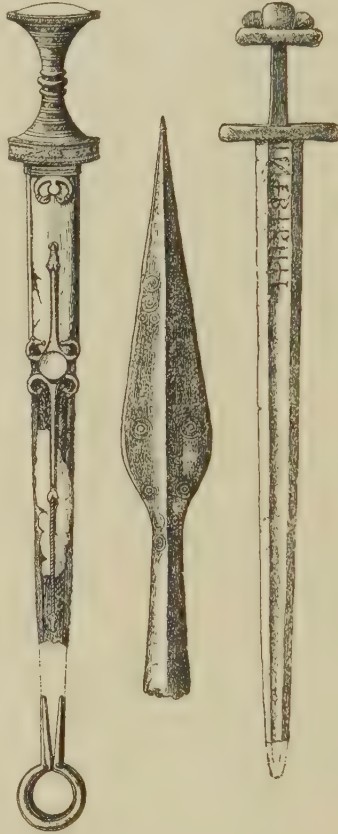
communities; they are thus emigrants in the true sense of the term, seeking wider and fairer districts than the rocky forest-land of Sweden could offer. So far as we possess their native legends, we find mention of this emigration from Scandinavia, which is thus a useful confirmation of existing evidence.

Upon the question as to the manner in which the emigration was performed, we have evidence at hand both for a maritime and for a land route. General experience of other cases would lead us to conclude that the ship was the more usual means of transport. At the same time there is no doubt that the land route through the Danish islands and through Jutland also played some part.

This question concerns us in the case of the Goths, whose recollections of Scandinavia are preserved by their historian Jordanes in the sixth century A.D., who used earlier Gothic narratives; and also in the work of Cassiodorus the Senator, the chancellor and chronicler of Theoderic the Great. The name which was originally spelled "Gutans" is preserved in the modern Götarike, found in the extensive districts to the south of the old Swedish territories and in the name of the island of Gothland.

At the time when the Roman narrative was written the emigrant east Teutonic Goths were settled on the coast of the continent in the Baltic districts of the Vistula and about Gotalus. The legal code of Gothland and that of

Götarike in later centuries display some points of resemblance; the same may be said of the mediæval Spanish legal codes, which are fundamentally west Gothic. Jordanes mentions the Greutungs, who formed one section of the historical Ostrogoths, and were also included among the Scandinavian peoples as Greotingi. Double



GERMAN WEAPONS OF WAR

These ancient instruments of warfare were in use by the Teutons in their early struggles, and are of great historic interest. The first is a long iron sword with heavy handle, encased in an ornamented sheath of brass or bronze. The sharp iron point of a lance is represented in the second figure, while the third is that of an iron sword, with Runic inscription, belonging to a somewhat later period than the other two weapons shown.

appellations of this kind are by no means uncommon among the eastern and northern Teutons.

It is supposed that the Goths reached the mainland in part by crossing the Baltic. Evidence, however, of somewhat doubtful value—it is, indeed, our earliest reference to the Teutons—points to a more complicated route. At the time of Alexander the Great, Pytheas of Massilia, the tin merchant and navigator, reached the “Gulf of Ocean,” near the amber island Abalos, upon his famous voyage to the north, and encountered the Gutones; this name would correspond with the Gutans, if the emendation be correct. Pliny’s manuscript, which has alone preserved to us the accounts of Pytheas, has the word “Guiones.” The island of Abalos is most probably to be sought on the north coast of Frisia, where much amber was found; the soldiers of Germanicus also knew of an amber island in that part, known as Glæsaria or Austeravia, the east island. Both of these are Teutonic words. The Romans changed the Teutonic for amber into *glæsum*, and *avia* is the old German

also shared in the historical settlement of Britain, and the record has been preserved to us in the name of “Surrey.” Gothic tradition tells us that the Goths came into conflict with the Holm-Rügen in the course of their settlement upon the mainland; the scene of the struggle must be sought at the mouth of the Oder.

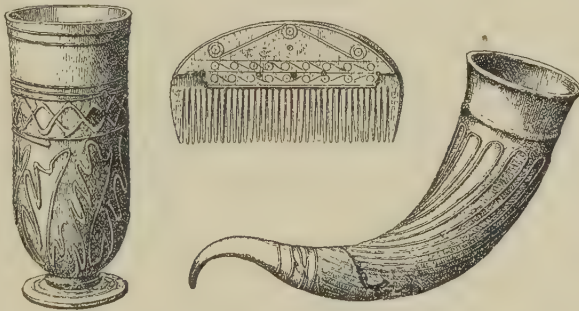
The earlier history of the Vandals is even more obscure. The various phonetic spellings of their name by the Romans and Greeks show that the accent must have been on the first syllable. About the year 100 A.D. they were settled to the north, between the Elbe and the Vistula, and thence advanced by the line of the Oder.

The name “Burgundians” implies mountain inhabitants. Burg, a secondary form of Berg, first attained this connotation at a later period, owing to the fact

that the Teutonic art of fortification clung to the old methods of retirement to the mountains for purposes of defence. Hence we cannot be surprised at the word “Teutoburg” for a mountain range. The Burgundians have left behind them the names of Borgundar-

holm and Bornholm in memory of their former geographical position. At a later period they were settled upon the Vistula and in the district of the Netze to the south of the Goths, where their character as mountaineers could no longer be preserved.

The Herulians followed the remaining east Teutons at a comparatively late date, for the reason that they were driven out by the Danes in Scandinavia. Of the continental Teutons they remained the most original, by the preservation of their old customs and by the bold, defiant childishness of their national character. Legend or popular tradition is wanting in their case, as in those of the Rugi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians; there are, however, several signs that their Scandinavian recollections were preserved. Towards the end of the migratory period



HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS OF THE TEUTONS

The use of these articles is obvious at a glance. Both vessels were used for drinking purposes, the one being a glass goblet and the other a glass drinking horn, while the middle object is a toilet comb.

au, the connotation of which was eventually limited by a loan word for “island.” Hence the “Gulf of Ocean” must be that off the Elbe, and the narrator Pytheas must have found the Goths after their migration to the continent. The west Teutons, who were defending their settlements, must have left the Goths in peace, for the moment, upon their east side.

The Rugi once occupied Rügen, and gave it this name. Perhaps it was in consequence of their stay in that island that, as Jordanes tells us, they bore the name Holm-Rügen. Holm is a northern word for island. Jordanes also speaks of Etelrugi instead of Ethelrugi, which is the form we should expect; the phonetic spelling of names by Jordanes in the manuscript of his work is of no philological value. In Scandinavia are to be found Rygir and Holmrygir. The Rugi

they were involved in the troubles of their neighbours and reduced to an unsettled, wandering life. Part of them eventually reached the North Sea, crossing a mountainous country, and thence travelled to Scandinavia, where in the modern Sweden they found a hospitable reception at the hands of the Götes. We

Herulians
Find a Home
in Sweden

have several pieces of evidence that they reserved their right to return in case their migration should prove fruitless, and that the despatch of successive parties was continued as a regular arrangement. Thus the Vandals, at the time when their African kingdom was flourishing, did not permit their compatriots who had been left behind in Pannonia to occupy the districts reserved for the emigrants in the event of their return.

It would be bad criticism to regard the somewhat meagre traditions of the Lombards as unworthy of critical examination. According to these traditions they regarded themselves as a third part of the people of the Winiles—"the warriors" or "the battle-loving"—of Scandinavia. Their legal code most nearly resembles those of the Frisians and the Saxons—that is, the isolated group known to philologists as Anglo-Frisians, who form the connecting link between the south and the north Teutons, who had advanced to the north at an early date. During the first century A.D. we find a people settled on the banks of the Lower Elbe under the name of the Bards or Langobards, thus named from the battle-axe with which they were armed. Velleius Paterculus said that "they even surpass the usual Teutonic ferocity," and Tacitus observes that "they are respected for their scanty numbers, as they can make head in battle against far stronger neighbours." About the year 165 they left their homes and migrated to Pomerania; thence, about 200, they crossed to the right bank of the

Tacitus
on the
Lombards

Vistula, which the Goths had already abandoned, and entered the district of Galinden. About 380 they proceeded through the district of the Lithuanian Jatwinges to the land of the Antes north of the Carpathians. Had no Lombard elements remained upon the Lower Elbe—they were afterwards amalgamated with the Saxons—there would probably have been no local names compounded with Barden, and certainly no Bardengau in the

Elbe district about Bardowieck. To sum up, east Teutons, in the general sense of the term, were therefore the Goths, the Gepids, the Rugi, the Skiri, the Vandals, and the Burgundians. That they and the west Goths were conscious of any fundamental difference between these groups is impossible. The political and ethnographical ideas of the old Teutons were extremely simple; they were narrow, and yet open-hearted. That the east Teutons were ready to learn from the west Teutons was a possibility not prevented by any admitted opposition between the two groups, but not necessarily forwarded by any feeling of relationship. The civilisation handed on by the Germans to the east Teutons is in no way different from that given to the Finnish peoples and afterwards to the Slavo-Lithuanians. At an early period the Frisians arrived at the sea by that westerly path which was afterwards closed to the Lombards. It was not until a later date that they extended eastward and northward to their near relatives, the Angles and the Jutes, chiefly upon the islands of the North Sea.

Legends
of the
Saxons

Their exclusive connection with the south Teutons produced similarity between their language and the dialect of that branch, and since the discovery of Frisian linguistic memorials a steady absorption of the Frisian by the Low German dialect has been observed. In other words, the Frisians became part of the west Teutons, or Germans, in consequence of that course of linguistic and political development which they pursued.

The Saxons, who also took their name from their favourite weapon, preserved legends relating to the arrival of their earliest ancestors upon the continent, which must be considered in connection with the Anglo-Frisian position, which they shared, as intermediary between the south and north Teutons. Though the Saxons were not west Teutons from the outset, they entered the west Teutonic group at a comparatively early date, and helped towards the foundation of a special German nationality. With the south Teutons of modern North Germany they formed that permanent confederation to which they have given their name; this confederacy again was subjugated to the Frankish monarchy, while the empire exercised an increasing influence upon the solidarity of the Saxons, as upon the Frisians.



THE RISING TIDE OF TEUTON POWER AND ROME'S VAIN ATTEMPT TO STAY IT

BEFORE Romans or Teutons learned anything of one another the Germans had been borrowing civilisation from the Kelts, upon whom they pressed with slow but irresistible expansion. Unfortunately, no Keltic Livy or Tacitus has written a history of these events. The sources of our knowledge lie hidden in language, in geographical names, or in the specimens of archæological collections; at the same time, we cannot always share the confidence of those who explain these memorials. Only when the movement happens to touch some nerve in the old Mediterranean civilisation does the light of literature flame up and illumine some fragments of the advancing Teutonic band, or of its pioneers and scouts. Then these fleeting events are again shrouded in the prevailing obscurity. Until the time of Cæsar we have only scattered notices of the general migratory movements of the Teutons, and chance fragments or poems pointing to place and time. Such a fragmentary record may be found in the report of Pytheas, and we may thence conclude that the western Germans of the Teutonic advance had reached the mouth of the Rhine about 30 B.C. The next mark of this concentric expansion is to be found on the south side; after 200 B.C. the Bastarnæ, indisputably a Germanic tribe, had reached the Carpathians, and

The Teutons Hired to Fight Rome

part of them were taken into the service of the Macedonian kings as auxiliaries against Rome. The next phenomenon related by Roman contemporaries is the advance of the Cimbri. Then comes Ariovistus.

Of this great advance against the Keltic nationality, shrouded in darkness as it is, we may at least say this: where the Teutons found good arable land they advanced with steady determination and left no room for the previous inhabitants except for those subjugated members who were bound to pay tribute. The central

mountain district of Germany attracted them neither to form definite settlements nor to enter on a serious struggle; they attempted to move onward. Hence, we may explain the wide wanderings of such tribes. Their household goods and property, animate or inanimate, were carried with them, and their one desire was to secure a permanent settlement upon good arable ground; this was an indispensable condition. Hence, too, we may explain

Cæsar and the Germans the unusual characteristics of that portion of the Suevi who advanced from the east. Cæsar describes them as undecided, supporting themselves with great difficulty, and going back to an earlier form of communism. Thus advancing from the mountain lands on the right bank of the Rhine, they disturbed the population in the neighbourhood, and made no difficulty in retiring before Cæsar's two advances across the line. The case was otherwise in the year 16 A.D. with the Cherusci, who conceived, though they did not execute, the idea of evacuating the country and retiring beyond the Elbe, only after they had suffered a military defeat.

The details of this great and general movement are manifold. Sometimes a few emigrants separate from their compatriots. At other times whole populations or federated populations set forth voluntarily; this latter is the rarer case, and was due to the compulsion of war and not to want of land. While some went abroad to seek their fortunes, others, if they felt themselves strong, attempted to found a settlement at their neighbour's expense.

Either they conquer, and the tribes they expel are forced to emigrate, or they are driven back by the peoples they menace, who defend themselves in isolation or in alliance until the attempt is given up or the assailants are annihilated, as were the Ambisvari. The general result of these individual movements, which are repeated at

many points, and continually disturb the settled populations, is the map of the Teuton peoples as depicted by the Roman geographers and by Tacitus. Any attempt to form from their description an accurate picture of the distribution of the prehistoric groups must be given up as practically hopeless. The confusion and interconnection of the German tribes is extraordinarily complex, and all attempts to arrange chronological tables will end at least a decade out of date. The method of grouping upon the basis of Ingwæones, the Istwæones, and Erminones as the "old tribes," which has recently been revived, must be abandoned. It is ethnologically valueless, and it is useful only as showing the legendary connection between nations, based as it is upon those early yearnings for legends of primeval origin which are manifest in all nations who think themselves of any account. The German tribes do not descend, but are formed in the course of history, are brought together by the stress of political circumstances, and then attempt to secure a unity by mutual accommodation.

Blending of the Tribes

Anyone who wishes to examine the recent, and therefore more intelligible, evidence may consider the people of Württemberg, or of the Netherlands, who have broken away from their old nationalities and have become fresh unities by the amalgamation of very different elements; or the Bavarians of modern Bavaria, who are in the course of this development. At a previous date the Germans who migrated eastward beyond the Elbe, though of most varied origin, thus coalesced in the districts of the Mark, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia. Long before came the Anglo-Saxons; before them again the Saxons, the Franks, Alamanni, Baiuarii; before them again the Belgæ and others. In later periods foreign oppression, dynastic policy, and deliberate alliances have done much to accelerate such amalgamations. In their historical periods the Germans are seen with no special political or ethnical appellation other than those which belong to their component nationalities, or to their transitory and often fortuitous and fragile federations for political purposes. The nationality is the final great conception of unity, known as the "folk," or "diet." With this alone is connected the idea of a common language,

and of mutual understanding in habitual association. When fragments of this nationality emigrate, in certain cases they retain the name of their parent stock throughout their wanderings, as is the case with the Goths or the Cimbri, or the Charudes, who came from the peninsula of Jutland to Ariovistus. If they become newly settled in an independent unity, they generally assume fresh titles, such as were taken by the Lombards, who were offshoots of the Winiles, and by the Batavi. These were members of the Chatti, who reached the great river island (Au, Ava) between the Rhine and the Waal during the general movements before Cæsar's period, and settled there.

From this island, the Bat-Au, the modern Betuwe, they called themselves Batavi, although they retained the ancestral nomenclature when afterwards providing names for individual settlements in their territory; these names thus begin with "kat." Their legal code is also that of the Chatti. But the two peoples ceased to hold intercourse; the Chatti shared in the phonetic shifting of the second High-German transition, while the Batavi retain their older phonetic system even to the present day, as in the name Katwijk.

The Iron Girdle of Rome

In this later process of name-giving, changing geographical conditions play an important part; we may mention only the further examples of the Ambisvari, who took their name from the Ems, or of the Sigambri on the Sieg, river names which are older and of Keltic origin. These local appellations come into general use only when a settlement has determined upon permanent residence. While Cæsar's Suevi were wandering vaguely on the right bank of the Rhine, or Ariovistus was attempting to found a supremacy on the Upper Rhine and in Gaul with fragments of the Suevi and other adherents, individual tribal names lost their material character and were all, or chiefly, absorbed in the great and famous federation of the Suevi in the districts upon the Elbe and Havel; all these people called themselves and were called Suevi. But when the iron girdle of the Roman Empire and of Roman policy forced the Suevi to abandon their advance, to leave their neighbours in peace, and to settle perforce in the hill country on the right bank of the Rhine, we meet with their separate tribal names in place of the general term "Suevi."

Factors in Tribal Unions

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While the Cimbri were migrating, we hear of no other name than that borne by their original stock ; but the remnant of them who stayed in Gaul became Aduatuci.

From the North Sea to Bohemia and the Beskides, the Keltic nationality was spread at first along the whole line of the Teuton advance, and the Teutons themselves perceived that it was with this nationality they had to reckon. They required some word to connote the totality of the Kelts, and for this purpose they generalised the national name of the Keltic "Volcae," as the Romans afterwards wrote it, in the form "Walchen." The Kelts already possessed fortified places, which the Germans attacked in vain, owing to their defective skill in fortification and siege work. They had finer and better made weapons, which the Teutons could obtain only by importation, which proved more or less profitable ; for instance, the Cimbri eagerly possessed themselves of these weapons, and considered them valuable objects of plunder. The public life of the Kelts was more advanced, and their military spirit was stronger ; in all these respects the Teutons could learn much from them. In spite of these advantages, the Kelts gave way before the more primitive and humbler nation, and retired, as in later years the warrior Germans retreated before the advancing wave of the frugal Slavs. The Teutons, who found their North German plains too narrow, advanced by the course of the Weser, and drove back to the Ruhr Mountains from the Thuringian forest a set of tribes whom archaeologists have regarded as forming a comparatively recent Keltic outpost. With far greater vigour than in the hill country of Central Germany they crossed the Lower Rhine and proceeded to occupy the Keltic territory. They were not wholly able to expel all the inhabitants, or afterwards to absorb them. They became masters of the country as far as the Schelde, the Upper Maas, and the confluence of the Saar and Moselle ; between them, however, remained many Keltic settlements, either in independence or in subjugation, and the invaders began to be absorbed by the Keltic nationality, as afterwards happened to the Franks, the advance guard of the second Teutonic wave of conquest and domination. They became Belgæ, numbering twenty-seven nationalities in Cæsar's time, and still

conscious of their Teutonic origin, though only five of the Belgian nationalities living near the Rhine were then actually Teutons. The Batavi formed the connecting link between these Belgæ and the Teutons on the right bank of the Rhine.

With these events in the Netherlands and Gaul the rise of the name "German "

Origin of the Word "German "

is connected. As we have already seen elsewhere, the Germans themselves did not produce this appellation for their nationality, but the Kelts, who felt the need for some such general term. The "Germans" have not, to the present day, developed any general feeling for the necessity of any special designation denoting their philological totality—Germans, English and Scandinavians. Those scientists who feel the necessity are contented with the old Keltic term, which the Romans adopted, and which German scholars borrowed from them. The Keltic origin of the word "German " is beyond doubt, though its etymological significance is not certain. All that can be said is that it was an expression suitable to denote non-Keltic nations, for the Kelts also applied it to their Iberian neighbours, the Oretani. On the Rhine they gave this name, as Tacitus reports, to the Tungri, who were the first to cross. "Thus the word was extended from its original application to a tribe to cover a whole nation," wrote Tacitus, and this tribe, first temporarily known as German, resumed its name of Tungri.

Cæsar, like Tacitus at a later period, closely examined the general relationship of the peoples established in Belgium, and with the care of an ethnographer, whose researches were guided by the wide political outlook of a rising power, was the first to point out the accurate lines of distinction between Gauls and Germans. Meanwhile it has gradually become clear that the Cimbri also belonged to that mysterious wave of peoples which the Gauls called Germans. Not until after the Cimbrian war, about the period of the great Servile war, does the opinion become clear in Rome, for which Cæsar was the first to give the desired and necessary evidence.

The migration of the Cimbri is one of the numerous subordinate movements among the Teutonic tribes. Its importance is due to the fact that it led to the first

immediate collision between Teutons and Romans, and obliged the latter henceforward to devote careful attention to the nations appearing upon the geographical and political horizon to the north of the Alps. It is impossible to dispute the fact of the later existence of a nation of the Cimbri upon the Cimbrian peninsula by

Romans on the Elbe which the wandering bands were absorbed. The inhabitants of this peninsula were in relations with Augustus, surrendered to him the plunder which they had received from the migrating Cimbri, and were settled in a district which was by no means an *ultima thule* for the Romans, whose fleets then sailed the Elbe, who had gained the Frisians for allies, and who were considerably successful in their efforts to acquire a geographical knowledge of the whole Teutonic nationality, including the Scandinavian portion. When, however, these emigrants found their home too small, at what date they started out, how much time they spent in travelling or fighting their way through the Germans upon the south, through modern Central and Upper Germany, and through the Keltic nations there established are questions entirely shrouded in obscurity. It is not until the last years of the second century B.C. that we gain any information upon the nature of their migrations.

In the year 113 B.C. the Cimbri had reached the north frontier of the Alps; commercial and political considerations had already turned the attention of the Romans in this direction. It was in the process of dividing the Keltic territories that the Romans and Teutons collided for the first time. The Cimbri considered that the world was wide enough for them both, and that the Keltic districts were extensive enough to suffer division into a Roman and Teuton sphere of interest. The same views are afterwards expressed by Ariovistus, and in either case there is

The Cimbri's Victories Over Rome no direct intention of challenging or attacking the deeply respected power of Rome. The Cimbri respectfully informed the Romans that they had heard of their victories over the Kelts, and were therefore anxious to secure a friendly accommodation. Whether they are treacherously surprised or openly attacked, the Cimbri gain victory after victory over the Roman armies; at the same time they are ever ready to make peace, send ambassadors

to Rome, and continually urge that the Roman government should not oppose their establishment at a suitable point in the Keltic districts. Rome, on the other hand, which had suddenly become conscious of this Keltic question, though not knowing who the disturbers really were, declined to admit their requests, drove away the compliant emigrants from the north frontier of the Alps, and gave them no rest, even in Gaul.

At that point the Cimbri met with companions in misfortune, the Teutones, a great horde of emigrants like themselves, with the exception that those homeless Teutones were more probably of Keltic than of Teutonic origin. Their attempts to find settlements in Gaul, either in the dominions of the Romans or in those of the brave Belgi, had proved fruitless. An invasion of the Cimbri into Spain had led to equally little result, and the two hordes, recognising the unity of their purpose, resolved to march upon Italy. The Teutones chose the road over the western Alps, the Cimbri returned by way of Noricum, which was better known to them, across the Brenner Pass.

Great March on Italy Closer examination shows that there is more reason to suppose some rivalry between them than any project of military co-operation, such as Rome with her political ideas naturally imagined.

It is impossible to say whether the Cimbri were pursuing any definite plan, whether they had resolved with greater determination than before upon the conquest of Upper Italy, the most fruitful of the Keltic districts, the occupation of which the Romans had recently begun, or whether they merely wished to compel Rome to buy off their menaces at the price of some final concessions in Gaul. Further, the fact that the Cimbri left their baggage in Northern Gaul in the care of a detachment left behind for the purpose seemed to show that they merely intended a threat. Moreover, when they had driven the German armies out and secured a footing, instead of entering Gallia Cispadana, they spent much time in irresolute wanderings in the district of Gallia Transpadana, which was not yet entirely subjugated by Rome.

When Caius Marius at length confronted them they again demanded from him permission to found a settlement for themselves and for the Teutones, as otherwise it would

be impossible for them to make peace. It was only by the scornful answer of Marius that they learned of the previous destruction of the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ. On the Raudian plain before Vercellæ, Marius inflicted equal destruction upon them. Of the migrating Cimbri there remained only the detachment which had been left in Gaul; these people secured a settlement among the Belgæ, and their amalgamation with the Tungri produced the Belgian nationality of the Aduatuci.

The Cimbri were followed by other emigrants, who advanced within the Roman Empire in their northern search for settlements. At the point where the Rhine crosses the fruitful plains and the temperate region to the north of the Alps, Germanic peoples forced their way and settled as the advance guards of the Germanic settlements around the old Celtic towns; the Nemeti appear about Speyer, the Vangiones about Worms, the Triboci about Strassburg. The great river of Celtic name now flowed, as regards its middle and upper reaches, no longer through Celtic territory, or only through scanty portions of it. Throughout the districts of the Main and the Danube the Kelts were thrown into disturbance by the Teutons, were forced into movement, and collided with one another. From the Main to the Alps they retreated before the Teutons and surrendered their country, even before the invaders had determined upon its capture or retention.

Thus in the angle of the Rhine, about the modern Baden and Württemberg, the southward advance of the Helvetii created the "Helvetian Desert," and in this form the land about the Black Forest to the east remained ownerless for a long period. The Teutons were more than ever anxious to secure a settlement where the soil and the climate would produce a rich and easy life. They were not then the patient agriculturists of later centuries; to that point they were educated only by the necessity for self-content. Their character at this time is rather arbitrary and pugnacious than hardworking or laborious.

While we proceed to base these events upon motives and interests of low standard, we must not judge them with too narrow a mind, or forget that migration begets the desire for wandering. The plains of the Upper Rhine attracted the advance guard of the conquerors with far

greater force than the mountains of Upper Germany, and the sunlit civilisation of the west and south also proved an enticement. More successful than the Cimbri two generations earlier, Ariovistus and the bands of Suevi which he led were able to make themselves masters of Sequani to the south of the Triboci, to seize the plains on the Upper Rhine and on the south, and thence to extend westward towards Jura and the Doubs. The process of Belgian occupation in North Gaul began to repeat itself in the centre of the country.

Rome had been greatly paralysed by domestic dissension, and it was high time for her to resume the Teutonic policy which she had carried out against the Cimbri and to secure the pacification of the Celtic district. Cæsar appeared as the great leader of this policy; he began by repelling the Helvetii, who had found life uncomfortable in their contracted settlements, which were invaded by other Celtic tribes; exploring bands of Teutons increased their anxieties, and they were therefore seeking a settlement in Gaul to the west. Cæsar's victories drove them back, and he was able to use them as a buffer against the Germans. Ariovistus gave them no help; under the consulate of Cæsar, Rome had sent him presents of honour with royal insignia and had given him the title of a friendly king. When the Helvetian question had been settled, Cæsar turned against him. The conference between the two leaders led to no result, and is remarkable only for the fact that Ariovistus was willing to lead his men as Roman auxiliaries if they might remain peacefully in their settlements among the Sequani. But Cæsar was not only anxious to drive them out, but was compelled to do so; their expulsion was necessary, not only for the sake of the Gauls, but also for that of the remaining Teutonic tribes. An appeal to arms resulted in his favour, as in the case of his great-uncle Marius, whose triumphal monument he had admired in his youth.

Cæsar in Pursuit of a Great Object

Cæsar was now able to pursue his great object; he proposed to solve the Celtic problem definitely by closing Gaul to any Teutons whatsoever, and making the Rhine a frontier of the Roman Empire. He had preferred not to venture on the experiment of including Ariovistus within

the province he was about to create ; but this policy he followed in the case of the Belgæ, who had lost their Teutonic nationality and become Gauls, although they offered the bravest resistance. The Belgæ were necessary to him to complete his work ; he wished to make them the bulwark of his great province of Gaul, and not to leave them as a standing danger and a basis for marauding raids upon Gallia Minor. He was able to win over the Teutonic Ubii with greater ease ; this tribe felt the need of such support, as they were continually struggling against wandering bands of Suevi and other neighbours.

When Cæsar closed the inlets of Gaul, these Teutonic struggles upon the Rhine naturally grew more intense. Such Teutonic bands as crossed the Rhine were destroyed by Cæsar with an utter disregard of his pledged word, even when they were the victims of those same Suevi, whom he regarded as the origin of these disturbances. Against the Suevi he undertook his two expeditions on the right bank of the Rhine, which merely forced that tribe to retire to the interior ; these attempts were speedily ended by Cæsar before any disaster could occur. The Rhine frontier, however defective as a boundary, was retained throughout the decade following Cæsar's supreme command in Gaul. When the Teutons, who had been finally driven from their habitations, were admitted to the west bank—as, for instance, the Ubii—permission was given them to settle in definite form. Moreover, during the revolt of Vercingetorix Cæsar had opened a new profession to dissatisfied and restless Teutons by admitting them into the Roman service as auxiliary troops ; it was a profession which speedily rose to repute, and was regarded as analogous to the German system of war bands.

It remained to repeat Cæsar's policy on the Rhine, and on the Danube also, before the Teutons reached and crossed that river. This was done by Cæsar's intellectual and political heir, Augustus, through the creation of the provinces of Noricum and Rætia ; the task was carried out without disturbance from the Teutons, whose main body had advanced no further than the Main. New and more portentous incursions and disturbances broke out in the Rhine

district. Rome did not care to remain content with the inadequate frontier line afforded by the river. When a world-empire is on the rise and its neighbours are in a state of political unrest there is an unconscious tendency to push the frontier forward. Cæsar had secured Gaul ; Augustus and his followers attempted to protect the three divisions of Gaul by means of the provinces of Germania.

The first and second provinces of Germania were easily and rapidly created, as they were situated upon the left bank of the Rhine and composed of the German settlements already in existence ; it remained to secure the third Germania province by carrying the eagles of Rome to the Elbe, and thus following the lines of commercial intercourse which had been opened by traders in the frontier districts. Then in the year 16 B.C. the incompetency of the legate M. Lollius produced a general resumption of hostilities.

Nero Claudius Drusus had made the Rhine frontier a strong basis of operations by providing a full supply of forts and garrisons even upon the right bank ; Mainz was the central point, while the construction of the Fossa Drusi had made the navigation possible at the mouth of the river in the larger delta of the Rhine, which then lay further eastward than at the present time. He had won over the Batavi and the Frisians to accept a position of subjugation similar to that of the Belgæ, under Roman supremacy, had sent a fleet to the coasts of the North Sea and up the German rivers, and had traversed the future province in various directions with his army. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the brother and successor of Drusus, who died upon his return from the last great expedition in 9 B.C., pursued the same policy. Experience had, however, shown him that the Teutons were most easily Romanised if they were allowed to go their own way, were compelled to acknowledge Roman supremacy, and were left to offer their support, whereas a series of campaigns and premature plans of subjugation were more likely to turn their attention to their own powers and prospects of union.

This policy proved, as might have been expected, so successful, that the third German province was for a time brought into actual existence. There was but one opponent to its permanency—Marbod,

**Cæsar's
Broken
Pledges**

**How the
Teutons were
Romanised**

**Teutons in
the Roman
Service**

king of the Suevi, whose name is Latinised as Maroboduas; but a second arose in consequence of the blundering whereby P. Quinctilius Varus destroyed the achievements of Tiberius in the year 9 A.D. Marbod, like Arminius, would not accommodate himself to the short-sighted policy or to the ancestral institutions of the Teutonic tribes. It may be asserted that had it not been for the political and general education gained by the young Teutons in the Roman service there would have been no "German Liberator," and that the Teutonic characteristics would not have proved sufficiently strong to resist the process of absorption within the Roman Empire.

The "Kindred" (*Sippe*) is a conception which the Teutons derived from their Indo-Germanic ancestors. It existed in embryo in all Indo-Germanic societies, though it was not developed until the period of separation, with the result that the characteristics and even the designation of a Kindred are not the same in every case. Among the Teutons the Kindred is rather democratic than patriarchal; it is a union of related families or households on the basis of equal rights, and authority exercised by the heads of families.

The thorough conservatism under which Teutonic constitutional forms have developed has but little modified the old purposes and arrangements of the Kindred even in historical times. In primitive and in later times it remains a defensive alliance, never asking whether a member is "guilty" or "innocent," but protecting him in feuds, blood quarrels, legal processes, oaths, and accepting the responsibility for his actions as long as he is not formally deprived of membership. The Kindred is a coherent armed community, and as such forms the smallest unit of the army. It is an industrial and economic guild; the individual household has personal possession only of implements and movable property, among which the house was for a long time included, just as tent poles and coverings were among nomadic tribes.

This economic unity forms collectively with its inhabitants a village, which consequently in later times bore the name of the Kindred, just as during the periods of migration resting places and encampments may have been named after the tribe that used them. Thus, the patronymic followed by suffixing "-ton," "-ford,"

"-ham," etc., is very familiar in England.

The district which was occupied by the Kindred or its settlement, the village mark, was the property of the community, which was thus a "mark corporation." The distribution of the ground which was carried out at stated periods gave the temporary usufruct to individuals, provided that they observed the conditions imposed on the community; pasture land and forest were for a long time enjoyed in common. The affairs of individual families also came within the purview of the Kindred in its character as an economic corporation, so far as families could affect the common possession of property or of labour; thus, for instance, the Kindred exercised a right of confirming marriage contracts, and the appointments of guardians. Hence the separation of the individual from his kin, or opposition between the individual and the kin, was an unexampled occurrence at the outset of the historical Teutonic period.

About the beginning of the Christian era these conditions in other respects were of a very primitive character; a general organisation existed only in the form of Kindreds within the mass of Teutonic tribes who were connected by a common nationality and language. This organisation was first extended by the necessity of concluding and of turning to practical account alliances of peace between the tribes. Thus federations combining several Kindreds arose; these acted as corporations upon important occasions, and these corporations were a kind of judicial court. It was not a court which could decide or pronounce upon points of law, but it could hear arguments upon questions of compensation, when such questions arose and the Kindred concerned were not in a state of antagonism. In such cases the court provided that the Kindred upon which compensation or performance was obligatory should perform its duty; there was as yet no conception of a penal code.

The old name for this larger conjunction of Kindreds is the "Hundred," or, in the northern provinces, herad, herred, harde. The term is derived from the numeral "hund," a hundred, probably the highest number which the original Teutons possessed. We cannot, however, venture to conclude from this term the existence

of a numerical limit to the corporation. Any attempt of the kind is met by the most obvious contradictions ; for instance, the Hundreds are not extended or contracted in correspondence with the change in population.

The term "hundred" was merely an indefinite expression, which might connote ten multiplied by twelve just as much as ten multiplied by ten (the Teutons also possessed the term "great hundred"); the term is no more mathematically accurate than the usage of our more educated age, when it sends a thousand kind remembrances or speaks of millions.

The state, or, as the Teutons said, the *Folk*, was formed at some date which we cannot determine. For the latter expression the term "army" is practically equivalent. Both were formed only gradually and slowly. The *Folk* originated like the Kindred and the Hundred, though in another manner and direction, from the need for peace and mutual help. Hence its origin is not to be regarded as instantaneous or uniform, or its organisation as entirely systematic. It grew slowly and simply ; in the historical period we find Teutonic races with this organisation only in midway process of development. A number of neighbouring and related Kindreds and Hundreds united to discuss the ways and means which should enable them to protect their territory and property against foreign enemies, and also, if occasion arose, to improve their position at the expense of others, by some common attack. The object of the *Folk* is therefore wholly military.

It is upon this basis that all its organisation is founded ; the council which deliberates and frames proposals, the popular assembly (*folk-moot*) of the men capable of bearing arms, the law of crime—cowardice, desertion, and treachery—and the consequent rise of a criminal court

The Priest in a New Rôle and of punitive power. This new criminal code has no connection with the Hundred courts, which are essentially different.

The assembly of the *Folk* is injured in its military capacity by such transgressions ; it becomes a court, and proceeds to find a suitable means of executing punishments—by the hand of the priest. The transference of punitive rights to the Hundred courts is a far later regulation of the state, when it had become a regulating and

highly organised power. At the moment the earlier corporate elements, the Kindred and the Hundred, are used only to forward its military objects as component parts of the "army."

To put the matter another way, the Kindred and the Hundred exist as military elements, and there is neither opportunity nor reason for any other mode of division. On the other hand, in order to subserve the military purpose, the Kindred permitted certain interference by the state with the rights of guardianship reserved to themselves and to their families by pronouncing youths to be capable of bearing arms before the popular assembly—that is to say, capable of being enlisted in the army upon the occasion of its muster. At the same time there is no actual interference of the state with the family power of the household ; capacity to bear arms and patriarchal power are totally different characteristics.

With these creations we reach the ideas of people and patriotism, or, as we should say, of state and citizenship. Here, again, there is no settled system or line of demarcation. We find members of a nationality breaking away, founding new settlements and becoming independent peoples, as in the case of the Batavi and the Mattiaci, who were fragments of the Chatti. Had Ariovistus been permanently successful, the seven fragments of different nationalities which, at the least, he led, together with the several thousands of the Charudes who followed him, would have grown into one nation.

We find remnants or fragments of one nation absorbed into others ; for instance, the Aduatuci, a remnant of the Cimbri, amalgamated with the Tungri, who had "first" come to Belgium ; the Sigambri, again, absorbed the remnants of the Usipetes and Tencteri. Sometimes there is merely a temporary amalgamation, and a later dissolution or attempt to dissolve ; thus the Rugi, whom Theoderic had led to Italy, attempted, after the murder of Ildebad, to choose a king of their own, and broke away from the Ostrogoth nationality. Thus the history of the old Teutonic nationality is for these reasons, as well as for their continual migrations, far too complicated a period to be represented for more than a moment by maps or general views. For the same reason, it is impossible to use the

information at hand as a basis for speculations about unknown prehistoric times.

A repetition of the process of Folk formation can be observed, though taking place upon a higher plane and in wider form. The co-operation of the Folk naturally did not abolish war from the world, but separated war and peace somewhat more clearly from mere disorder, and made the difference of more importance. Thus the impulse which had led to the formation of the Folk remained operative, and conjunction was no less necessary than before. As formerly a number of tribes and hundreds were forced to combine, so now Folk unions were driven to union. Hence the corporate character of Teutonic history as a whole regards the peoples as a transition form of the corporation, next in point of greatness to the allied state. This body, again, produces a transition to the "nation," in which the modern Teutons have arranged themselves, both to-day and at an earlier period, if at the cost of great effort.

This movement, which concerns the Folk unions, began in prehistoric times, but it remains in constant and steady progress at the outset of German history. The possibility of achievement depends upon the equalisation of competitive concurrent forces. The existence of the Folk union also exercises a retrograde influence. It is everywhere existent and recognised; its objects and its independence have overshadowed the individual of flesh and blood, just as the modern Mecklenburger or Westphalian is forgotten in his general German nationality. Thus the Bructeri or Cherusci as such did not forget the desirability of conjunction with others, but only when confronted with immediate danger did this possibility become urgent in their eyes; they must first become accustomed to a wider political outlook and do not care to see their customary traditions diminished in importance.

Thus at the time of primitive German history we find the Germans in a condition of more or less transitory federation, and only gradually do we find individual federations becoming permanent associations in the form of states. Possessions of the Folk as such are not straightway abandoned to the federation when a Folk enters into an alliance with others; it remains an independent and political community, and will have nothing to do with any federal institutions

except the federal assembly, which for practical reasons is indispensable and generally employed. Under these circumstances some compensating element was required to guarantee fidelity to alliances, and this end was gained by oaths, religious forms, the union of divinities, and the subjugation of the alliance to the rule

of the divine deities. When an Amphictyony thus formed has remained some time in existence, a federal name, used for definite purposes, takes the place of the individual folk names.

The need for an earlier historical origin is then felt, and finds expression in the form of epic legends, or, what is a different process, in artificial ethnogonies and other fancies of the kind. Many alliances survive the course of only one campaign, while others remain in existence only in intention, and can be aroused by the impact of some strong collision. There is evidence to show that the federal religious festivities once celebrated were not necessarily allowed to collapse—the gods are not to be offended—though the political meaning of the federation may have passed away. We find, moreover, alliances which may have remained operative for a long time, perhaps for centuries, though they at least remember their great importance only in its after effects and tradition; this is true of the Suevi at the time of Tacitus. Apart from this we shall hardly be able to connect the isolated tracks which wind between different groupings of the German nations, or to gather any fruitful or definite result from the traditional fragments of ethnogonic ideas. Similarly, only in a few cases can we venture to say whether later states have grown up out of individual folks or from the remnants of alliances.

To form and keep alliances in permanent connection, to secure the adherence of allies, and in this way to unify diverse tribes, remained the privilege of the kings and princes. The rise and formation of their houses was naturally based

upon the individual Folk. Any federation, no matter how democratic its basis, which pursues military and political objects, stands in need of leadership, not only in war, but also in deliberation. On the other hand, every man who desired power, or to work for the general welfare, was obliged, by the special character of the

The Folk's Religious Festivities

The Germans in a State of Transition

Leaders of the "Folk" in Peace and War

old Teutonic kin organisation, to act upon every occasion in concert with his Kindred. He exists only for the Kindred, and his every performance is open to discussion. Without the Kindred he cannot rise to pre-eminence, and it is not himself, but his kin, that he brings into the foreground and makes the leader upon national questions. The question thus requires examination upon this side, when we find leading personalities and their policies, however democratic and well founded, involved in domestic difficulties and overwhelmed by them.

On the other hand, at the period covered by the *Annals of Tacitus*—an excellent source of constitutional information—we find at times within an individual Folk a leading Kindred, with its precedence secured in a surprising measure—provided, in fact, with a special legitimacy, which it carefully preserves in such cases as marriage contracts, which are confined to members of equal rank, in those instances which we can fully examine. “*Stirps regia*” is the name given by Tacitus to such a family—the noble family of any specific nationality. This family provides the princes, from whom generals are chosen according to their capacity. These leading men, known as “*kuninge*,” from their membership of the kuni, or noble Kindred, regarded as a family, are as yet far removed from any monarchical power or sovereignty; the latter belongs in all things to the general assembly.

The princes settle only unimportant matters by mutual discussion, in accordance with a custom which arose for obvious reasons of convenience, and their decisions are subject to the consent of military, national, or popular assemblies. To the latter they have to bring their decision on the more important matters that have arisen in their own discussions. They are

leaders in this assembly, and naturally the most important orators, though anybody may speak who has the prospect of getting a hearing. In view of the solemnity with which even savages conduct debate, no doubt shyness forbade attempts to speak in most cases. All this is excellently described by Tacitus, who also shows how the princes ruled “*auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate*”—“by the influence which persuades rather

than by the power which commands.”

For leadership in war and military expeditions the appointment of definite persons was a necessity. A chief, whom Tacitus calls *dux*, rendered “duke,” was appointed, or sometimes two dukes. But the latter system was tried only in primitive times and was not always successful. The holder of the office is drawn from the noble families in every case of which history speaks. Tacitus is in agreement with this statement, though Beda emphasises the princely character of the dukes among the Saxons in Britain. But even in face of the enemy their power is by no means unlimited, and their careful plans are occasionally overthrown by the jealousy of their blood relations and the success of these in persuading the military assembly, which met for executive purposes as the Folk.

The process by which a particular Kindred took a leading part and became a noble family of historical import cannot be explained in full detail. There is some evidence to show that the noble family was able to pledge the credit of the whole, as the conceptions *adal* (noble) and *odal*

(property) differ only by a distinction of vowels. Again, the princes in the time of Tacitus received gifts in virtue of their leading position, voluntarily given by their tribal associates; as such Tacitus mentions animals and field produce. It is, however, especially important that the manager of the general assembly should be in communication with the all-powerful gods. The members of the noble Kindred provided the national priest or priests, built, administered, and maintained the sanctuaries of the gods, which we must imagine as buildings provided with subordinate offices, sheep, cattle, and pasture, and an adequate temple precinct, notwithstanding a passage in the “*Germania*” which Tacitus himself contradicts in the “*Annals*.”

The division of the plunder taken in war remained the privilege of the popular assembly until Merovingian times, though no doubt the leaders gained certain preferences in this respect. A somewhat larger share of prisoners of war—that is, slave labour—was assigned to the leading Kindred, and enabled them correspondingly to extend their agricultural operations and their property. Thus their capacity and their public work



GERMAN RIDERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

From a relief on the Colonna Antonina at Rome

received not only a social and political return from the whole community, but also secured an increase in property which steadily consolidated their position. Moreover, the formation of the above-mentioned ideas of a penal code threw the execution of punishment into their hands, as they were the priests who offered to the gods the sacrifices which appeased their wrath and secured their friendship; they alone could attack the person or the life of the Teuton.

A further advance in power which began at the time of Tacitus may be seen in the fact that they not merely conduct the popular assembly, but also divide among themselves the right to visit and conduct the assemblies of the Hundreds. We must not under-estimate the high power which was given them by the system of retainers, or by their right of training the young to the use of arms where their parents or blood relations were unable to perform this duty. Here we have already in embryo the later right of tutelage exercised by the crown.

Hitherto we have spoken only of the princes as members of a noble Kindred. As regards their mutual rank and position,

they are all able to raise equal claims in point of right. Flavius, the brother of Arminius, renounces the royal position which belongs to him among the Cherusci as he is remaining in the service of the Romans; but his son Italicus, who was brought up as a Roman, afterwards concentrates in his person all the rights of the Kindred of which he was

New Royal Families from the Kindred

the sole remaining representative. These rights were respected as long as possible by the nationality, which was especially mistrustful of new men and of innovations. Only in very special cases did the Teutons raise a new royal family by choice from one of the other Kindreds in opposition to the old family.

The overthrow of Marbod or Ermanaric, with its consequent confusion, does not prevent the resumption of their hereditary privileges. By the elevation of Witichis the Ostrogoths broke away from the younger house of the Amali, which had become alienated from the people; at the same time one of the first acts of Witichis was to secure a kind of right to share the legitimacy of the Amali by his marriage with Mataswinta. Though every member of the royal

Kindred had the right to come forward as prince, we find in numerous cases that not all of them actually exercised this right or would have had any prospect of success. The different blood relations of Segestes and Arminius are politically without any public reputation, although they enjoy not only princely rights, but

Father of Arminius also the princely title (*princeps*, in Tacitus). The same remark is true of the brother of Segestes and of his son, although his noble birth and consequent right to act as national priest induced the Romans to call him from the third Germania to act as priest at the Ara Ubiorum, which had been set up at Cologne for the three Germanias, and corresponded to the altars of Rome and Augustus, set up at Lyons over the three Gauls. The father of Arminius, who outlived the greatness of his son, was of no political importance whatever.

This narrower clique of principes—among the Cherusci, Segestes, Arminius, and his uncle Inguimerus—who busied themselves with public affairs, attempted to determine the decisions of the people, and thus arrived at an attitude of mutual jealousy more or less pronounced. The majority of the popular assembly follows now one, now another, of these leaders, according as he has been successful or represents the most popular view. No one of the

nobles, or kuninge, was able to become the sole and privileged ruler in the later sense of the term, with definite and political privileges assured to him for a definite time; they were continual rivals, attempting to secure the momentary and fickle approval of the majority.

None the less, individual personalities appeared, sufficiently powerful to break through the restraints of the Kindred and to concentrate its collective rights within themselves. Ariovistus is not exactly a prince of this character. He succeeded in securing permanence for his personal position as prince and duke to an extent unusual, and not in accordance with the principle of tribal constitution. This he achieved by securing definite authority over the Gauls and also from Rome. Marbod, on the other hand, is an overthrower of tribal legitimacy after the manner of the Cæsars.

Marcomanni in the Place of Danger

The Marcomanni, who belonged to that portion of the Suevi which had entered the Rhine district, had settled in the Lower Maine, and were there stationed when Augustus and Drusus began that policy which brought them between two hostile frontiers from Mainz and Rætia. Marbod then led his people up the Maine to the comparative seclusion of Bohemia, which had been



BATTLE BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND MARCOMANNI

The Marcomanni, a Germanic tribe that originally dwelt between the Rhine and the Danube, expelled the Boii from Bohemia and part of Bavaria early in the Christian era, and founded a kingdom which reached to the Danube.

From a relief on the Colonna Antonina at Rome

abandoned by the Boii. Marbod had become a politician in the school of the Roman military service. He attempted to make himself a power equal to the Romans. He was a man of high importance, who, attempting to break through the restrictions of his native birth, had developed his capacity, driven away his blood relations, absorbed their rights, and founded the continuance of his supremacy on a basis of militarism, and also upon the predominance of the Marcomanni over other Teutonic peoples. His rule was obeyed over an area extending even to the Lombards at the mouth of the Elbe. Thus he appeared as a rival acting against the Romans on the east front of the Teutons to secure supremacy for the Teuton sphere of influence, and his rivalry was the more formidable as the existence of such despotism generally depends upon unceasing effort and extension.

Formerly it had been important for Rome to save the Keltic districts from the hands of the Teutons, who, though an incoherent force, were advancing upon every side; and so now the question arose whether the district occupied by the loosely united Teutonic peoples between the Rhine and the Elbe should belong to Rome or to Marbod.

Three Years' Revolt in Pannonia

Such being the situation and the opponent, the former policy of Tiberius, to overcome the Teutons by peace and not by the challenge of campaigns, proved inapplicable. After careful plans and preparatory expeditions through Germania, which showed him that the popular opinion of the Germans was inclined to support Rome and its policy rather than the supremacy of Marbod, he began his double attack upon the kingdom of the Marcomanni by a simultaneous advance from the Danube and the Rhine in the year 6 A.D. At this dangerous moment for Marbod, a revolt broke out in Pannonia and Dalmatia, and Tiberius was occupied with its suppression until the year 9 A.D. Marbod, who could hardly have survived had he not given some diplomatic assistance to this revolt, calmly reverted to his old relationship to Rome, as a supreme king of equal weight with the emperor, and pursuing a like policy.

The third province of Germania was not to be lost to Rome on that account. Augustus had been able undisturbed to place the garrisons on the Rhine at the

disposal of Tiberius for the subjugation of Pannonia. In Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine, the diminished Roman troops held their winter or summer camps in time of peace; the surrounding tribes and their princes who could be won over by the grant of empty distinctions admitted the claim of Roman supremacy, and the governor exercised the rights of levying taxes and of summary jurisdiction. The action of P. Quinctilius

Varus, however, in either of these departments, went far beyond anything that the patient Teutonic tribes had hitherto borne in the way of pressure. Hence it became possible for Arminius to rise in opposition to Segestes, the friend of Rome, to deprive the latter of the leadership of the Cherusci, to secure the alliance of the other peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, to lead them cleverly against the position of Varus, and to destroy that leader with his army of Roman soldiers and Teutonic auxiliaries—from the peoples of the North Sea—in the Teutoberg forest in 9 A.D.

Arminius had returned no long time previously from the Roman service. C. Julius Cæsar, to whom the south Teutonic relations with Rome owe their beginning, had introduced the custom of using German troops as Roman auxiliaries. We must remember to distinguish between migrating tribes in search of land and the adventurous raids of bold companies. Cæsar was acquainted with Teutonic invasions of Gaul in both of these forms. When he discovered the urgent need for cavalry to deal with the last great revolt, he had employed the enterprising spirits of certain mounted troops of young Teutons. Whether or not this was really intended as a last resource in time of need, from that time forward German auxiliaries become a regular and extending branch of the Roman service. Thus, while the Roman state crushed the Teutons or

attempted to confine them within boundaries, it opened its armies to this nationality by the offer of employment.

Leaders of such barbarians became Roman officers, generals, administrators and high officials. The Roman armies gradually lost their nationality, and became a foreign force, consisting chiefly of Teutonic troops, paid by Romans, fighting for Rome, but unable to prevent the overthrow and disruption of the empire, and destined one

day to seize Italy, the last remaining province of the empire, for themselves under the leadership of Odoacer.

At the moment the use made by the German nobles—that is, by the members of the leading kindreds among individual peoples—of the instruction which they gained in the Roman service and brought home with them is sufficiently remarkable.

Arminius in the Hour of Triumph

We have already spoken of Marbod. The "eques Romanus," Arminius, when he led the revolt against Varus, had no intention of following the precedent of the Cimbri and Ariovistus by requesting the Romans to settle a time and place for a battle or for a judicial decision by the judgment of God. War, indeed, was *orlog* or *ur-lag*, and *lag* means law. Arminius, however, had been trained in the Roman school, and he paid his teachers in full for all their treacherous attacks since Noreja.

We know but very little of the ideas which inspired Arminius, but if in the joy of his triumph he had cherished the ambitions of Marbod, his capacity would have been unable to cope with the mass of opposition which he encountered. The prestige of Segestes revived, and the rivalry between himself and Arminius continued for many years with varying success. The younger man was helped to recover his preponderance by the indefatigable efforts of Germanicus, the son of Drusus, who held command upon the Rhine, to repair the defeat of Varus by campaigns against the Teutons.

Segestes was eventually forced to take refuge with the Romans, together with his relation and adherents, who were obliged to follow him, and to abandon the field to Arminius. Germanicus might lead Segestes, whose company he had not compelled, in triumphal procession, but the fact that his ally was no longer in his own country was a wholly unexpected result of this struggle for Rome. Such was the opinion

Tiberius on the Imperial Throne

of Tiberius, who was now upon the imperial throne and saw this fresh confirmation of his old theories as to Teutonic policy. He put an end to the campaign, considering that if the third Germania was to be reconquered it could be better secured by peace than by war.

The province, however, remained lost to Rome; and this was, as Tacitus says, "without doubt" the personal achievement of Arminius. He saved the Germans on the

right bank of the Rhine from becoming Roman provincials, as those upon the left had become, in which process large and capable numbers of the German population were lost to Germany; and thus he actually became, not merely the liberator, but actually the saviour of German nationality and of German history.

The Roman abandonment of punitive measures left Arminius triumphant during his own time. "In battles against Germanicus he fought with varying success, but as a leader of war he was unconquered"—thus Tacitus summarises his achievements. The tribes on the right of the Rhine were free, and owed their liberty to him. Among the Cherusci he had but one serious opponent, Inguiomerus. He now put forward the claim of supremacy over the Cherusci, and as Segestes had formerly gone into exile, so now Inguiomerus took to flight and went to Marbod. This fact expresses the whole change in the political situation.

In place of the Romans, who had given up the conflict, Marbod led the opposition against Arminius, who was also confronted by Marbod's championship of the "freedom" of the country

Marbod the Champion of "Freedom"

between the Rhine and the Elbe; the people who had hitherto obeyed Marbod now deserted to Arminius. An appeal to arms led to no clear decision. Marbod, however, was not triumphant; his despotism had begun to totter, and soon collapsed entirely. One of the nobles whom he had driven out, Katwalda, returned from exile and seized his position, but only to fall himself the more rapidly. Katwalda was soon living at Fréjus under Roman protection, as was Marbod at Ravenna, while their respective adherents had left the country and were settled by the Romans in the frontier district on the Danube. The "kings," however, of these Suevi—the name which they now resumed—were chosen by the Roman emperors themselves. Thus we meet with a new and clever system, introduced by Rome; the evils of tribal supremacy were utilised by Rome, by the help of her power and the weight of her name, to raise one man to high positions, who now became the "rex," though entirely dependent upon Roman patronage, in place of the Stirps, the princely family, which was a continual source of disturbance. In this way the Romans gained considerable successes

to the north of the Danube, even among the Quadi and Marcomanni. This German kingship was not, however, based upon the Roman policy, but upon the slow and systematic disregard of common family claims—a process which could be achieved only after centuries had elapsed. On the other hand, it will be perceived that this Roman policy was extremely likely to stimulate ambitious Teutonic nobles to secure a despotism with—or better without—Roman help, though such supremacy could be secured only for individual persons and was not necessarily transmitted by inheritance to their children.

Among the Cherusci also the Romans were able to introduce their king. After the fall of Marbod, Arminius found no obstacle to the task of making his leadership and his policy a permanent basis of settlement. He wished to "become king," in the words of Tacitus, who speaks of him as "regnum adfectans." In the course of this attempt Arminius was overthrown by the existing members of the noble Kindred, whose rights were infringed by his efforts. The principles of public right and the actual state of affairs were in opposition to his personal claims. However,

**German
History in
Epic Poetry**

German tradition long remained faithful to the liberator, and at the time of Tacitus his fame was sung beyond the limits of the Cherusci in those epic poems in which the Teutons, for want of a written language, preserved their history.

At the death of Arminius a generation of conflict within the noble family confused the succession until the year 47 A.D. The only remaining representative of that house was Italicus, the son of Flavius, who had been brought up among the Romans. The invincible ideas of legitimacy raised this last member of the family, the nephew of Arminius, to the leadership of the nation, and, with the support of the Romans, Italicus entered the district of the Weser, which he had never before seen; he was now personally a "rex," as the "stirps regia" depended entirely upon him; he was sole king because there was no other "kuning," no other man belonging to the noble family (kuni). But the cessation of political faction was an inconceivable result. Misunderstandings arose, and partisans from the struggles before the year 47 rose against Italicus. In vain did Italicus urge their want of nobility, as Tacitus expressly explains,

and show that no right existed except that concentrated in himself; struggles began, and Italicus was forced to flee to the Lombards, who were then settled on the Lower Elbe, to secure their interference. Further events are unknown to us.

Our scanty knowledge of the history of Italicus shows plainly enough the embarrasments which inevitably

**Fictitious
Triumphs of
the Romans**

arose from the well-devised Roman policy of protecting dependent kings, in view of the fact that the kings themselves did not stop at considerations of legitimacy. Even when the Romans fought with the Chatti and other Teutons in the course of the first century, no great achievement was ever attained, and the triumphs which the emperors celebrated before the senate and people of the capital were but too plainly fictitious. The true inwardness of the Roman policy consists not in these struggles, but in the great technical labour, which lasted for decades, of establishing or protecting the lines of frontier. The several lines of the Rhine and the Danube, regarded as frontiers, were isolated unities and as yet unconnected; in the district of the Upper Danube, on the wooded heights of the Baar and the Black Forest, which were as yet occupied by neither Romans nor Teutons, and also in the fair plains of the Breisgau, the ownership of the land was a doubtful question, and its occupants always changing. The angle formed at the north-east by the Upper Danube and the Rhine formed a deep wedge between Rætia and Upper Germania. While the world-empire was still advancing, or while advance was contemplated, indecision on this point could be settled by a general advance of Roman authority either to the Elbe or elsewhere. When the intention of advance had been abandoned, it was necessary, before the Teutons reached the old Celtic territory, which was now ownerless, to

**Rome's
Ambitious
Plans**

close this wedge-shaped opening and the "Helvetian Desert," since known as the Agri Decumates, and to make the Danube and the Rhine the common frontier line from Pannonia to the North Sea. Such was the purpose and the meaning of the line of communication drawn from Kelheim to Rheinbrohl; the separate fortifications and protected lands were eventually united into one great fortified boundary line.



THE GOTHS IN ITALY

From the painting by P. F. Poole, R.A. By permission of the Manchester Art Gallery



THE GREAT TEUTONIC DELUGE

GOTHS IN CONFLICT WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ROME had now established her frontiers ; the time of expansion, of attack and counter attack, had ended, and a respite follows. Then comes a period of defence and loss. From the Black Sea to the North Sea the Teutonic nationality surges over the frontier and breaks through the boundaries erected in Dacia and in the coast lands of the Black Sea ; some rapid advances are driven back, but they remain a presage foreboding the inexorable rise and advance of a current that can no longer be checked. The material cause of these movements is not, as before, an increase of population which has grown too dense to be supported by the rude forms of pastoral life and primitive agriculture, and is therefore forced to send out migrating bodies ; in this case we have to deal with a general advance from the east, which can be recognised by its effects and by contemporary accounts. It resulted in a general shifting of nations, and eventually brought the whole Teutonic world into movement.

Signs of this movement became evident from Rhætia, against which the Chatti made a disturbing advance, to Pannonia and Dacia. The Teutonic world was in a ferment throughout its southern boundary—an effect which points to a great number of previous changes in the unknown interior. The Marcomanni advanced to the Danube ; the Lombards had left the Lower Elbe for the most part, and were following an easterly direction ;

**Aurelius
Fighting the
Teutons**

the Vandals, who were formerly settled in Silesia, also started out. Marcus Aurelius spent half a generation fighting against these Teutons and the still more obstinate Jazyges of Sarmatia, with the result that the proposed organisation of a Sarmatian province was abandoned, and Commodus permitted the settlement of Teutons in the frontier districts of the empire on the Danube. The “ pores of the empire ” were beginning to open to the Teutons.

The Goths, again, who before the year 200 A.D. had been driven from the Lower Vistula, had gone up-stream and turned to the east about the Carpathians ; about the year 200 they appear on the Black Sea and on the frontier of Dacia. After a decade of struggle by land and by sea, Rome surrendered Dacia to the Goths

**Rome's
Surrender to
The Goths**

after an expensive defence, and the first great province was lost to the Roman Empire. Aurelian was forced to surrender it, as Rome itself was threatened by the Alamanni, whose marauding bands passed through Rhætia into the peninsula itself. The policy of using the Teutonic tribes as a buffer was now shown to be purposeless and inconsistent.

After a momentary attempt to cross the Vistula, the Lombards turned to the south-east and thus joined hands with the east Teutons, while the forces of the Alamanni advanced from the south-west. They came forth from the districts on the Elbe above the Lombard settlements and also from those upon the Havel and Spree. For a wide distance round the Elbe and to the right of it the country was abandoned by the Teutons, and room was made for the Slavs, who desired it. The Alamanni were the nucleus and the remnant of the old Suevian federation and clung closely to this name, though they did not meet with recognition by other tribes on this account. In the first place the Alamanni no longer represented the old confederacy as such ; during the migration other nationalities, who were not members, had joined them. Moreover, there were besides themselves many other Germans, who had also been Suevi, extending from the Marcomanni and Danubian Suevi in the south-east, along the whole line of the Roman frontier, to the hill country of the Rhine. These double titles have remained to the present day, and the name Alamanni has never been adopted by the Suevi, or Swabians,

themselves, except under the influence of scholars in later times.

The Alamanni marched towards the frontier of Upper Germania, while the East Teutonic Burgundians followed in their path. These two nations pushed the Chatti and their adherents to the north, after driving them to abandon their

Advance on the Roman Empire previous attempts upon Rætia and destroying their prospects in the south-west. In consequence, the Chatti became

a member of, if not the principal nation in, the union of the "Franks," which extended from the Central Rhine to the North Sea, and appeared as the rivals of the Alamanni throughout the westward advance upon the Roman Empire.

The year 213 marks the beginning of the struggle upon the frontier line itself; two generations later the Alamanni overran the Agri Decumates and settled there. In that country they formed a denser population, as is shown by old local names, than in their previous settlements to the east of the boundary; they had now reached the land, under Roman administration, which had already been under cultivation, and found, in consequence, a larger extent of arable land, and probably learned a more productive form of agriculture. But at the beginning of the fourth century this temporary satisfaction came to an end. Bands of Alamanni had long before been making raids beyond the Rhine into Gaul; large bodies now, advancing for purposes of occupation, overran the province of Alsace and the district of the Vosges. Once again the military power of Julian drove them across the Rhine by his great victory of 357. But Julian's death soon followed, and Rome was unable to prevent their return.

The Alamanni of the fourth century certainly formed a confederacy. Their several component nationalities pursued, upon the whole, a similar policy; but they

Confederacy of the Alamanni had methods of war and peace peculiar to themselves, and even in their chief undertakings against the Romans they did

not appear absolutely united. In the case of the individual peoples the leadership is at one time in the hands of one man, and is at another conducted by a commission of near relatives; in general, the administrative and selective power within the *Stirps regia* had advanced considerably, compared with the time of

Arminius. By what process a uniform nation was produced from this confederacy of the Alamanni we do not know. In any case, this further development began before the period when they were subject to Clovis. The districts occupied by the component nationalities are in the course of becoming districts, "Gaue," of the nation of the Alamanni; for instance, in place of the district of the Lentienses we find a "Linzgau," and the whole is ruled by a kingdom.

The details of the process by which such a federation became a coherent nation are known to us only in the case of the Franks. They also advanced steadily from the left bank of the Rhine in the fourth century. They, too, were checked, though not driven back, by Julian; notwithstanding his victory at Toxandria, he left them in possession of the country between the Scheldt and the Maas, which they had occupied a short time previously. In the third century the Franks had proved a burden and a danger to the Romans by the incredible boldness and extent of their maritime enterprises. Now, however, they

Raiders on the Roman Coasts appeared in forces confined almost entirely to land; in other words, marauding raids had been given up in favour

of permanent occupation. The Franks themselves had been driven back by the Saxons, the third of these important and recently formed federations of the west Teutons. The origin of the federation and its name must apparently be looked for in Nordalbingia. The federation extended so far westward that it embraced the old Cherusci, and from thence it turned northward towards the Rhine, at the expense of the Eastern Franks, and almost reached that river. The traditional task of maritime raids upon the Roman coasts, which made the process of conquest a maritime affair, became a monopoly of the Saxons; they were thus employed to a far greater extent than the Frisian coast dwellers, who formed a settled people, and were content with coasting voyages.

To return to the Franks, the characteristics of their federation and constitution corresponded with those of the Alamanni. The intermediate step between the federation of nationalities and a uniform nation is seen in the fourth century; it is the cohesion of two allied nationalities, the Ribuarii on the Rhine, and the Salic

Franks nearer the sea. In the fifth century we find the Ribuarii alone provided with a royal dynasty of their own.

The emperors of the house of Constantine, and at a later date the regent of the Roman Empire, including the Ribuarian Frank, Arbogast, fought against the Rhine Teutons incessantly and often with ferocity. Chiefly on this account the imperial residence was temporarily transferred to Trèves. The abandonment of this residence and the surrender of Gaul to the Alamanni and Franks, and of Britain to the Saxons, was not forced upon the empire until the time of Stilicho, and this

and the rivalry of individual tribal princes, for as yet the old tribal elements of the Tervinges, Taisales, etc., had not been entirely absorbed by the Gothic nationality. Among the Ostrogoths, on the other hand, the noble family of the Amalunges or Amalinges—the old language made no difference between *i* and *u* in this termination—had produced a powerful national chief, by name Ermanaric or Hermanrich. His power is said to have extended over the Goths and the related east Teutons, over the Slavs and the nations of that Ural group to which, among others, the Esthonians and Finns



IN COMMEMORATION OF A GREAT WAR

The inscription on the rock on the banks of the Danube, shown in the illustration, records the great conquest of the Roman Emperor Trajan over the Dacians in A.D. 103. This hard-won victory completed the triumph of Rome, and through it the Greek cities on the Pontus were at last delivered from the oppression of the Dacian powers.

retreat was due to the action of other Teutonic tribes, and to the approach of danger in another quarter. The action of the Alamanni had formerly thrown Dacia open to the Goths, and the Goths now became the agency which opened Eastern and Northern Gaul to the Alamanni and the Franks.

The Goths, who were divided into the subordinate divisions of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, had extended greatly in their settlements on the Lower Danube about the north-west and north of the Black Sea. So late as 375 the Visigoths were still suffering under the neighbourhood

belong, to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. So wide an empire could never be coherent, and the invasion of the Huns in 375 shattered it at one blow. The unity of the Ostrogoths was broken by repeated dissensions between the remaining Amali and other noble princes, in the course of which the Huns appeared, now as adversaries and now as allies, and secured the mastery of all the Ostrogoths without trouble.

The Visigoths had made a vain attempt to prevent the Huns from crossing the Dniester. Athanaric, the prince who had hitherto possessed the greatest prestige

hordes. The capital of Rome, which had been recently fortified by Aurelian against the marauding raids of the Alamanni was abandoned by the court, which transferred its residence to the almost impregnable sea fortress of Ravenna. Once again Stilicho drove Alaric and the Goths out of the plains of the Po, which they had overrun almost to the western Alps. This success was secured only at a dangerous price, involving, perhaps, permanent loss, as Gaul and Britain were almost entirely deprived of their garrisons, of which they were in urgent need.

Shortly afterwards, Stilicho with the same troops destroyed the bands of Radagais, to whom Alaric's advance had pointed out the way; they were a gigantic army of emigrants, composed of East Teutons and Swabian Germans, who had already crossed the Apennines and reached Fiesole. This band had reached the Central Danube in a state of unrest, the reasons for which apparently continued. As, however, the invasion of Italy was a failure, other bodies of the same kind advanced by the Danube, broke through the position of the

Stilicho's Victories and Death

Alamanni, and crossed the Rhine in 406, some of them remaining in Gaul, while the main body reached Spain, where they founded the kingdom of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi. Their forcible passage through the territory of the Alamanni proved a benefit to the Burgundians, who had long been hostile neighbours of the Alamanni and had been prevented by them from advancing. They now followed this band to the Rhine, where they stopped, and founded a kingdom about Worms, one of the few tangible historical events in this general history of change and migration, which has, however, found a special and tragical illustration in legend and poetry.

Stilicho was unable to use his victories for the restoration of the West Roman prestige, or to take new measures to secure the northern provinces, which had been abandoned owing to force of circumstances. He ended his life in the course of a court intrigue in 408, and a contemptible paroxysm of panic against the Teutons ended in the massacre of the women and children of the very troops who had just saved Italy. The warriors who had suffered under this visitation then turned to Alaric, who now found no army to oppose him. On several



STILICHO: GOVERNOR AT ROME

Of Vandal origin, Stilicho rose to be commander-in-chief of the Roman army, and married the emperor's niece, Serena. In 394, Theodosius appointed him governor at Rome. After defeating Alaric, king of the Goths, in two great battles, in 402 and 403, Stilicho aimed at making himself master of the empire, but latterly his own soldiers turned against him. He died, in 408, in the course of a court intrigue.



TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS INTO ROME

To Theodosius, as emperor of the East Roman Empire, was entrusted the conduct of the war against the Goths, who finally yielded. In 383 Theodosius suppressed the revolting Maximus, and the following year he entered the imperial city in triumph. That great triumphal procession is represented in the illustration, which is reproduced from the Theodosius Column, erected by the Kaiser Arcadius, in 410, at Constantinople, and demolished in 1695.

occasions he made himself master of Rome and of the whole peninsula as far as Ravenna. If he wished to occupy Italy permanently, it was necessary to secure his possession of the corn provinces of Sicily and Africa, without which Italy might well be starved out, under the stress of opposition from the East Roman Empire. On a journey to the Straits of Messina the Visigothic king died in the year 410.

After some hesitation his brother-in-law Athaulf gave up an attempt to found, as he expressed it, a Gotia in place of a Romania—a fact which points to some similar idea entertained by Alaric. Athaulf was convinced that the “unredeemed simplicity” of his Goths made it impossible for them to follow the Romans as masters of a civilised empire. Thus a convention was concluded with Ravenna; the imperial court which had seen Gaul overrun by Burgundians, Vandals and Alans, and partially absorbed by Franks and Alamanni, placed the Visigoths in the south of this province. Gaul, which was now to receive the “unredeemed simplicity” of the Goths, was at least upon an equality with the Italy of those days in point of culture; many characteristics of civilisation which had decayed and died in Italy, especially literature, were still cultivated in Gaul. Athaulf’s ideas were largely influenced by the emperor’s clever

sister, Placidia, who became the wife of the Goth, and was especially anxious to see Honorius master of Italy. It was intended that the Visigoths should receive their province in South Gaul as federal allies; Rome then might persuade herself that she was acting for the protection of this province, then threatened upon every side. After some months of internal and bloody confusion among the Visigoths, and after a barbarian reaction against the relations of Athaulf with the Romans and their emperor, which ended in his death, an arrangement was concluded upon these lines. This arrangement rather favoured than prevented the possibility that the Visigoth community might develop into an independent empire, side by side with the West Roman court, which ruled Italy from Ravenna.

Their settlement in Gaul and a certain understanding with the policy of Ravenna had turned the Visigoths against Spain and the Teutonic powers in that country. But before these questions could become acute, the Vandals under King Geiserich evacuated the peninsula, and left only their name, Vandalusia, to the southern districts which they had inhabited. The far-seeing Geiserich then availed himself of the hostility existing between the imperial regent, Aëtius, and the African governor, Bonifacius. This latter, as commander of the only province which had as yet been

spared invasion, counted himself at least as important and supreme as the master of the other provinces; Italy was to him no more than a province, owing to her dependence upon Africa for her corn supply.

In 429 the Vandals crossed the straits; they soon overran the country, and finally conquered Carthage. They occupied the Balearic and Tyrrhenian islands, and made a footing on the shores of Sicily, while their fleet was supreme in the Mediterranean. It seemed that the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts were steadily falling into the hands of the Teutonic nations. The retirement of the Vandals from Spain proved of advantage neither to a revival of Roman power in that country, nor to the little kingdom of the Suevi, but placed the Visigoths in the position of future masters. Rome was again in that position which she had occupied before the Punic wars, with the difference that her power was now upon the decline.

Rome, however, still possessed the tradition of a policy superior to that of the barbarians, if wielded by a clever hand; she could replace the decaying forces of her citizens by mercenaries. In view of the horrifying loss of Africa and in opposition to the East Teutonic power that was there rising, Aëtius felt the need for some temporary success of the Roman

arms. For this purpose the Burgundian kingdom of Worms appeared weak enough, and it was certain that neither the Alamanni nor the Franks would help it, as it had pushed itself between them. An occasion for war was easily provided by some infringement of Roman rights in Gaul. With the help of the Hunnish bands Aëtius destroyed the aged king Gundikar and his kingdom in 437. The homeless remnants of the Burgundian people might become a source of general disturbance in East Gaul, while the Gallic problem could be settled only by their complete subjugation; the Roman ruler was therefore obliged to give personal consideration to the matter, and after some years settled them as federal allies in Sabaudia on the Lake of Geneva at the frontier of the Alamannic conquests on the south-west.

The Huns had now but a short way to go in order to reach the Rhine. They were already masters of the Teutonic peoples on the Noric Danube, so far as these had not retreated before them, under pressure from the expeditions of Radagais and the Gallic invasions of the Vandals and Danubian Suevi; certain Vandals still remained in Pannonia among other tribes in subjugation to the Huns. Their employment against the Burgundians had



GOthic PRISONERS IN THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS

already shown the Huns the road westward. This same employment, however, had inspired Geiserich with the idea of inviting the Hun forces westward, to further his own political aims. Geiserich recognised that the Visigoths even now might become the principal opponents of the Vandal empire; they were a rising and a conquest-loving nation, and as all other directions had more or less been closed to them by the Teutons, they would be forced to expand along that line which the Vandals had followed forty-five years previously.

Attila's Famous Advance

Thus the famous advance into Europe of Attila, the leader of the Huns and allied peoples, during the year 451, was chiefly due to the diplomacy of Geiserich. In accordance with this policy the Visigoths and Aëtius formed the main line of resistance. Notwithstanding the indecisive result of the battle on the plains of Mauriazén, Attila speedily abandoned his attempt. The plundering raid which he undertook upon Italy in the following year, which was opposed by Aëtius and not by the Visigoths, displayed even greater indecision. No definite plan of changing the situation in Central Europe seems to have been entertained by the Hun monarch. On the death of Attila, in 453, the empire of the Huns speedily collapsed. The subjugated East Teutons and Suevi secured their freedom under the leadership of the Gepids, while the East Roman Empire recovered its courage for offensive measures.

Geiserich remained master of the situation in the west. In the confusion which followed the fall of Aëtius in 454 he appeared in Rome as arbitrator. As if he were gathering plunder from subjugated territories for his capital, he shipped objects of value, works of art, and trophies from Rome to Carthage.

Italy's Fate Between East Rome and
in the Africa, Italy now appears as
Balance a province the fate of which
had not been definitely decided.

While the East Roman Empire was anxious to secure the existence of a West Roman emperor who should in reality be East Roman governor in Italy, the Teutons simply occupied the country as they pleased. No attempt of the kind was made by the Vandals, who would only have hampered their action by such occupation, but

only by the Teutons, who formed the standing army in Italy.

The undiminished continuance of the Roman Empire and of its universal supremacy remained not only unquestioned by Italian ideas, but also by the Teutons in Italy. The Byzantine emperors had recently wielded the *imperium*, which existed unimpaired. The Byzantine government had despatched Julius Nepos as emperor of Italy; he, however, was obliged to retire to Dalmatia before the adroit upstart Orestes, the successful maker of emperors, and Patricius, the father of Romulus Augustulus.

The fact that Odoacer now secured the fall of Orestes was but another satisfaction to Byzantium, though there was no prospect of restoring Nepos to Italy. It was necessary to conclude a treaty with Odoacer recognising him as dependent king, as formerly with Athaulf and Wallia, to whom the empire had previously abandoned parts of Gaul; but an attempt was made to secure some theoretical supremacy over Italy. Through Odoacer the senate proclaimed the abolition of the Italian imperial dignity, which had always been more or less dependent on East Rome.

Odoacer's Great Achievements

By way of compensation East Rome was asked to grant Odoacer the title of Patricius and admit the legitimacy of his position with regard to the Italians.

Odoacer never suspected that his achievement in overthrowing the West Roman Empire would be the starting-point of a great historical period and that historical science would treat his reign as a landmark. The importance of the events of 476 is not merely confined to the replacing of Nepos and Orestes by Odoacer, but is accentuated by a long series of previous events and by the possibilities which were laid open for the future. Moreover, as the remaining Teutons recognised in Italy a Teutonic and not an imperial court, many obstacles to their development were removed; as Odoacer was not a supreme authority over them, the quondam West Roman province seemed for the first time to be left in isolation, or abandoned to those who desired to extend their power. Thus the settlement of the old Roman-Teutonic army in Italy is connected with further changes in West and Central Europe.

EDUARD HEYCK



(THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS)

ITALY AND THE LOMBARDS

AND THE DAWN OF FRANKISH SUPREMACY

AFTER the confusions of the Visigoth and Vandal invasions, Italy enjoyed a period of comparatively settled government under Odoacer and his Heruli. Odoacer had never entertained any thoughts of an imperial policy; he wished to take the place of the Western emperor only over Italy itself and its Roman inhabitants, and as the viceroy of East Rome. He certainly defeated the Rugii, who had established themselves in Noricum, a province still remaining to Italy; but after his success, he abandoned the province and transferred the Roman population to Italy.

Odoacer's campaign in Noricum had been caused by the intrigues of Byzantium with the Rugii. Byzantium, indeed, was extremely reluctant to see this upstart upon the throne of Italy; if a Teuton were to reign there at all, it would be better to have a king who was bound to the imperial court by respect and friendship, and who would consequently act in full compliance with Byzantium. Such a character was Theoderic, an Ostrogoth, of the family of the Amali from Pannonia. He had grown up in Byzantium as a hostage, with full knowledge of and a high respect for Roman civilisation; he had now united in his

**Byzantium's
Choice
of a Ruler**

own person the power of his father and his two uncles, and also that of a prince who was not of the Amalic kindred. If he entered Italy he would be exactly the ruler whom Byzantium would wish to see; moreover, the Ostrogoths would then leave Pannonia, where they had established themselves after the collapse of the Hun supremacy, and where they might

easily become inconvenient to Eastern Rome. Here the Emperor Zeno invested Theoderic with full powers, and the remnants of the Rugii were to follow the Ostrogoth to Italy. Odoacer's action a short time previously—in 448, when he

**Theoderic
on the Throne
of Italy**

surrendered and evacuated Noricum, the province neighbouring on Pannonia—was a vain attempt to avert the coming storm. In that same year the Goths and the Rugii started, and reached Italy in 489. A year later the supremacy of Odoacer had collapsed, though the sea fortress of Ravenna protected the king until he could be blockaded with a naval force. In 493 Odoacer surrendered on condition that he should be left as joint ruler in Italy; Theoderic speedily freed himself from this embarrassment by murdering his rival. Thus he reigned alone over the peninsula as patricius; the capital and many Romans regarded him from the outset as a conqueror, who was justified in recovering Italy for the emperor; his Goths settled upon the allotments occupied by the troops of Odoacer, who remained subject to him.

Theoderic's rule is to be understood from two special points of view; in the first place, he restored their former conditions of life to the Romans in the country after the government of Odoacer, which they considered as a foreign usurpation; in the second place, his reign implied a renewal of western imperial supremacy over its former province of the West Roman Empire. The policy implied in the first point of view, and the consequent consideration which Theoderic showed for

Roman customs in general, was increased and developed to a remarkable care for the prosperity of the country. He introduced an economic revival and provided Italy with new or improved material appliances. He constructed buildings greater than any emperor had built for a long period; he encouraged a later growth of the native antique philosophy, and in every respect was ready to consider Roman claims as much as Gothic.

As regards the revival of the supremacy of the West Roman Empire, we find a curious state of double dealing; Theoderic acknowledged the imperial rights of Byzantium and its supremacy over himself, but on the other hand his chancery documents, delivered to the court of Thuringia in the silence of the Teutonic interior, referred to himself and the house of Amali as free and independent heirs of the West Roman emperors. Thus, Theoderic, probably with complete success, after the manner of Aëtius, regarded the whole of the west, including old Germania and the Africa of the Vandals, as contained in the political purview of the western imperial power which he represented, and in every political event or transformation, throughout Central and Western Europe, he felt bound to declare his position. Thus, when the rising power of the Franks, under Clovis, defeated King Gibuld, and deprived his people of their independence, and when the loss of a king had left them without a leader, Theoderic proceeded to exercise his supremacy over Rhetia in the old province of Italy and over the Alamanni there settled, who had been in the course of migration.

Theoderic, relying partly upon ties of kinship, attempted to hold in connection the Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Thuringians, Heruli, and Varini in one great friendly federation, managed from Ravenna and turned against the restless Franks; he was also anxious to gain

influence over his brother-in-law, Clovis, by overtures of friendship. His efforts proved fruitless. In the year 507 the Merovingians advanced to the attack upon the Visigoths, a conflict which the world had anxiously awaited for many years. The Burgundians were allied with the Franks during the struggle, and the other tribes remained neutral. Theoderic, who was thrown upon his own resources, saw the defeat of his son-in-law, Alaric II.,

while in the next year, 508, his dangerous ally subjugated almost the whole Gallic portion of the Visigoth empire. Only in Spain, which, after the elevation of Odoacer, the Visigoths had rapidly conquered as far as the Suevic Galicia, did the Visigoths and Alaric's son, Theoderic's grandson, who had taken refuge there, find themselves safe.

The struggle in the west was followed with close attention, and with the foresight of a superior ruler by a yet earlier power, that of Byzantium. The politeness of Theoderic, his loyal recognition of his position as the vassal of East Rome, his care and consideration for Roman civilisation, could not prevent the existence of a deeper hostility between the two powers than had ever existed in the old period of joint imperial rule. The great point of variance was the fact that the East Romans hated the Goths as Arians and as heretics ruling Catholic Rome. Hence Clovis, King of the Franks, had been, since his baptism, regarded by Byzantium as Theoderic had

formerly been, when the destruction of Odoacer was a desired object.

While Clovis marched against Alaric II., an East Roman fleet had attacked Lower Italy without any open declaration of war. When Clovis returned from his victorious campaign he met envoys from Byzantium, who invested him with the dignity of Roman Consul, which he accepted with the greatest respect and with a show of outward solemnity.



"LAST OF THE ROMANS"
Boethius, Theoderic's Minister, has been described by Gibbon as "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen." He was accused of treason, and was executed, without a trial, in 525.

Byzantium then helped to check the advance of that Teutonic power which alone among the new conquering states maintained close connection with the districts of pure Teutonic nationality, and, in consequence, alone seemed capable of creating a future for the Germans.

Such being the state of affairs, Theoderic abandoned his position of neutrality so far as to send an army across the Alps, the success of which secured him a certain share in the plunder; he conquered the country between the Durance and the sea, which the Visigoths had occupied at the time of Odoacer, and which Clovis had handed over to the Burgundians as the price of their help. The Franks, on the other hand, retained Auvergne, Aquitania, and the territory north of the Garonne, and, south of it, Gascony, including Toulouse. Thus the Visigothic

the destruction of other Frankish noble tribes by Clovis, and the despotic institution of a general Frankish federation, or imperial supremacy of the Merovingians, Gregory of Tours has, indeed, no chronology to give, as he borrowed his narrative of these events from the epic legends of the time; he therefore adds the events to which he can give dates as an appendix. He also adds a further



THE TOMB OF THEODERIC

isolated notice of the fact that Clovis murdered his own nearest blood relations. The weakness of the more developed Teutonic states still consisted in the lack of any monarchical succession, and in the old traditional rights of the royal house. Two powerful rulers attempted to avert this danger in favour of the monarch. Geiserich created the right of seniority—that is, the right of the oldest member of the family to the succession, an idea calculated to



THE PALACE OF KING THEODERIC AT RAVENNA

kingdom of Spain retained in Gaul only that strip of coast-line, with the town of Narbonne, which is known as Septimania. The Ostrogoth and Visigoth kingdoms were connected by the geographical line of passage over the Tyrrhenian Sea. Moreover, the Franks allowed Theoderic to exercise for the moment a supervisory power over the Visigoths. As regards

offend as little as possible the theory of family right; an institution through which the Vandal Empire perished. Clovis, with characteristic disregard of theoretical definitions, but with full practical effect, "not sparing his own near relatives," secured the result that of all the Merovingians he alone remained in existence for the moment, and the succession was

afterwards secured to his sons to the number of four. Even this means naturally proved ineffectual in the future. Thus family right continued to retain its power, even among the Franks. Both the later Merovingians and the Carolingians were able to limit its influence only by reducing the number of claimants by murder or

Four Kings of the Franks other violent measures of exclusion. Of these two great Teutonic contemporaries, the West Teuton and practical politician, Clovis, was the first to die, in 511. His kingdom was not divided, but after their father's death his four sons all became kings of the Franks and of the subject peoples. Their working arrangements regulated only the amount of their income and the limitations of their administrative power. The result was by no means to produce four ruling houses. On the contrary, when the death of one brother occurred the survivors took particular care to reduce the extension of the ruling power and to exclude the sons of the deceased from any share in the government. The policy was successful upon one occasion, on the death of Chlodomer, but fruitless on the death of Theoderic, the governor of the pure Teutonic subjects of the empire, who had his capital at Metz. The rights of the royal family as a whole, which in early German history had been subject to the practical effects of personal influence, were thereby driven back a step; the actual governor became more strongly distinguished from hereditary claimants, partly as a result of his own course of aggrandisement and partly under the influence of the manifold responsibilities of the kingdoms which now represented the supremacy of the Franks over other nations and over Roman subjects.

Consequently the foreign policy of the Franks and of their kings followed the common and federal interests, and in the course of it the most strongly interested

Frankish Government in Difficulties brothers appeared as the leading and guiding powers. Among the Burgundians, Sigismund, the son of the deceased Gundobad, attempted to repair his position by adopting Catholicism and courting the favour of Byzantium, with the result that he exposed himself helplessly to the attacks both of Ostrogoths and Franks. Theoderic was strengthened by the domestic difficulties which hampered the Frankish government, and when the

Franks deposed and killed King Sigismund in 523, he annexed new parts of the Burgundian territory; the Merovingians, on the other hand, were obliged to spare the Burgundian kingdom under Sigismund's brother, Godomer, and not until 532 were they able to overthrow and to incorporate it with their own.

Theoderic died in 526, saddened by the knowledge that his policy of care and reconciliation had proved fruitless, and that he had only stimulated the tendency of the Italian Romans and their Catholic Church towards the Eastern Empire. The epic poems of popular tradition, in their picture of his character, concerned themselves but little with these concluding events, of which they were in any case not likely to take account. They have depicted the main feature of his fame as resting upon the fact that he became perforce an arbitrator and the greatest of the heroes who have governed the Teutons and restrained both the Siegfrieds and the Hagens among the Franks. The picture will in any case remain the more striking as, after his death, no one arose to prevent

Destruction of Vandal Kingdom the Franks from disturbing the Burgundians, the Thuringians, the Alamanni in Rætia, and the Baioarii in Rætia and Noricum. In Byzantium that strong, energetic, and prudent ruler Justinian had succeeded to the throne about the time when the successor of Theoderic, the queen-regent, Amalaswintha, began to grow alienated from the Goths, owing to her ungovernable preference for everything Roman. Her government was only legitimised by her son Athalaric, who died in 534; but a short time previously she had been able to perform important services to the East Roman emperor and his generals upon the occasion of the African expedition which had begun after long hesitation, and ended in the destruction of the Vandal kingdom. Having secured his power in Africa and upon the Tyrrhenian islands, the emperor of the Balkan Peninsula could not avoid the obvious necessity of finally destroying the intermediate Gothic position in Italy.

An outward reason for war was afforded by the fact that his ally, Amalaswintha, was murdered by an Amalian, Theodahad, who became king after the death of Athalaric, in 535. After Theodahad, who was by no means a ruler to the

liking of the Teutonic nation, had fully displayed his incompetence in the field against Belisarius, Justinian's general and the conqueror of the Vandals, the Goths considered themselves justified by circumstances in breaking away from the alienated and degenerate family of the Amali. In their council, or *thing*, upon the open field they elected a new king and leader, Witichis, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a war with the Gepids. The Italian war of Justinian was regarded with favour by the Franks, as they hoped to derive advantage both from their old friends the East Romans and also from the expelled Ostrogoths, to whom they owed a debt of assistance. Witichis left to them the concessions which Theodahad had already made, the districts of Southern Gaul, formerly occupied by Theoderic.

But Frankish policy was cherishing bolder plans. Theudebert, the son of Theuderic, an energetic character, was ruling at Metz. It was he who proposed the carefully planned attack, in alliance with the Lombards and Gepids, upon the superior power of East Rome, and who removed the figure of the emperor from his gold coins and placed on them the word Augustus after his own name. At the moment when Witichis succeeded in involving Justinian in a war with the Persians in 539, Theudebert invaded Italy with a great army, and fought both against the Goths and against the Byzantine troops, who were intended for further employment in Asia. A supremacy over the West was indeed inconceivable without

a position of predominance at the old centre of the empire, the more so as Theoderic the Great had strengthened the theory that the two conceptions were inseparable. Carolingian history thus announces itself in the person of this ambitious Austrasian. As it proved, however, he was not able to inspire his peasant infantry with a permanent enthusiasm for his imperial policy, and sickness among his troops forced him to retire from the Apennine peninsula.

At a later period the Merovingians renewed their attempts to gain by diplomatic means some territorial concessions in Italy.

The majority of the Ostrogoths abandoned Witichis in consequence of his lack of success. Belisarius, whose policy recalls that of Wallenstein, threw away the opportunity afforded by his command of the war in Italy, and the royal position among the Goths was characteristically given to a relation of Witichis, his uncle Uraja. He, however, was advanced in years and advised the choice of Hildebad, who had bravely and nobly defended

the important town of Verona against Belisarius, and who was of noble birth, as the nephew of the Visigoth king Theudis. He began not unsuccessfully to reconcentre and reorganise the confused Gothic kingdom, but jealousy broke out between his family and that of Uraja, in which he took the wrong side, lost much of his prestige, and was finally murdered to satisfy private revenge. At this moment the Rugii, who were settled in isolation from the Goths, set up a king of their own,



GOLDEN CROWNS OF THE VISIGOTH KINGS
 These beautifully worked emblems of power, belonging to the Visigoth kings of the seventh century, were found near Toledo, in Spain.

Eraric, while the Goths remained for months without a leader, or accepted the rule of the Rugic king.

Eventually Badvila, or Totila, a nephew of Hildebad, was appointed king; and Eraric, who had attempted to consolidate his position by recognising the imperial supremacy and accepting the dignity of patricius, was murdered. The Goths once again gained an interval of twelve years for unity, recovery and hope.

King Badvila regarded Justinian's actions in 550 as dangerous, when he attempted to play off against him the old royal rights of the Amali. Theoderic's granddaughter, Amalaswintha, was still living in Byzantium. Witichis, who had formerly been elected king by the people, had prudently married her. At the present moment she was the wife of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whose capacity and wealth determined Justinian to make an expedition to Italy. Germanus was then suddenly carried off by sickness while he was collecting Teutonic light troops in Illyria for his enterprise; as a matter of fact, the Ostrogoths showed much indecision and weakness before this danger.

Once again Badvila gathered his forces for a determined advance, upon the appointment of Narses, who had already held a command under Belisarius. His fleet, however, met with disaster at Sinigaglia, and the rude Danubian Teutons, who formed the flower of Narses' troops, surrounded Badvila and conquered him at Taginæ (Gualdo Tadino). The Gothic king received his death wound from the Gepid leader in 552.

Thereupon the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who commanded a considerable force as Badvila's general, though his troops had not arrived in time for the battle, and therefore remained intact. In the battle of Vesuvius in 553 Teja was unable to save the Gothic

The Great Battle of Vesuvius

Empire, though he preserved the inextinguishable honour of their armies, which was not the case upon the downfall of the Vandals. The remnant of the Goths in the town garrisons of Upper Italy now sent for the Frank Theudbald, a son of Theudebert. But this youthful king (548-555) died so early that he was unable to exert any personal influence upon the course of affairs in Italy. On the other hand, two West Teutonic "dukes" of Alamannic

origin, the brothers Leuthari and Butilin, invaded Italy, unchecked by the Frankish government, with 72,000 Alamanni and Franks. They were joined by the remnant of the Teutonic nationality, and seriously threatened the position of Narses for a considerable time. The Arian East Teutons were also divided by dissension of every kind from the Catholic Franks and the Alamanni, who were chiefly heathen. The usual summer maladies broke out among the Germans, and Narses was master of them all until the spring of 555. The danger of the government of a Radagais or of an Odoacer in Italy was averted. The last warriors of Teja had marched northwards across the Alps at an earlier period. Other thousands of the Goths were now transferred to the East Roman Empire. The commander of the Heruli, who had held a post under Narses, Sindwal—probably Sindwalt—attempted to establish himself on the Etsch. He, however, was overthrown and executed by his former master. To the Goths eventually succeeded, in 568, the wider empire of the Lombards.

Empire of the

Lombards

In the course of long migrations and changes of settlement the Lombards had become a strong military power. Their final victory over the Gepids of Pannonia in 566, though gained with the help of the Avars, had given them sufficient self-confidence to venture upon the conquest of Italy. This enterprise was, however, by no means entirely successful. Alboin is rather to be regarded as the first of the long roll of Italian petty princes which most clearly displays, for thirteen hundred years, the political disruption of the peninsula.

For the moment, the Roman or Byzantine garrisons retired from the valley of the Po, from Piedmont, Emilia, and Northern Tuscany, to the coast, in almost every case. After the surrender of Milan, on September 4th, 569, Pavia, then known as Ticinum, which had offered a bold resistance for several years, was captured in 572 and became Alboin's capital. At that period, however, any thorough foundation of an empire was out of the question. The wanderings of the Lombards from the Lower Elbe to the Lower Vistula, from this again to the Central Danube, and thence over Monte San Michele, at Gradisca, to the Po, and the severe struggles which were often a matter of life



THE RETREAT OF THE GOTHs AFTER THE BATTLE OF VESUVIUS IN 553

When the Gothic king Badvila was killed in battle, in 552, the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who had been Badvila's general. He encountered the Romans, under Narses, at the battle of Vesuvius, in 553, and, though he was unable to save the Gothic Empire, he preserved the honour of their armies. The illustration shows the retreat of the Goths, bearing the corpse of Teja, after their defeat at Vesuvius, and the weird ceremony attending the procession.

or death to their nationality, were influences by no means calculated to raise them from their semi-barbarous condition. Nor were their travelling companions and allies any more civilised than themselves; these were the remnants of the Gepids, the East Slavs and West Teutons, and the 20,000 Saxons who had accompanied them. Hence their invasion

Italy was more formidable in character than the occupation of a third of the country by the Ostrogoths of Theoderic or than the invasions of the Visigoths, who indeed entered the imperial service. The movement thus forms the culmination of the barbarian invasions.

Alboin enjoyed his success for no long period; in the early summer of 572 he fell a victim to the vengeance of his second wife, the Gepid Rosamund. A similar fate befell his successor, Clepho or Kleph, in 574, after a reign of eighteen months. The leaders of the tribes had become military commanders and members of the royal retinue, under the supremacy of the king, towards the end of the period of migration; at a comparatively early date they became dukes, ruling a definite tract of territory, and exercising jurisdiction according to the customary law over a certain number of Lombard tribes. By this process the subjugation of Italy was completed; consequently it could never become a settlement carried out in due form. The old territorial owners fled, if they had not first been killed. Before the intimidated Roman element could turn to its own advantage the mistakes of an over-centralised royal power, such bold and ambitious leaders as Faroald and Zotto rapidly formed, even in Central Italy, the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Narses, the conqueror of the Goths, had been dead for some considerable time, while Byzantium was threatened by the Avars and Persians; the imperial leader Baduarius

Destruction in the Train of Barbarians was repulsed between 575 and 576 near the strong fortress of Ravenna. The process of Lombard-Arian conquest was marked by the devastation or extermination of the Catholic priesthood, and its wild destruction of episcopal sees has been unmistakably proved by statistics. The old capital towns of Ravenna and Naples rose almost in complete isolation above this inundation, and were able to defy the untrained

barbarian hordes by means of their fortifications. Even in these quarters, however, attempts were already being made to secure Frankish help. Austrasia in particular was induced to aid in the expulsion of the heretical invaders in 582, by means of a magnificent present from the Emperor Maurice. Byzantine bribery also secured the transference of individual Lombard dukes to the imperial service in 584.

These ten years of selfish ambition were brought to an end by the view that a stronger king was required, if the Lombard nationality was to maintain its ground in Italy; the majority of the dukes chose for this purpose Authari, the son of Kleph. The new government was forced to struggle desperately in order to extort recognition from such of the dukes as refused submission; together with the *gastalds*, who administered the scattered portions of crown territory, certain dukes maintained more or less independent positions as territorial princes until the fall of the empire. Authari, however, showed much dexterity in yielding when force was useless, and turning every

Missionaries to the Lombards favourable moment to the best possible advantage; he was thus able to survive even the perils of the summer of 590, which brought with it the dangerous invasion of Childebert II. of Austrasia. He married Theodelinda, a daughter of the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, Garibald, a Frankish vassal in possession of important Alpine passes, but remained an Arian till his death, in 590.

At that moment the rising power of the Roman bishop in Central Italy was almost paralysed by the secession of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Bishops of Istria from the decrees of the fifth synod of Constantinople—the queen also adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon. None the less he eventually rendered great services in the dissemination of the Catholic faith among the Lombards, who had remained isolated in this respect after the conversion of the Visigoths in 587. Beyond the limits of Ravenna but very few remnants of Ostrogoth and Lombard Arianism are to be found.

The fruits of the work of Authari were clearly displayed under the rule of his brother-in-law, Agilulf, who forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in November, 591. A

copper tablet, overlaid with gold—now in the Bargello at Florence—which was made at that period, represents him surrounded by lifeguards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail. The refractory dukes of Bergamo, Treviso, and Verona were speedily humiliated. The appointment of Arichis of Friuli as Duke of Benevento gave a definite form to the comparatively aimless settlement of the Lombards in Southern Italy. The centre was under the powerful rule of Duke Ariulf of Spoleto.

Fortunately, during those dangerous ten years at the close of the sixth century the Curia possessed an energetic restorer and a defender of first-rate capacity in the person of Gregory the Great, who ruled for thirteen years and a half—590 to 604; otherwise the Roman element, even within the states of the Church, would have succumbed speedily and forever to the advance of the Lombards, which now proceeded upon more definite lines. The fact is proved by the manner in which the Lombard and Byzantine armistice was concluded in the autumn of 598, and also by the increased power of the Exarch of Ravenna, who was entrusted with one of the most responsible state posts, and had resumed the powers of Theoderic, though not with a hereditary title; it was a rise of power conditioned by the permanent danger of exposure to barbaric attacks.

The stern logic of facts had transformed a peaceful portion of the empire into a frontier province under military law and composed of different fragments, the several frontiers of which ran into the interior and not along the coast-line of Italy, and could be secured only by the wearisome work of fortified garrisons. As the imperial government was more hardily pressed, the inclination to in-

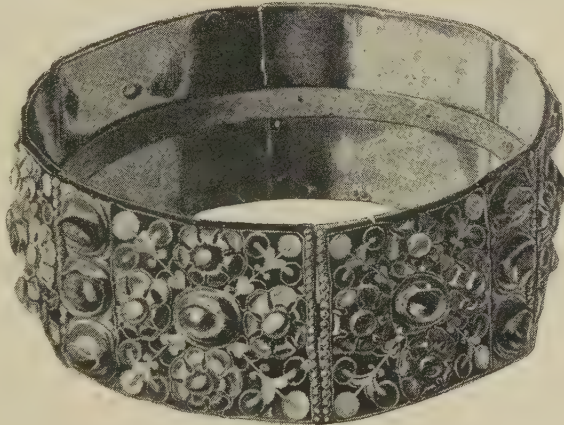
dependence and the possibility of separation from Byzantium naturally increased; this tendency forms one of the main features of Italian history, from the unsuccessful revolt of Eleutherios in 610 until the complete break with the East Roman supremacy introduced by Charles the Great in 781.

After the death of Agilulf, in 616, Adaloald, who had already been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, ascended the throne as a minor, under the regency of his mother Theodelinda. To this period belongs the settlement of the disciples of the Irish monk Columba, who had been driven from his settlements in the Vosges by the lawless Brunhilda, and had taken refuge on the Bobbio with the permission

of Agilulf; in 628 they left the camp of the schismatics and went over to the papacy, with flying colours. In 626 Adaloald was overthrown, apparently for the reason that he had shown excessive favour to the Roman nationality, and his place was taken by Ariold (626-636), the husband of his sister, who was also a Catholic. He, however, was unable permanently to check the disrup-

tion of the Lombard kingdom, a process which was accelerated by the autonomous spirit of the dukes, and was partly due to the preponderance of Roman civilisation; in any case, the outward rest which Italy enjoyed upon the whole under the Exarch Isaac (625-643) and the Pope Honorius I. (625-638) in no way contributed to strengthen the Lombard position.

No Lombard revival occurred until the secular policy of the orthodox Curia suffered a severe defeat on June 17th, 653, when Pope Martin I. was deposed by imperial decree, as a result of the Monothelite quarrel. The revival was begun by King Rothari (636-652), who introduced a national advance in the second half of the seventh century by the severity of his attitude



THE FAMOUS IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

There is a tradition that this celebrated crown of Lombardy, deposited in the Cathedral of Monza, was made from nails used at the Crucifixion of Christ, and given to Constantine by his mother, the Empress Helena. Henry VII. was the first of the Italian kings who is known with any certainty to have worn it, in 1311. Charles V. was the last of the emperors who made use of it until Napoleon crowned himself with it.

towards the autonomous aspirations of the dukes in contrast with the more feeble policy of friendship with Rome. His organising spirit is evidenced by the decree of November 22nd, 643, which provided his subjects for the first time

Through Murder to a Throne

with the advantage of a legal code, though written in Latin. Immediately afterwards the Lombard attacks upon the remnants of the Byzantine supremacy were renewed with a success which implied a simultaneous strengthening of the government's dynastic power.

Rodoald, the son of Rothari (652-653), was succeeded by the Catholic Aripert, the cousin of Gundeberga; he reigned until 661, and his policy was marked by conciliation towards Rome. During the dissension between his sons Godepert and Perctarit, Duke Grimoald I. of Benevento secured the throne by murdering the former, expelling the latter, and marrying their sister. The national life then entered upon a real revival. Grimoald succeeded in uniting the Lombard districts in the north with those in Southern Italy, and thus formed a powerful kingdom with resources which almost doubled the achievements of Rothari.

Even the Emperor Constans was obliged, in 663, to renounce his project of driving the intruders from the old centre of the empire, and contented himself with the possession of Sicily. In consequence, Rome was deprived of her importance as the chief political town and capital for almost 1,207 years, while her ecclesiastical pre-eminence suffered a further blow from the action of Constans, who granted with equal readiness and shortsightedness an independent position to the Bishop of Ravenna. It must be said that the latter after no long time turned upon his patron; the increasing division between the Curia and the East had been extended between 606-741, notwithstanding the attempts at reunion and the efforts of thirteen Syrian or Greek Popes, for the Curia had been finally and inevitably driven by the emperor into the open arms of the Franks, and Ravenna gradually decayed and was unable to maintain its position alone.

At the same time the kingdom which had thus been vigorously held together by the iron grasp of Grimoald was broken up almost immediately after the death of the king, in 671. Romuald, the elder son, maintained, indeed, his position in the south as duke of Benevento, but in the north Perctarit, who had been formally expelled, drove out the young Garibald at the first onslaught. The grand-nephew of Theodelinda was in policy and in religion an adherent and supporter of the pacific policy of the Bavarian dynasty. During the last quarter of the seventh century the Catholic Church made great progress on account of the abandonment of the Monothelite position and the condemnation of the orthodox Pope Honorius in 681, which had facilitated a reconciliation between East and West, and the splendour of its progress benefited chiefly the Roman papacy. Arianism disappeared, and, even in the schismatic north-east corner,

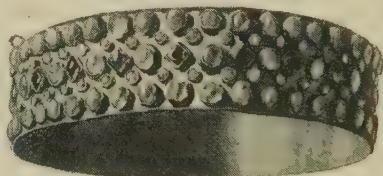
gave way to the Roman Catholic system under King Kunibert (690-700).

The uniformity of religious belief now prevailing in Italy, and the peace which had been concluded on the ground of mutual recognition between the Lombards on the one hand and the Curia and the empire on

the other, about the year 682, could not prevent the separation of Italy into a Lombard and non-Lombard portion. Within the jurisdiction of the Lombard kingdom the Roman nationality steadily decayed, notwithstanding the superiority of its civilisation; the Roman respect for law was overthrown by these colonists, and the idea of "abstract obedience" was replaced by the Lombard idea of unlimited freedom and the abandonment of all restraints. The desire of individuals to act as they pleased was a constant

What Freedom Meant to the Lombards obstacle to the foundation of real political freedom. The separatism of the south, which even at the present

day is clearly obvious beneath the outward union of Italy, may be attributed to the loose relations of the strong duchy of Benevento with the North Italian kingdom quite as reasonably as to the separation of the dioceses of Lower Italy, which were



QUEEN THEODELINDA'S CROWN

This famous crown of the queen of the Lombards, who reigned about 600, is in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. Theodelinda, who was a daughter of Garibald, the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, married King Authari.

inclined to Byzantium, a movement certainly promoted by the ruling classes.

This partition of Italy into divisions of different character and different politics was materially supported by a change in the centre of power, which became gradually obvious, and is in close connection with the above-mentioned alienation of Western from Eastern Rome; this was the movement for freedom which was vigorously begun by Pope Sergius with the "quinisext" (the ecclesiastical assembly of Constantinople, which completed the fifth and sixth councils); the movement was, however, organised about the year 710 by Georgius of Ravenna.

The design simply aimed at bringing to an end the supremacy of Byzantium, which in many respects persisted only in name. This object would, no doubt, have been attained at a much earlier date had not inopportune resurreptions of the Lombard attacks shown that the Byzantine protectorate was not only highly desirable, but at times absolutely necessary.

The fact that the Lombards resumed their plans of conquest after short pauses was due to the essential nature of their constitutional system; it was only by expansion over the country that the crown could maintain its position against the dukes, and the good understanding with the Curia was not likely to be impaired by slight aggressions, as the papacy was also working against the emperor, while from 726 the Iconoclastic quarrel added fresh fuel to the flames and formed another point of union between the Romans and the Lombards.

The Lombards were then ruled by King Liutprand (712-744); though his resources were limited, he was able to turn them to the best advantage, and showed great ability in increasing his power. He succeeded his father, the "Wise" Duke

Ansprand, who died after a short reign in the spring of 712. Liutprand was a second Grimoald in his policy of unification; during the struggles between the Curia and the imperial government he showed great cleverness in preserving the balance between these forces.

About 730 he helped to reduce Pope Gregory II. (715-731), who had made himself almost entirely independent, to the position of a supreme bishop of the Church, using, on the one hand, the exarch for the

humiliation of Spoleto and Benevento, while he also provided him, on the other hand, with sufficient occupation for his energies by promoting the autonomous tendencies in Central and Northern Italy.

The local governing powers (tribunes, etc), which had grown up in the meantime in such towns as had remained Roman, and which were indispensable to the further development of Italy in later years, could no longer be silenced after 730. Venice, moreover, now began to rise from entire unimportance, favoured as she was by her geographical position upon the lagoons and islands of the North-west Adriatic, under the government of a "dux," whose office was originally of Byzantine origin, but in the course of the eighth century gradually became dependent upon the choice of the Venetian fishermen and traders.

For about 150 years a kind of alliance had existed between the Lombards and the Franks, a traditional connection which was emphasised by the loyal friendship of Liutprand with the powerful mayor, Charles Martel; this connection was now exposed to a severe test. The Pope found that his conventions with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who preserved their independent spirit though repeatedly subjugated, were an inadequate protection against the Lombard attacks, which were



THE CROSS OF KING AGILULF

A brother-in-law of King Authari, Agilulf forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in 591. His reign lasted until his death, in 616. The cross is now preserved in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. A copper tablet, overlaid with gold, now in the Bargello at Florence, represents Agilulf surrounded by some of his liegwards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail.

renewed notwithstanding the treaty of Terni in 742; as he could secure no help from East Rome he applied for assistance to the Frankish king, Pippin, from 752 onwards. The test proved too severe. Liutprand was succeeded by Hildeprand, and he again by Duke Ratchis of Friuli, before the expiration of the year 744; the friendliness to Rome of this latter monarch was replaced in June, 749, by the ruthless oppression of his brother Aistulf. It was this change which brought about the breach.

The new king, who had been in occupation of Ravenna since the summer of 751, had conceived the idea of shattering the Roman nationality to its very foundations, and thus drove the first nail into the coffin of the Lombard kingdom. The alliance between the Pope and the Franks had been prepared by the mission of Boniface and the appeals of Gregory III., though these had been fruitless (739-740); the accession of Pippin in 751 definitely secured the alliance, and even a united Lombard state could hardly have resisted these combined forces. The Frankish king was pledged by the agreements of Ponthion and Quierzy in 754 to restore the status quo ante, in other words, the frontier lines of 682; and when his mild remonstrances produced no effect upon Aistulf, Pippin crossed the Alps in person upon two occasions (754 and 756), defeated the Lombards, and forced them to restore Ravenna and the castles which they had previously conquered, though he did not urge a complete restoration of the territory taken before 749 by Liutprand and others from the Curia, or, more exactly, from the emperor. This, again, was a "barbarian" attack.

The promises made in the agreement of Quierzy were thus not entirely fulfilled. But the performance, though incomplete, produced a result of vast importance to later Italy; this was the valuable foundation of the States of the Church, which even now had become something more than an extended territorial estate, and offered a convenient basis for the further extension of the Pope's secular power. The Frankish king could never have conceived the idea of recovering the territories alienated from the East Roman ruler and placing them in the hands of

imperial officials; what he had done was done merely to the glory of God and from his desire to serve the sacred chair. The fact that the occupant of this chair was subject to the supremacy of the empire, as the governor of the Roman duchy and as an imperial bishop; the fact, again, that he himself had been brought under the imperial authority by the Pope's gratitude, which conferred upon him in 754 the title of "patricius Romanorum"—these were matters which troubled Pippin not at all. Thus the movement for Italian freedom had won a further victory, and the separation of Rome from Byzantium had secured a highly promising recognition beyond the bounds of Italy. The interference of the chief secular power of Central Europe in Italian affairs soon grew stronger and was often repeated; but for centuries its work survived it in its creation of the Patrimony of Peter, a state within a state.

Aistulf suffered from the effects of the utter failure of his attempted policy of aggression only for a few weeks; he died in December, 756. His place was unexpectedly taken by that Ratchis who had renounced the crown seven and a half years previously, and had become a monk in Monte Cassino. Spoleto and Benevento immediately seized this welcome opportunity to break away from the kingdom, while in the north a powerful opposition king arose in the person of the Tuscan duke, Desiderius; these facts dictated the future policy of Ratchis, and while formerly a supporter of Rome, he was now forced to oppose the Pope and the Franks. On the other hand, the Curia had an easy task; it supported Desiderius when he made overtures to Rome, and secured from him a promise of the restoration of such imperial towns as had been left by the events of 756—Bologna, Imola, Faenza and Ferrara, Osimo, Ancona, and Humana—while he also undertook to secure the abdication of the monk king, who was now hard pressed.

As soon as he had secured the power, Desiderius revealed himself as a second Aistulf or Liutprand. He opened negotiations with Byzantium with the object of again reducing the excessive power of the Curia, while he declined to offer any prospect of a serious attempt to redeem his promises of restoration; at the same time the dilatory character of his diplo-

**Evil Days
for the
Lombards.**

**Monk
Dons a
Crown**

**Extending
the Pope's
Power**



PAVIA: ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE LOMBARDIC DOMINIONS

This ancient town, known to the Romans as Ticinum, was taken by Charlemagne in 774, and its historic university, which still stands, is said to have been founded by the great warrior in that year. It was at Pavia, centuries later, in 1525, that the great battle was fought which resulted in the defeat of the French and the capture of their king, Francis I., by the troops of the Emperor Charles V. The town was joined to the kingdom of Italy in 1859.

macy avoided any open breach with the dreaded Carolingians. However, about 763, through the intervention of Pippin, a peaceful recognition of the status quo was definitely secured. Thus the Frankish king had already been invited to arbitrate in the struggle for the supremacy of non-Lombard Italy waged by the emperor and Pope. Frankish friendship, moreover, proved a permanent possession, guaranteed as it was by the unanimity of orthodox faith in opposition to the iconoclasm of the East. This protectorate was continued during the following years, which saw a series of bloody struggles upon the several elections of the Popes; in spite of repeated attacks, the Lombard nationality was unable to exercise any material influence upon Roman affairs.

The comparative peace prevailing in Italy was significantly disturbed by the complications in the Frankish Empire which resulted in the death of Pippin on September 24th, 768. The confusion was initiated, as is often the case, by a woman. The queen-widow, Bertrada, married her son Charles to the daughter of the Lombard king, who had previously been crushed—she was called Desiderata, according to the *Vita Adalhardi*. The mother of Charles intended the marriage to make him brother-in-law of Tassilo, the refrac-

tory Duke of Bavaria. It was only to be expected that this remarkable change of Frankish policy should produce a revival of the Lombard claims. For the moment, indeed, Desiderius, under the pressure of necessity, displayed a friendly attitude towards the Frankish alliance with the Pope. The line of cleavage between these powers was not, however, definitely bridged by this alliance, and was widened by the open dissension of the two brothers, Charles and Carloman, in the middle of 771.

After the death of the latter, on December 4th, Charles took possession of the other half of the empire on the Italian side, and the widow Gerberga saw no alternative before her but an appeal to Desiderius to protect her children who had been deprived of their inheritance. The materials for a conflagration were completed by Charles' divorce of his Lombard wife, which coincided in date, and was no doubt in practical connection, with these events; he married Hildegard, a Swabian of noble birth. The restoration of the Roman towns, proposed and actually begun by Bertrada, soon came to an end. Faenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio remained in Lombard hands; and in declared hostility against his revolted son-in-law, the Lombard king advised Pope Hadrian I. to crown the sons of Carloman in 773.

Negotiations were opened, and papal excommunications passed continually between Charles and Desiderius: but all efforts proved fruitless, and the expedition to Italy began in the same year. By the autumn, the Franks were in front of Pavia, the strongly fortified capital. Thence, at the end of March, 774, Charles betook

Fall of the Lombard Kingdom

himself for the first time to Rome, where the Easter festival was celebrated, and the "promissio" of Pippin was solemnly received: the frontier delimitation was conducted upon principles characteristic of the age, in a general and very indefinite manner, and the Curia was thus enabled to prove from it a "Donation" of the most extensive kind. Pavia fell at the beginning of June, and Desiderius, with his wife and daughter, was taken prisoner by the Franks. Such was the end of the Lombard kingdom.

The Lombard nationality, however, was by no means expelled from Italy. The Crown Prince Adelgis, who had been coregent with his father from 750, had fled from Verona to Byzantium, but the Dukes of Friuli, Chiusi, Benevento and Spoleto continued to hold out, the last-named being for a time dependent upon the Pope. Nor were any bounds placed for the moment to the extent of the foreign supremacy. From the year 774 onwards Charles was simply the heir and successor of Desiderius, and the immediate representative of the Lombard dynasty. The name of the nation which occupied the throne had changed; the "barbarian" intruder was there as before.

There was, however, one essential difference in the situation—the Franks were compelled to interfere in Italian affairs, whereas this power of interference had formerly been the special object of the Lombards. It may also be asserted that even after the thorough and conscientious execution of those tasks which Pippin's

Relations of Pope and Emperor

son there existed at the moment no clear appreciation of the vast historical importance of the twofold supremacy which had been secured. There were two reasons to prevent such appreciation. In the first place, the relation of the Pope to the emperor and to the Archbishop of Ravenna was at that time but vaguely defined, and was, indeed, in process of transition. Many points were still uncertain, although the

general policy of separation from Byzantium had long been clearly perceived, and had been reinforced and pursued by the efforts of the Franks to emphasise their own independence.

Considerable doubt also existed concerning the extent of the territorial claims and rights which the Curia might raise to districts that had now come under Frankish supremacy. It is obvious that this question contained the germs of much future dissension between the Pope and his previous protector, who had now become a neighbour, with interests of his own. On the other hand, Charles must not be too hastily credited with fixed aims or a comprehensive policy. He was a great conqueror, because he never shrank from any opportunity of extending his frontiers, and was always able to cope vigorously with the new obligations to which he thus laid himself open. He was, however, also obliged to consider the circumstances in which he found himself, and he had no prophetic expectation of those vast consequences which might result from the alliance that

Charles' Great Task of Reconstruction

he had set on foot between the Roman patricius, the Italian king, and the monarch of Central Europe. From this point of view his acquisition of the Roman imperial crown must be regarded and understood.

In the autumn of 780 Charles undertook his second journey to Rome after a temporary reorganisation of the affairs of Upper Italy. The task of reconstruction was advanced in the famous capital about the middle of April, 781 (Easter), and the eldest son of Charles, Pippin, who had been "crowned" with his younger brother Louis, was given the government of the subjugated territory, with a court of his own and a special administration at Pavia. He is commemorated by a fresco of more than life size, which still survives in San Zeno Maggiore at Verona. At the same time the frontiers of this kingdom, which was almost independent, were arranged upon the principle of 682, though including the patrimonium of the Sabine country which had been occupied under Liutprand. The hopes which the Curia had vainly cherished for twenty-seven years were thus at length fulfilled; at the same time the vague, and therefore unlimited, claims which it had advanced shortly after 774 were

more closely limited by these arrangements. The settlement of relations with the Byzantine south was a matter of much greater difficulty. As, however, the East Roman Empire, which was then in the hands of the Athenian Irene, had abandoned the policy of the great Isaurian Leo III., the solution proved surprisingly simple, or, in other words, unexpectedly peaceful; at any rate, the ambassadors of the empress offered no objection to the complete and absolute occupation of the Lombard possessions by the Frank power. The "liberation" of Italy, begun in 619, was now completed. Connected with the process, though the connection was not expressly stated, was the actual recognition of the separation of the papal states from the imperial federation. In another direction the East and West were brought together, though Charles himself stood apart with reference to doctrinal questions raised by the decree

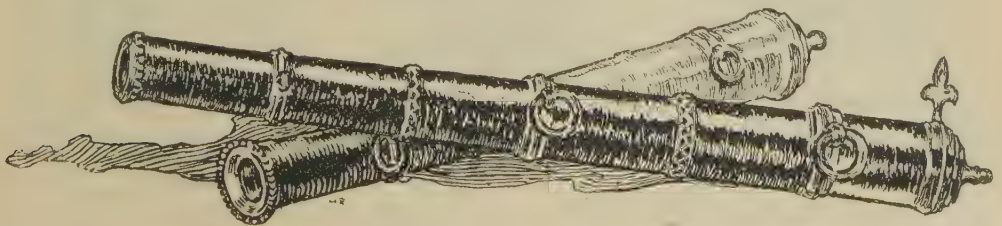
concerning the veneration of images issued by the Council of Nicæa in 787. Thus the old division of Italy into three parts—the Lombard, or Frankish, province, the Patrimony of Peter, and the isolated south—had been preserved; the archbishopric of Ravenna was allowed by Charles to lapse. There appeared, however, a new phenomenon, which has never been duly appreciated, and requires careful consideration; the papal states are henceforward an independent and no longer a vassal power—protected, indeed, by the Frankish kings, but manifesting their independence in charters, coinage, etc. It is obvious, of course, that they retained this position only during the transition period of the twenty years from 781 to 800, when the supremacy of East Rome had been overthrown, and no equivalent compensation had been secured by the creation of a West Rome. From this point of view the coronation of Charles by Leo must be regarded as a backward step, an impolitic movement, or, better, a confession of weakness, which was the inex-

orable result of the submission of the Roman bishop to emperors who regarded their dignity seriously. The pontificate of Hadrian (772-795) must from this point of view be regarded as a culminating moment in the history of the papacy.

Even at that time, however, the Curia had become conscious of a certain inadequacy in its power, as appears during the third visit of Charles to Rome at the outset of 787, when Hadrian attempted to induce the Frankish king to turn his military power against Arichis of Benevento, who had fortified Salerno, but was entirely loyal in other respects; the result was his subjugation and the surrender of important points to the states of the Church. At Easter Charles carried to its necessary conclusion the breach with Irene which had been sealed by the Council of Nicæa, abandoning his consideration for the East, and "granting the restoration" of the southern patrimonies to the Pope.

In the following year the Carolingian also abandoned an attempt to include Southern Italy in his world-wide political schemes. The ducal throne of Benevento, which had been vacated by the death of Arichis on August 26th, 787, was given to the heir, Grimoald, upon his recognition of the Frankish supremacy. Charles did not even insist upon the actual performance of the conditions imposed upon Grimoald's father, and thereby crushed for the moment the germs of a possible alliance between the remnants of the Lombards and Byzantium, which was thirsting for vengeance. His Italian dominions were further secured by the overthrow of Tassilo and the incorporation of Bavaria in 788, which made the most valuable Alpine passes available as Frankish lines of communication. At the same time the kingdom of the Avars, which had long been threatening the north-east of Italy, was crushed and destroyed by King Pippin, upon whom this task was imposed for geographical reasons (791-796 and 803).

H. F. HELMOLT





KINGS OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION FROM 511 TILL 737



RISE OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION FROM THE GREAT CLOVIS TO CHARLEMAGNE

ABOUT the time when the petty Teutonic tribes of the Continent were permanently amalgamating in alliance with larger nationalities the Franks appeared in the whole of the Lower Rhine districts. In the second half of the third century they were known to the Romans by this name. That the appellation was intended to distinguish the peoples it denoted as being "free," compared with those within the Roman provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, seems improbable; it is more likely that the title, as among the Saxons and others, was adopted from some military weapon, and only at a later period became the designation of the dominant people of the Franks, and also an honourable appellation. The chief nations which formed the Frankish federation were the Chatti, Chattuari, Chamavi, Sigambri, Bructeri, Ambsiwari, Canninefates, Kugerni and Batavi; the last, a fragment of the earlier federation of the Chatti, had previously migrated to the district at the mouth of the Rhine. Thus the north and south extremes of the federation appeared as closely related.

Nations in the Frankish Federation

In the case of individual nationalities, the royal family is invariably retained; a purposeful and vigorous federal policy is called forth only by the necessities of some important war with the Romans. At other periods raids are made by individual tribes, or rather by enterprising bands sent out by the tribes, and for this reason the tribal names are preserved by the Romans throughout the fourth century. After that period they disappear behind the general name, Frank. The individual tribes become Frankish districts, which remain independent military communities, with their own royal families, developing their legal rights in isolation. Among the Chamavi, a traditional right of this kind retained its force for centuries, long after one reigning tribal family, that

of the Merovingians, had secured the domination of all the remaining Franks, and an equalisation of constitutional rights had been secured, at any rate among the two larger groups. These two groups formed a transition stage on the road

Where the "Sea Franks" Got Their Name

to a uniform constitutional system, and were provided by that general amalgamation of tribes

into federations, of which we have spoken above; these groups appeared as the Ribuarii and Salii. The connection of the Salic Franks with Saal, Salland, Salhof, Salweide, is not very striking in view of the strong contrast between the Franks on the shores of the Rhine and the "sea Franks," while the latter branch may be shown, philologically, to have gained their name from the word "Salhund," meaning a "sea-dog." It has also been urged, and perhaps correctly, that the most southward, or Upper Franks, who advanced their settlements beyond the Moselle and later to the Main and beyond the Neckar, should not be included among the Ribuarii. In that case the great people of the Chatti would form a special group in the federation, side by side with the two above-mentioned. Questions of this nature must, however, remain open.

The empire often fought against the Franks with military success, and the name of Julian was as terrible to them as to the Alamanni, but these wars did not produce permanent peace. Moreover, the Romans were enabled, by the loose

The Clever Game of the Romans

composition of the federation, to play off one tribe against another, and to take discontented nobles with their followings into their own service. As regents of the empire, Arbogast, himself a Frank, and Stilicho repelled the Franks by force.

When, however, Stilicho was obliged to recall the troops from Britain and the Rhine to protect Italy against Alaric,

the Franks did not forthwith overrun Gaul; a settled peasant population, even at a stage when property ownership is undeveloped, must have more cogent reasons for abandoning their homes in a body than the possibility of exploiting a subject

Traces of the Frankish Advance

population in new territory. It is more probable that they gradually spread into Gallic territory from their previous boundaries as the superfluous and enterprising elements of the population felt the need of migration, and preferred to make fresh settlements upon Gallic soil rather than open up fresh ground at home. Their occupation was carried out according to the usual economic forms; and the question must remain for the moment unsolved whether the Franks thus advancing left any of the Gallo-Roman population in the area of their new settlements. Hitherto the possibility is better attested by the existence of Frankish and also of Walloon laets, and by the fact that Latin documents are sealed with a Roman signet ring by King Childeric, than by the proofs which an examination of Frankish place names is supposed to yield. In any case the Frankish language was predominant in the districts immediately acquired.

The Upper or Chattian Franks advanced to the Moselle, Nahe, and Saale. After Aëtius had destroyed the Burgundian empire of Worms they also occupied this district; that final success of the Roman power upon the Rhine, if intended to intimidate the Franks, produced no permanent effect. This movement brought the Chattian Franks into competition with the Alamanni, who were also extending in that direction. Sooner or later the question would require an appeal to arms. The Ribuarii advanced over the districts of the Eifel to Trèves. At an earlier period the Salii had advanced from the old settlement of the Batavi to Toxandria into the land between the Scheldt and the Maas. Although the Romans were highly indignant at this "presumption," Julian

himself preferred to leave them undisturbed; it would certainly be wrong to say that they appeared in Julian's campaigns as the most distinguished of the Franks. After the year 400 they advanced by the Scheldt, on both banks, towards the Sambre and the "Kohlenwald," where the carboniferous strata appear on the northern slopes of the Ardennes—that is to say, nearly to the modern Franco-Belgian frontier.

About this period the federation as a whole possessed little importance; in the year 451 portions of the Franks fought both for and against Attila. The Salii were still under the royal families of their component nationalities. We observe, however, that as soon as the darkness begins to recede in the course of the fifth century, the kingdom exercises a leading influence which grows clearer as the nationality extends in area and begins to pursue a definite foreign policy. In particular the Salian Merovingian family consciously turned to account the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman dominion, which still existed by the side of its own people in Gaul. The Merovingian king, Chlodio—a nickname derived from some more formal name which is not known—the first historical personality that emerges from the mists of epic and etymological



CLOVIS, THE EMPIRE FOUNDER

Regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, Clovis I. appeared on the scene in 481. In 486 he overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and vastly extended his own sway.

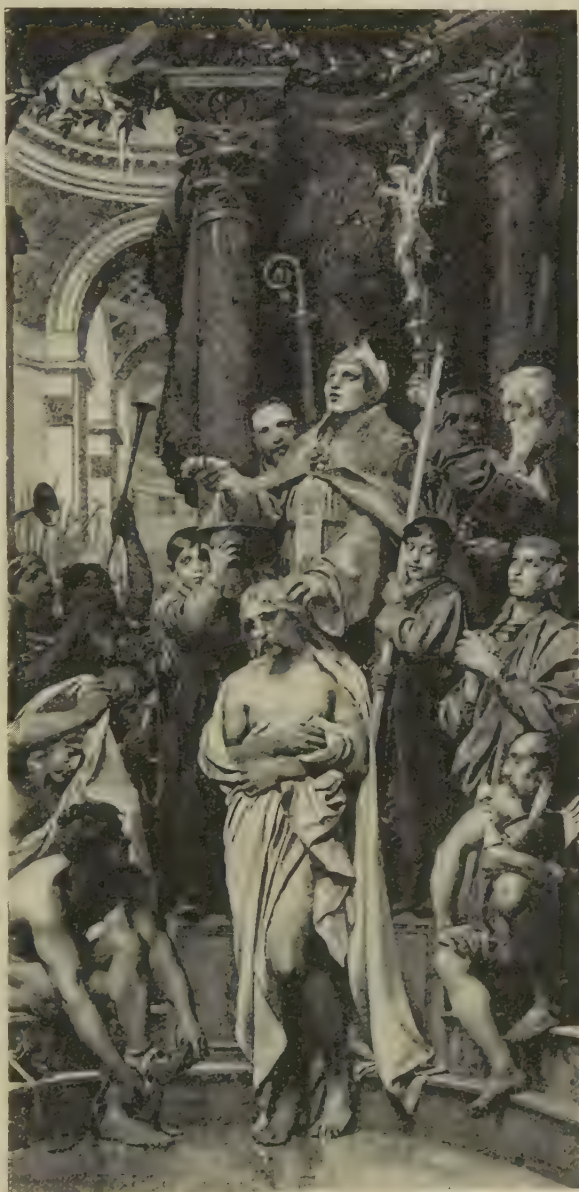
legend, extended his dominion at the beginning of the fifth century to the Somme from the districts which were still called after the former Belgian Tungri. It would be a mistake to estimate the culture or the character of the early Frankish kings by the scantiness and the barbarity of our sources of information, or to regard them as standing upon a lower level than Odoacer of the Visigoth kings.

The Great King Clovis I.

In 481 appears on the scene the king who is regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, familiarly known, through French sources, as Clovis, though more correctly as Chlodwig—i.e., Ludwig

or Lewis. The general trend of the policy of Clovis has often been examined; the dexterity with which he alternately planned to secure the amalgamation of the Teutonic and Roman populations and to keep the balance between them has often been pointed out. If our information for this period were as extensive as it is for later centuries, the prudent simplicity of Clovis' policy would probably vanish before the revelation of the many-sided and complicated relations which are usually maintained by established states, even when their civilisation is inferior to that of migrating nations. All that we can attempt to determine is the position as evidenced by the course of events. Clovis was a Teutonic and heathen ruler of a Franko-Salic district with a Gallo-Roman population. As long as the Gallo-Roman supremacy persisted as a state, and as inapplicable to certain parts of that population, many dangerous points of difference and unsettled questions must have arisen, even though the Gallo-Roman population considered that their prosperity

was advanced by the Teutonic ruler. In 486, the Merovingian overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and extended his power at first to the Seine, and afterwards over the whole district. Thus the whole of the Roman dominions in Gaul now became a Teutonic kingdom, and lost all connection with any foreign political centre, except possibly with the distant Byzantium; Ravenna was no longer in Roman hands. There was, therefore, no reason why Clovis should make haste to conciliate the orthodox Church, to which a considerably increased number of his subjects belonged. His history is by no means characterised by precipitate action, but rather by consideration and foresight. It was, however, in the nature of the case that he should be converted sooner or later, even as his father had worn the Roman signet ring. He had no inducement to remain an Arian, as his wife was a Catholic and his children were brought up in that faith. We shall also be correct in emphasising the fact, which has often been noted, that,



BAPTISM OF THE GREAT CLOVIS

The conversion of Clovis to the Roman Catholic Church, in 496, is said to have been due to the influence of his wife, who was a devoted member of that body and brought their children up in its faith. There were also various reasons why he should publicly associate himself with the Catholic Church, and these, no doubt, weighed with the prudent Clovis.

From the mural painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon

as a Roman Catholic, Clovis would gain the adherence of a Frankish party among the Catholic subjects of the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. Even if the fact had never occurred to him, it must have been brought to his mind by the congratulations of the Burgundian archbishop, Avitus of Vienne, on his baptism.

Clovis It is said that his Catholic wife
Converted by was the instrument of her
His Wife husband's conversion. Had she been able to secure this result unaided, her efforts would certainly not have ceased until the kingdom had sent forth a mission to work among the Franks. But of this we hear nothing; when Clovis became a Christian, he was thinking of his Roman and not of his Frankish subjects. The conversion of his immediate followers was inevitable, as they were bound to follow their leader; the free people obeyed their own inclinations, and remained for the most part in heathenism.

The date of the conversion coincides with that of the first campaign against the Alamanni, in 496. This nation was now a uniform whole, under the king Gibuld, or Gebaud, which is nearly the same in the Alamannic phonetic system; the war was conducted by the Franks as a federal war, during which the king of the Ribuarii, Sigibert, received a wound in the knee which lamed him. The problem at stake was the general decision whether the Frankish federation or the people of the Alamanni should exercise supremacy in the east and north of Gaul and secure the lion's share in the appropriation of land. In the concluding campaign of 501 the Franks were victorious, and took care to destroy the prospects of the Alamanni for the future. To the advantage of the upper Frankish nationality of the Chatti, the Alamanni as a whole were driven behind the Lauter and Murg. To the south of that point they came under foreign supremacy;

The Franks numerous Frankish lords,
in Roman especially in Alsace, had made
Territory good a settlement among the Alamannic tribal villages, in the manner in which the Franks had already settled in Roman territory; and by the side of these, much of the occupied lands remained reserved as Frankish state property.

The conflicts of Clovis with the Alamanni and the Burgundians are certainly connected as regards the forces which

were employed. The Burgundian war falls between the two campaigns against the Alamanni.

The Burgundians, after their settlement in Sabaudia by Aëtius, had, in 443, strengthened their position under King Gunjok, who was a member of the old royal tribe of the nation, and had gradually extended around the district of the Rhone. Upon the death of Gunjok, in 473, the leading royal family consisted of his three sons, Gundobad, Godegisel and Chilperic. In the last year of Gunjok's life, his son Gundobad governed in Italy as patricius, after the death of Ricimer. Thence he was speedily recalled home at the outset of a family feud between the rival brothers. After the fourth brother, Godomer, had been set aside at an earlier period, Gundobad killed Chilperic with the sword—according to the comparatively clear information provided by the epic poem—and extended his supremacy towards the Mediterranean, the settlement of the account between himself and Godegisel being deferred for the moment. The Catholic Church of the Roman inhabitants was

Activity of suffering under the oppression
the Catholic of the Arian Burgundians, and
Church had the satisfaction of gradually invading the distracted royal family; for instance, it found a zealous champion in the wife of Clovis, a daughter of Chilperic, whose two brothers Gundobad is also said to have supplanted. When Clovis himself became a Catholic Christian, and discovered speedily afterwards the Frankish interest that existed among the Roman subjects of the Burgundians, the natural result was an informal compact between the royal family and Catholicism, and a certain rivalry in this direction, in which the conflicting brothers strove to outstrip one another. Godegisel requested King Clovis to interfere on his behalf in 500. Gundobad was beaten at Dijon and forced to retire to Avignon.

At that moment, however, Clovis suddenly broke off hostilities, and turned upon the Alamanni, who had not been definitely defeated, and now completed their destruction. Godegisel was abandoned and executed, when Gundobad seized Vienne; the latter, until his death, in 516, reigned as the sole king of the Burgundians, issued important laws, and strove by improving the organisation of his kingdom and his relations with

Catholicism and the Merovingians, to avert the grievous dangers that had threatened his rule.

The descendants of Clovis had turned to excellent account the disappearance of Theoderic's defensive policy and the annihilation of the East Teutonic tribes on the Danube. If their attempt to gain a footing in Italy failed, the absorption of the Central European territories into the Frankish kingdom would continue as before, with less to impede it.

Long before, the Hermunduri had advanced from the river district of the Elbe to that of the Main, whence they had maintained friendly relations for the most part with the Romans, though they passed through severe struggles with their western neighbours, the Chatti. The general migration of the second century pushed the Hermunduri forward to the Danube frontier and the "*Limes*." The forward movement of the Alamanni and Burgundians then cut them off from contact with the Romans; they disappeared from the view of Roman or of modern historians, and their existence is

**Victorious
Sons
of Clovis**

unfortunately buried for us in the forests of Central Germany. There is no doubt that the Thüringe, or Thuringians, are connected with them; these people appeared within the neighbouring sphere of Frankish history after the fifth century, though at first only in the dim light of epic tradition. Thuringi were also to be found on the left of the Lower Rhine among the Franks, and these must no doubt be regarded as emigrants from the main body. This formed at that time a considerable kingdom under one dynasty, extending from the Harz to beyond the Main. After a long period of cautious friendship, the sons of Clovis proceeded to wage the same decisive warfare against the Thuringians with which their father had attacked the Alamanni; they were at the same time helped by the struggles of kinsmen within the royal house, such as had previously favoured intervention. In alliance with the Saxons they destroyed the Thuringian kingdom in 531, and pursued their triumph as thoroughly as Clovis had done in the case of the Alamanni. The Frankish settlements were advanced along the Main to the heights which form the Thuringian forest; and such Thuringian tribes as were living to the north of the Rennstiege were made

dependent and tributary. For the future history of Germany it was a highly important fact that the triumphant Frankish Empire proceeded to expand eastward, and that its extended supremacy in German districts was united with a system of Frankish colonisation. This conquest could never have been achieved by the

**Franks and
Saxons
in Alliance**

Franks, except with the help and alliance of a people whom they would obviously have to fight for eventual supremacy, the Saxons. These latter, as the price of victory, received the land from the Unstrut to the Saale and Elbe; they made the inhabitants tributary, reducing them to the position of laets, themselves occupying that of overlords. For the moment the Merovingians could afford to defer the impending struggle for supremacy. The strong conservatism of these Low German populations had hitherto declined to allow any one tribal family to secure political preponderance over the rest, such as might be secured through the leadership of a close federation or an over-kingdom of Saxony. Nor did anything of the kind develop in the future. On the contrary, the aristocracy of the noble tribes, retaining their equality, were able to increase their prestige and to secure it by legal forms, usually in connection with questions of wergeld and marriage contracts; the old nobility of the other great peoples did not attain success, because they were broken down at a comparatively early date and fettered by the monarchy which arose in their midst.

This refusal to permit the rise of a strong individual leadership produced its natural consequence upon the federal policy of the Saxons; their federation, which was great, and upon occasion powerful, was inclined to avoid collision elsewhere, interfered but little in the affairs of other Teutonic alliances, and confined offensive operations against the Franks to petty wars, which produced no result and were feebly conducted, until the final and long delayed struggle was eventually forced upon them by the decision of Charles the Great.

**Wave of
Advancing
Slavs**

Together with the Thuringians, or as a result of their defeat, a number of other racial fragments came under the supremacy of the Franks. These had settled down as dependents of the Thuringians between them and the wave of Slavs advancing

from the east; they included fragments of the Angles, who formerly inhabited the peninsula of Jütland, and took an important share in the migration to Britain. There were also the Wareni, or Wereni, or Varini, who were ruled by their own kings as late as the time of Theoderic; they were a fragment of that considerable

Peoples Who Colonised Britain

people formerly settled on the Baltic and driven away by the Slavs, who also took some share in the colonisation of Britain. Under the Frankish supremacy both were considered as forming part of the Thuringians, though down to the time of Charles the Great they retained separate legal codes. As the Angles and the Varini migrated simultaneously from the neighbouring districts in the north, it is not surprising that under Carolingian sway these two codes were united in one, which held good in the Thuringian districts of Engli and Werinofeld; the less so, as these two peoples had been neighbours for centuries in Central Germany.

At the point where these Angles and Varini were settled, and, in fact, everywhere to the east of the old Thuringian districts, settlements were thus lying vacant for homeless peoples—we also find Frisians in the district of Friesenfeld—for the reason that these districts were menaced by the advances of the Slavs. Similarly the "Helvetian Desert," though not occupied by the Teutons, had formerly attracted and retained such Kelts as, in the words of Tacitus, had been made desperate by necessity. Thus the Saxons, who had turned to the Eastern Harz after the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom, may not have felt themselves entirely comfortable. When the Lombards started to Italy, an independent band of Saxons, said to be more than 20,000 strong, accompanied them. A gap was thus formed on the Slav frontier, and this the Frankish governor hastened to stop

The Smart Policy of the Franks

with Swabian settlers—that is, North German Suevi, not of the Alamannic tribe—who were given the districts of the Bode and the Dipper for colonisation. This information suggests that the cession to the allied Saxons of territory from the East Harz to the Elbe in 531 may have been a clever piece of far-sighted Frankish policy, intended to form a barrier against the Slavs. The existence of a mediæval "Hassingau" also points to

the settlement of Hessian colonists on the Lower Saale. The Saxons who had marched to Italy were unable to acquiesce in the necessity of becoming Lombards, as the Lombard legal code demanded; they were unwilling to abandon their national law and custom, as the continued preservation of these implied national, if not political, independence at that date. This theory met with considerate and successful treatment from the Frankish conquerors. The Saxons therefore started out again in 572 and crossed Mount Genève to the Merovingian kingdom, at first with no settled plan, but in 573 with the object of recovering their old possessions on the Harz. They were given permission to march thither. The Hessians were so diminished in battle with the Suevi, who were first affected by the attempt of the emigrants to resume their lands, that at length both nationalities found the available land sufficient for their purposes.

In 534, shortly after the subjugation of the Thuringians, the Merovingians incorporated the Burgundian kingdom in their empire, also the district of the Alamanni, who were formerly under the protectorate of Theoderic at the moment when Witichis abandoned the Ostrogoth part of Gaul.

The Franks were now neighbours of the Baiuarii, or Bavarians, and afterwards incorporated this nationality within their empire, towards the middle of the sixth century, apparently by peaceful methods. The family of the Agilolfings, which was equal in rank to the royal houses, and superior to the five other noble families of the Bavarian federation in respect of wergelds, retained, or thus acquired, the leadership of the Bavarian people; the latter alternative is the more probable. Possibly the Agilolfings were Franks transferred to this district. The Merovingians naturally could not permit the existence of other kings, and certainly of none with full governing powers in their own empire, beside themselves; hence the well-known Roman term *dux*, the title of the provincial military commander, which had been borne, for instance, by Alaric in Illyria, was employed in the comparatively similar case of Bavaria.

After the Lombards had become masters on the plains of the Po, local differences and collisions began in the Alps between



AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS CHARLES MARTEL ENTERING PARIS

Mayer of the palace to the Frankish king of Austrasia, succeeding his father, Pippin, in the office, Charles Martel fought successfully against the Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamanni. All these victories, however, were eclipsed by his great triumph over the Saracens, whom he utterly routed in the hard-fought battle of Tours in 732. This victory saved Western Europe from the Moslem domination, which was then imminent. Martel, as represented in this illustration of the event, received an enthusiastic welcome when he entered Paris after this epoch-making battle.

themselves and the grandsons of Clovis, which eventually became lengthy wars, under the continued impulse of Byzantine diplomacy and money expended in subsidising the Franks. On the Frankish side the struggle is marked by an effort to extend their territory to the Italian mountains, while the Lombards were

The New Masters of Italy

anxious to appear as the heirs of the Ostrogoths, and to secure their former supremacy in Southern Gaul. At the same time the Franks and Lombards did not respectively determine the destinies of the Teutonic world, as Clovis and Theoderic had once done; nor did the new masters of Italy, who were not yet in full occupation of the country, and had difficulty in making head against Byzantium, attempt to follow any imperial policy in Western or Central Europe. The old friends of the Lombards, the Bavarians, had gone over to their side, notwithstanding their inclusion in the Frankish monarchy. After some attacks of the Franks, which seem to have been delivered with greater vigour, these campaigns ended in the year 590. The Merovingians gave up their attempts to secure influence in Italy, which they had continued for more than half a century at various intervals, and refrained on their side from interference with the Lombards in Southern Gaul.

The indecision of the Italian policy of the Franks, the loose connection of the Bavarians with the Frankish Empire, and other indications of decay, are to be explained by that cause which acted as a disruptive or weakening influence upon the Teutonic empires in general—namely, the family struggles within the reigning dynasties; these invariably revived upon every question of policy or other pretext, and the special course which they ran among the Merovingians will justify reference to them as the struggles of Brunhilde and Fredegunde.

Rise of the Frankish Nobility

The most important result of these struggles is the rise of the new Frankish nobility. Clovis had thoroughly exterminated the old noble families. Thus the Franks of the Merovingian period surprise our constitutional historians by the fact that, in contrast with the Alamanni, the Bavarians, or the Saxons, they possessed no aristocracy or nobility standing immediately below the crown. The new

aristocracy was one of service, and arose among the superior secular and ecclesiastical officials. Distinguished from these was the Mayor of the Palace, whose office originally represented the royal prerogatives which were derived from the *patria potestas* of early German society—a power exercised over followers and household servants, and now increased in proportion as that power had extended.

Among the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons the *major domus* never became more than a distinguished master of the household—the title is borrowed from the Roman official of that name, in accordance with the early German reluctance to form new words and titles from the native language. The Frankish mayor became the chief supervisory official and overseer both of the king's property and of all court and state offices. Eventually powerful "nobles" in the gradually increasing lands of the empire, such as Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, which were enlarged despite the partitions and struggles of the Merovingians, made this important office a personal and family

possession; they then speedily ceased to lead their vassals in the king's service, and began to use them as a weapon against him. This connection between the mayoralty and the rising aristocracy eventually led to the fall of Brunhilde.

Although the Merovingian royal house was never lacking in leading characters, this connection never allowed such leaders full access to sovereignty and administrative power; it was a connection prepared by Clovis and actually used by his descendants in conjunction with Roman conceptions of supremacy. The Teutonic communities of the Frankish people came into existence only during the military mobilisations held in different years, and were only occasionally concerned with political affairs, while the action of the Crown was restricted by a continuous and more or less constitutional co-operation of "nobles." Moreover, the nobility, as ruling aristocracies are ever particularist—for community of interests is destroyed by excess of unity—frustrated those opportunities which occurred for concentrating the dynastic government of the whole Frankish kingdom in one person.

It was not until the mayoral system grew sufficiently strong to pursue its own ambitions or dynastic purposes,

and to employ the military forces of the official nobility, notwithstanding their territorial and particularist tendencies, that the struggle began afresh for supreme power within the Frankish kingdom. In this struggle succumbed successively the Austrasian mayor, Grimoald, a son of the elder Pippin, and the Neustrian, Ebruin or Ebroin, the latter upon his first attempt. After Ebruin was murdered, in 681, at the moment of his success, the nephew of Grimoald and the grandson of Bishop Arnulf of Metz, upon his father's side, Pippin of Herstal, the major domus of Austrasia, became the mayor of the whole Frank Empire by his victory at Testri, near Peronne and St. Quentin, in 687. The kings of the Merovingian dynasty then became of no importance. Compared with the mayor of the palace, they occupied a position analogous to that which belonged after 934 to the caliphs of Bagdad, as compared with the Emir al-Omra, or to the Japanese Mikado before 1867, compared with the Shogun. After the victory of Testri there "reigned," in the words of the annals composed shortly after that event, the family of Arnulf and Pippin, united in the person of Pippin, which was afterwards known as Carolingian. Pippin began the task of incorporating the Frisians in the empire with greater determination than had been previously brought to the attempt. He also tried, by force of arms, to subjugate the alienated Alamanni; their dukes had risen from their position of officials to become national leaders in the wide sense of the term, and leaders of a nation which regarded itself as a special and independent race. The Frisians were among those Teuton tribes who had been most strongly influenced and utilised by the Romans,

and during the Carolingian period they displayed the greatest capacity of all the Germans for trade and manufacturing pursuits; their political and constitutional organisation remained, however, for centuries far removed from the characteristics of the old German institutions.

Though we cannot gain much information about their earlier history, we can yet see that, about 1300, their institutions

corresponded with those current in the past federal epochs of other nations, and were analogous to those of the Alamanni in the fourth century. The Folk, with its assemblies and its noble families, formed a unit of organisation. Every year at a special time, namely, in the spring—Whitsuntide was the season provided by Christianity, which was driving out or transforming the institutions of heathen priesthood—the general assembly of all Frisians met at Upstallsboom, near Aurich, and discussed the affairs of the federation and such matters as war and peace. The customary law of the Frisians was developed for the individual communities, and also for the whole of Friesland, by the legislative activity of the annual assembly. We have observed the process by which the Folk becomes a nation in the case of the Franks—Salii and Ribuarii—and how it was carried out by pure geographical distribution among the Lombards—Austria and



WARRIOR OF THE FIFTH CENTURY
This statue of a Frankish warrior, which stands in the Roman-German Museum at Mainz, was reconstructed from discoveries in burial places of the fifth to eighth centuries.

Neustria—and the Saxons—the Eastphalians, Angrians, and Westphalians.

The Frisians had been visited since the outset of the seventh century both by Franks and by missionaries. As among the Visigoths during the Dacian period, and afterwards among the Danes, or as, in the case of Catholicism, among the Burgundians, the missions had been largely supported by the political interests and

aims of individual nobles. After the middle of the seventh century Aldgild is known both as duke and as king of the Frisians in the annals which we owe to his influence; similarly Ratbod, who was afterwards conquered by Pippin at Wykte-Durstede, bore a Frankish title equivalent to that of duke, while his position must

Rivalries and Struggles of the Noble Tribes

be regarded as equivalent to the ducal status among the Bavarians and Alamanni. The prospect of any general leadership of the Frisian nationality was, however, destroyed by the rivalry and the struggles of the noble tribes.

When the Carolingians occupied the position of king and had ceased to be merely higher officials, it was inevitable that they should absorb family rights as they exercised their authority and interfered in the struggles of relatives which thence arose. This process began immediately after the death of Pippin, and Charles Martel emerged victorious.

Although he was never able to consolidate the empire as a whole, his efforts were by no means fruitless, and his achievements were perhaps limited at the moment by the approach of a serious danger, the invasion of Frankish Gaul by the Spanish Arabs. The struggle against the Arabs was continued from 730 to 740, and was not definitely settled by the famous battle in 732 at Old Poitiers. The successful repulse of Islam from Central Europe not only proved the salvation of Western Christianity, of Roman civilisation revived by the Teutons, and of the general Indo-European character of the composite races in Europe, but also gave a considerable impulse to new developments. The necessity of keeping a standing cavalry force under arms in Southern Gaul for the long struggle with the Saracens stimulated the process of transforming the German military system in the direction of chivalry. Among the

Christianity Repulses Islam

Frankish portions of the empire the transformation of the Teutonic army into a cavalry force was a process which had gradually pervaded the remaining tribes, though the Saxons and Frisians were least affected.

In spite of all the efforts and the imperial power which Charles the Great exerted to secure the direct administrative action of the state upon questions of government, all official duties and responsibilities committed to other hands

assumed a form of feudal dependence, and this the more easily, as the advance of agricultural progress involved the payment of all rewards in the form of arable ground and soil. The possession of offices, the capable management of surplus products, the continual entrance into some feudal relation of free men who wished to be relieved of their public duties or the difficulties of existence, the exemption of influential lords from the general duties of state administration, and the grant of judicial powers over their possessions and their people—these were all influences which steadily advanced the size and the independence of great territorial domains.

It was, however, the Church which turned its landed property to special account in acquiring administrative powers and lordship. She received far more extensive immunities than the laymen. She was not discouraged by any temporary decrease of possessions or power, such as took place when Charles Martel, finding large supplies necessary for the repulse of the Saracens, procured them by wide

Germans Won to Christianity

appropriation of Church property or of property which in popular ideas had long been regarded as subject to the Church. His sons agreed to return what they could. The Church, however, was able to make use of any opportunity.

About the time when the armies of the Austrasians and other Germans had saved the West from Mohammedanism, and during the following decade, the Frisians, the middle and the southern Germans, were largely won over to Christianity, and their districts subjected to Church organisation, by means of the missions of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish evangelists, and especially by the pioneer work of the Anglo-Saxon Winfried. The Teuton conceived of his Christianity as giving him membership in a greater community, wider than his own tribal district, or his most extended conception of the Folk, an idea which in the political world was to dawn upon him much more slowly. Nor was this the only common point of interest which bound the Frankish mayors of the palace to the Church and induced them to regard the universal claims of the Bishop of Rome, which Winfried invariably exalted above his own, as coincident with their own interests.

EDUARD HEYCK



ROLAND, THE HERO OF THE NATIONAL EPIC OF FRANCE

A nephew of Charlemagne and the greatest of his paladins, Roland became the theme of legend and romance. On Charlemagne's return from Spain, Roland, commanding the rear guard, fell into an ambush in the defile of Roncesvalles and perished with the flower of French chivalry. His famous sword remained unbroken as he lay strewn to his knees on a rock, and legend tells that he finally threw it into a poisoned stream.



THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE IN THE DAYS OF ITS POWER AND GLORY

OF the two sons of Charles Martel who succeeded jointly to the position of mayor of the palace, Carloman shortly retired to a monastery, leaving Pippin—Pépin le Bref—at the head of the Frankish dominion. The only thing wanting to confirm the power of his predecessors within the Frankish Empire had been the title of king, which was something more than a trifle in the eyes of the people; Pippin determined to secure this title with the help of the ecclesiastical power.

The representatives of St. Peter in their little "Patrimonium" on the shores of the Tiber, with Rome as its capital, continually felt the pressure exerted by the Lombards, who from 568 had expelled the Byzantines from Italy after their Ostrogoth triumphs, though the Lombard want of a navy obliged them to leave the Byzantines in possession of Venice, the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and of the southern point of Italy. Hence, as early as the time of Charles Martel, the Curia had conceived the plan of using the warlike Franks to crush the Lombards, who had grown enfeebled in the milder climate of Italy and by their contact with the moral degeneration of Roman culture. Upon the receipt of a secret missive from Stephen IV., Pippin invited the Pope to visit the Frankish Empire, and promised him a safe conduct through the Lombard territory. The two met at

**Hereditary
Monarchy
Established**

Ponthion, on the Marne, on January 6th, 745. Pippin was subsequently anointed as king at Soissons (July 25th) notwithstanding the representations of his brother Carloman. Pippin's two sons were anointed with himself. Thus the dignity which he had seized became a hereditary monarchy resting upon divine right, and the allegiance of the Franks to Pippin and his descendants became imperative. As early as 751, the nominal monarch, Childeric III., had been illegally deposed in the diet at Soissons and sent into a monastery.

The newly crowned monarch received the title of Patricius of the Romans—that is to say, protector of the Romans and of the Pope, and thus occupied a position which had hitherto been held by the East Roman emperor residing in Byzantium. In return, Pippin conducted two triumphant campaigns against the Lombard king, Aistulf, whom he forced to surrender the territory taken from the Pope. To

**Increase
of the Papal
Power** the Pope was given, besides the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the whole of the coast line from the south of the Po to Ancona, without reference to the claims which Byzantium could lay to these last-named possessions.

The Donation of Pippin is the beginning of the later increase in the secular power of the Popes; their position largely distracted the interests of the occupants of this highest spiritual dignity from their ecclesiastical calling and involved them in secular partisanship and policies; at the same time it gave them some independence in their dealings with the great European powers, the petty princes of Italy, and the incorrigible insubordination of the Roman populace.

The Lombard kingdom remained for the moment independent; Aistulf, however, paid tribute, and the appointment of his successor, Desiderius, was subject to Frankish approval. Desiderius naturally joined Byzantium, the rights of which had been infringed equally with his own by the Franks; the independent lords of Benevento and Spoleto turned for support to the Frankish Empire. It is obvious that in this state of affairs the Frankish ruler did not become dependent on the Pope, who required his protection against the Lombards, the Byzantines, the inhabitants of Rome, and the petty princes of Italy. It is clear that the Pope was rather depending upon the Franks, and this relationship served to increase the halo of religious sanctity surrounding the

kingship which the Frankish ruler had assumed.

Once in possession of this predominant position, which extended far beyond the limits of the Frankish Empire proper, Pippin had no difficulty in humiliating and subjugating refractory neighbours. Thus Aquitaine, over which many struggles had been fought, came permanently into his possession in 768; eleven years previously Duke Tassilo of Bavaria had taken the oath of allegiance. Only the free Saxons—who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine to the Lower Elbe, divided into four groups of West- and East-Phalians, Angrians and North Albingians—were able to maintain their old faith and possessions, though obliged to make certain payments of tribute. The unity of this extended empire was expressed in the partition which Pippin carried out before his death, on September 24th, 768. His two sons, Charles and Carloman, received districts containing a mixed population of Teutonic and Romance elements under conditions presupposing the common government of the whole.

These careful beginnings of the comprehensive empire which Pippin had secured were steadily extended by his son Charles the Great, or Charlemagne; the coping-stone of the whole fabric was the imperial dignity and the succession to the position of the Cæsars in ancient Rome, united with a right of protectorate over the whole of Christianity. The first step was the subjection of all Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. The most dangerous enemies were the heathen Saxons, and the task

of conquering this nationality was the more difficult for the reason that it was necessary to subjugate one tribal district after another, and that every failure inspired a revolt, which ran through every canton of the three tribes, as far as the frontier of the Eider in Nordalbingia. Hence the final subjugation and conversion to Christianity of this last bulwark of the old Teutonic freedom was a process extending over some thirty years—772 to 804.

As early as 777, at the diet of Paderborn, after two unsuccessful battles, the Saxon chiefs had offered their submission, undertaking to forfeit their freedom and possessions if they disavowed the Christian faith or broke away from their fidelity to Charles, his sons, and the Franks. The most bitter enemy of the Franks was Widukind, who had been appointed duke by the general assembly at Marklo on the Weser; he escaped the obligation of this agree-

ment, and of baptism, by a flight into the Danish land across the Eider. While Charles was fighting in Spain against the Arab Omayyads in 778, the revolt broke out afresh. Under the leadership of Widukind the rebels advanced to the Rhine, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastating Thuringia and Hesse and destroying the Christian colonies. In 780 they were reconquered as far as the Elbe, and their land was divided into countries according to the Frankish method, native magnates being appointed counts. At the memorable assembly of

Lippspringe in 782, Christianity was imposed upon them by strict legislation. Forcible entry into Christian churches, disregard



PIPPIN THE FIRST KING

Succeeding his father, Charles Martel, at the head of the Frankish dominion, Pippin at once set himself to secure the title of King, which had not been held by his predecessors. He gained his end, being anointed at Soissons.



THE LAST MEROVINGIAN KING

Though Childeric was the nominal monarch of the Frankish dominion, the reins of government were in the hands of Pippin. The Pope decided that the man who actually ruled should sit on the throne. Childeric was, therefore, deposed in 752, and sent into a monastery.

of Christian fasts, or the murder of the clergy, were made punishable with death. Upon their baptism, the Saxons were to forsake the devil and the heathen gods—in the opinion of the Church the latter were the tools of the devil—and to acknowledge the Trinity in Unity. The pacification seemed so far complete that in 782 Charles made a levy of his new subjects to complete his expedition against the Wendish Sorbs on the Saale. The Saxons, however, attacked the Franks on the march at Süntel, between Hanover and Hamlyn, and defeated them. Charles took a cruel revenge, executing his Saxon prisoners, who are reported to have been 4,500 in number, at Verden on the Aller; this was the signal for a general revolt, but the victories of Charles at Detmold and on the Hasa in 783 finally secured the success of Christianity in Saxony. The leaders and all the nobles were baptised, including Widukind and his comrade Abbio; at Attigny, in 785.

The newly subjected territory was now divided into the episcopal sees of Halberstadt, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück, Verden, and Bremen. The system of tithes was introduced and the Frankish system of military service imposed upon the Saxons. Once again—792 and following years—irritation against these two latter innovations ended in a rebellion, which was punished by the transportation of 10,000 Saxon families to the Frankish Empire; in the lands thus left vacant Frankish colonists were settled. In this way the strength of the old race was broken. The supposed "peace of Salz," concluded in 803, on the Frankish Saale, cannot be proved by documentary evidence.

The religious character of these long wars was outwardly indicated by the presence of missionaries and of the relics of the saints with the armies. The Christian "message of peace" was introduced by armed force and bloody persecutions, methods repeated 900 years later in the Huguenot wars under Louis XIV. These methods, however, were in complete accord with the arbitrary spirit of the times. The work of conversion was

soon firmly founded, and the execution of the more stringent laws could afterwards be abandoned. Christianity became the pioneer of civilisation, and upon the economic side the Saxon territory was improved by the careful cultivation of the ecclesiastical domains.

The hold which Christian life and thought had gained even upon the lower classes is shown by the gospel harmony of the "Heliand" composed about 830 by a Saxon peasant, a poetical idealisation of the work of Christ, based upon the Bible narrative. On the other hand, no religious interests influenced the wars by which Charles forced the Lombards, Bavarians, Danes, Wends, and Avars either to become incorporated with his empire or to recog-

nise his supremacy. The campaign in Spain was inspired only by the desire to secure the Frankish frontier against a repetition of the Moorish invasion. For this purpose Charles fought in alliance with the Arab king of Saragossa against his enemy the caliph Abd ur-Rahman—a Christian thus uniting with an unbeliever, as, during the Crusades, the Knights Templars occasionally helped the Mohammedans against their co-religionists.



THE GREAT CHARLEMAGNE

This illustration, taken from the painting by Albert Dürer, in 1510, represents the great Charlemagne in the coronation robes of a German emperor of that period.



CHARLEMAGNE RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF WIDUKIND

When Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, succeeded his father, Pippin, on the throne, he set himself to subjugate all the Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. One of the bitterest of these enemies was Widukind, who led a revolt while Charlemagne was fighting in Spain, and, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastated Thuringia and Hesse and destroyed the Christian colonies. Widukind, however, finally yielded to Charlemagne's power, and, adopting Christianity, which had been imposed by legislation, was baptised in 785.

The destruction of the Frankish rear-guard in the valley of Roncevalles, the historical nucleus of the "Chanson de Roland," was due to the Basque mountaineers and not to the Arabs, who, however, availed themselves of this defeat to regain the territory conquered by Charles.

The Frankish monarch and the papacy also stood in close alliance, even in cases where matters of European policy were concerned rather than ecclesiastical and religious questions. It was to this alliance that the Lombard kingdom fell a victim in 774. Desiderius had renewed his attacks upon the papal possessions, and had, moreover, entered into close relations with Charles' brother Carloman and his family, who were hostile to the emperor.

Desiderius had recognised the two sons of Carloman, who were not yet of age, as Frankish kings after their father's death, in 771. The family dissension thus threatened was averted by the

premature death of Carloman, upon which Charles was appointed sole ruler by a decree of the national assembly, and the nephews were passed over. None the less, after a victorious campaign, Charles put an end to the independence of the Lombard state, was crowned at Milan, divided the conquered territory into counties, and introduced the judicial and military organisation of the Frankish Empire. Desiderius was sent into a monastery, the usual fate of troublesome competitors in that age. Charles thereupon hastened to Rome to take part in the Easter festivals of April 3rd, 774; he was received in solemn procession and concluded an alliance of friendship with Pope Hadrian at the tomb of the Apostle Peter. There is no doubt he then renewed the Donation made by his father; it is, however, more than doubtful whether, as a papal record asserts, he conferred Parma, Mantua, Reggio, Venice, Spoleto, and Corsica upon the papal chair as fiefs. Of

these supposed grants Charles himself retained Spoleto after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom. Even though these and other districts were declared papal possessions by a decree of Louis the Pious in the year 817, the points at issue were then claims and desires rather than actual rights of practical possession.

We find the king and Pope agreed upon the desirability of overthrowing Tassilo, the last Bavarian duke. He had renewed his old oath of allegiance and had given hostages, but was administering his territory from the Lech to the Enns as an independent prince. Charters were dated by the years of his reign and he had appointed his son to succeed him. In the year 787 negotiations took place in Rome between his ambassadors and those of Charles, though the latter were not given full powers to treat.

The Pope threatened the duke with excommunication if he broke his faith. Upon the complaint of certain treacherous Bavarians that Tassilo had joined Charles' enemies—the Avars, who were collected at the Theiss—the duke was condemned to death in the

following year by the imperial diet at Ingelheim, though Charles commuted his sentence to confinement in the monastery of St. Goar. Bavaria was united with Franconia; the limits of the empire were extended to the Saale and the Wilzes in Pomerania, the East Mark, Austria, thus becoming the frontier against the Avars, and the Mark of Brandenburg securing the empire against the Slav Sorbs. The territory taken from the Avars, from the Enns to the Raba, was given up to Frankish colonists, and Christianity in the Danube district was revived by the foundation of the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

Charles had many opportunities for using his position as protector of the papacy after the accession to that dignity of Leo III. on December 26th, 795. Leo sent the banner of the city of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's tomb to the Frankish king, while Charles used the protectorate thus given to him by advising the Pope to follow the canonical rules and to avoid simony. In the year 799 there broke out against Leo a popular revolt which was instigated by his immediate relations. The threatened Pope fled to Charles, and



ANOINTING THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES THE GREAT AS KING OF THE FRANKS

From the painting by Schnorr von Carolsfeld at Munich

was brought back to Rome by force of arms. Before Christmas, in the year 800, Charles held a court at Rome to decide between the Pope and his opponents. The latter did not venture to bring any proof of their accusations, while the former swore to his innocence; and at his request his opponents, who had been condemned to death, were punished only with exile. On December 25th Charles was crowned emperor in the church of St. Peter; the matter had been previously discussed, but was carried out in a form distasteful to him, as it seemed to confer too large a measure of independence upon the Pope, who required his help, though upon this occasion the Pope himself bent the knee before the ruler of Christianity.

Thus the political unity of the nations of Europe had received the blessing of the Church, for Charles' empire included the countries from the Pyrenees to the North Sea and from the Eider to the Apennines. Disregarding the claims of Byzantium to the title of Roman Empire, the Frankish monarch now ruled as the successor of the Cæsars. His rela-

tions with Byzantium were already strained, and this tension, accentuated by dogmatic quarrels and the division of the Greek Church from the Roman, would no doubt have led to an appeal to arms had not the military weakness and dissensions of the Byzantine Empire forced the authorities to compliance. For a time the project was even entertained of a marriage between Charles, who was nearly sixty years of age, and the Empress Irene. Charles also asserted his superiority over the Eastern Empire by his arbitrary interference in the lengthy quarrel concerning the adoration of pictures. An assembly of Frankish bishops at Frankfort declared in 794 against this practice, the resumption

of which had been ordered by the Empress Irene. He also wounded the pride of the Byzantines in 799 when he received the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the city of Jerusalem from the patriarch, thus coming forward as protector of the Holy Land. This fact in no way disturbed the friendly character of his relations with the Abbasid caliph, Harun al Raschid, who kept peace with the patriarch. In 811 Byzantium was obliged to recognise the imperial supremacy of Charles, and received Venice as the price.

The last decade of Charles' reign was disturbed, apart from some frontier wars, only by a dangerous invasion of the

Danish ruler Gottfried, who made a triumphant advance with a large fleet on the Frisian coast and threatened with destruction the Christian colonies in the north of Germany. As no fleet of war existed, the chastisement of this enemy was out of the question, and the danger was averted only by Gottfried's murder in 810. The east and south frontiers of the empire were, however, firmly de-



CROWN OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

This symbol of royal power, known as the Crown of Charlemagne, or the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, is in the Treasury at Vienna.

fended by the Marks, under the command of warlike counts. These were: the East Mark, protecting Thuringia and Franconia against the Avars, Sorbs and Bohemians; and in the south the Spanish Mark, which was organised in the year 810 after the reconquest of the district between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. In the year 806 Charles divided his territory, according to the tradition of his house, among his three sons, Charles, Pippin and Louis, upon principles that secured the chief power to the eldest, and were intended to maintain a close federal alliance between the three parts of the empire. The death of the two eldest sons (810-811) overthrew these arrangements, and on September 11th



THE CHARLEMAGNE STATUARY GROUP IN PARIS



CHARLEMAGNE ADDRESSING THE PRINCES OF THE STATES

813, Charles himself crowned his youngest son as emperor, without the assistance of the Pope, who was entirely subordinate to his will.

Charles had realised the idea of a Cæsar-Pope—that is to say, the union of the secular and ecclesiastical powers; in the government and administration of his wide empire he also aimed at unlimited power. Frankish kings had originally been nothing more than the first among their vassals. At the time of the conquest of the Roman districts the leaders nominally possessed the right to dispose of all military acquisitions; but, in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they were obliged to make a general and equal division of all land and property. From the stage of communistic enjoyment of the land, that of private ownership was bound to arise, as the kings, in order to secure adherents, were accustomed to confer land upon nobles for agricultural purposes, which land was thus given as private property.

The occupation of such allodial land—that is to say, of land held in freehold—implied an obligation to serve in war, to provide an armed force, and to administer justice in the smaller divisions of the counties. During the continual wars the fields lay fallow and property was ravaged. Hence the smaller freeholders adopted the method of surrendering their property to some noble, or to the Church, from whom they received it back as a fief (*beneficium*) for a yearly rent. A long-standing custom was the conferment of Church property upon smaller men, or the grant of it by royal decree, under terms which provided for its eventual return, to nobles for a rental, which was generally unpaid. Charles Martel was especially fond of this form of grant. The great landowners also made grants of small estates in return for payment in kind and product.

Charles the Great wisely strove to protect the freemen, supporting their independence, and creating a close bureaucracy dependent only upon himself. For this purpose the obligations of the freemen were strictly regulated, and the counts, who were chiefly territorial owners and used their power to plunder the peasants, were prohibited from any attempt to destroy the independence of that class. The poorer men were relieved by Charles

of the duty of personal military service, by the regulation that several might join to equip one man. Those parts of the empire which lay at a considerable distance from the seat of the war were partially relieved of the necessity for service.

Charles also limited the number of court days and assembly days. General meetings of the freemen of the county were to be held only thrice a year, to discuss the most important matters affecting the rights and welfare of the community; all other judicial sessions took place under the presidency of the count, and after about 775 seven assessors only were summoned to attend, as representing the communities. These were chosen from the principal men by the royal "missi dominici" (itinerant commissioners), the supervisory officials of the county, while the counts had a voice in the matter. These measures did not, however, secure self-government or real communal freedom. Charles was chiefly anxious to increase the prosperity of the freeman. His own estates were regarded as models of their kind. He was accustomed to examine the smallest details, to look over the ac-

counts, and to increase the productive powers of the non-free. His wife and daughters managed the household personally, and were obliged to spin and card wool. This high example exercised a stimulating influence upon agriculture. Villages and courts arose where formerly the land had been fallow. Trade also revived. Military roads went along the Rhine to the North Sea, from the Elbe to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Feuds and other disturbances of the peace were suppressed by stern regulations.

The administration of justice was the object of the emperor's special care. Every week a communal court was held under the presidency of a Hundred, or, while a county court was held monthly, under the count of the district. The "missi dominici" were obliged to make quarterly journeys of inspection, when they examined every detail, inspected the courts and the military contingents, and represented the interests of the crown against the spirit of feudal separatism. As commissioners dependent upon the crown, they took the place of the old independent dukes. The ruler was advised upon matters of legislation by an imperial assembly composed of the ecclesiastical

Charles' Regard for the Poor

Humble Pursuits in a Royal Palace



THE STRASBURG OATHS: LEWIS AND CHARLES FORMING AN ALLIANCE

When the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, the Eastern and Western Franks, under the rule of Lewis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development. In the Treaty of the Meerssen in 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that their Romance districts, Provence and Burgundy, should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should come under the East Frankish ruler. In contrast to the Roman language of the West Franks, and also to the ecclesiastical Latin, a German vernacular language had there developed, the first specimen of which is to be found in the Strasbourg Oaths which Lewis and Charles, when forming their alliance against Lothair, took, each in the language of the other, in February, 842. The oath bound not only the two princes, but also their officials, who were to be judged guilty of rebellion if they broke their allegiance to their feudal lords.

and secular nobility and of the royal officials, a continuation of the old popular and military assembly of the Mayfield, which had long become meaningless; this assembly received and confirmed the decrees of Charles in the spring, while in the autumn

Limitation of Capital Punishment

an imperial privy council met for deliberation. Hitherto two legal systems had been in vogue, the Salic and the Ribuarian. It was now advisable that the united empire should have a uniform system of law; the two existing systems were improved by Charles, who introduced his own regulations in his "capitularies." In contrast to those issued by the Merovingians, these decrees are characterised by their humanitarian character and their limitation of capital punishment. They were supplemented by his successor, and the earliest collection of them is dated 827. Though written in Latin, they breathe a Teutonic spirit and faithfully reflect old Teutonic customs, morality, and institutions. Charles also caused collections to be made of the popular laws of the larger tribes under his rule—the Saxons, Angles, and Frisians.

Below his court officials, the clergy formed the medium of higher culture, their energies being chiefly confined to studying the creeds of the Church, liturgies, and extracts from the Fathers, the writing of ecclesiastical Latin and the reading of some ecclesiastical authors. Of these court clergy, the highest in rank was the arch-chaplain, *apocrisarius*, who kept the emperor informed as to all ecclesiastical matters and received his orders. The arch-chaplain was at the head of the Imperial Chancery. In the High Court of Justice the president was the Count of the Palace, the highest secular official. With him sat commissioners, who were chosen from the most experienced lawyers of the court. Upon occasion Charles himself presided in these courts.

The Frankish Empire was essentially an amalgamation of the Roman and Teutonic civilisations; side by side with the popular law existed the civil law of Rome, just as ecclesiastical Latin existed side by side with the vernacular dialects. Similarly, Charles attempted to conjoin Teutonic legend and tradition with the remains of Roman civilisation and culture. Hence he caused to be made collections of the old Teutonic songs which celebrated

the exploits of the legendary kings; he conceived the idea of a German grammar, and replaced the Latin names of the months with German names. To the four German terms which existed to denote the direction of the wind he added twelve new ones, if we may believe the report of Einhard.

His own tutors in the classical languages and civilisation were partly Anglo-Saxons, with whom were now to be found the learning and philosophy which had perished in Italy with Cassiodorus and Boethius. Of these scholars the chief was Alcuin of York, who created the monastic school of Tours, and was the leading spirit among Charles' group of scholars. To him Charles owed his knowledge of rhetoric, dialectic and astronomy. The Emperor's teacher of grammar was Peter of Pisa, a priest like Alcuin. The most distinguished historians of Charles' exploits were Einhard, who was by origin from the Odenwald, and wrote the first complete biography of the Emperor—the only

Charles Immortalised in Poetry

defect of which is the unnecessary plagiarism of sentences and phrases from the lives of Suetonius—and Angilbert, who immortalised the emperor's feats in an epic poem.

Since the time of Gregory of Tours and his contemporary, Jornandes, or Jordanes, the historian of the Ostrogoths, historical writing had sunk to a low ebb. It now revived in the hands of Teutons who wrote Latin. At Charles' court lived for some time the Lombard Paul, son of Warnefried, or Paulus Diaconus, the author of the history of his nation to the year 744, which is based upon old sagas and legends. Charles himself attempted to remedy the defects of his youthful education. When advanced in years he would spend the nights, though with no great success, in learning to write, an art which was chiefly confined to the clergy and scholars. On the other hand, he had completely mastered Latin and the elements of Greek, if the testimony of Einhard may be believed. He was acquainted with the work of St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei." He caused his sons and daughters to be also educated in the sciences, and for the education of young nobles and of the more talented sons of the middle class he provided the School of the Palace, which he himself was accustomed to inspect, in addition to the model school of Tours.

Among the arts, he had an especial preference for music and architecture, both of which he applied to the service of God. He attempted to improve church music by the introduction of Italian masters, whose cleverness, however, could do little with the rough voices of the Franks, while divine service was amended by the use of a book of homilies which Paulus Diaconus composed. Charles paid zealous attention to the construction and decoration of churches. For the Basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle he sent for marble from Italy, and provided a magnificent supply of gold and silver vessels and ecclesiastical robes and vestments. He visited the church morning and evening, and often at night, and took pains to secure the observance of order and decorum in the services. He also afforded valuable assistance in the decoration of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Those Christians who lived beyond the boundaries of the Frankish Empire ever found a ready supporter in Charles the Great.

In accordance with the spirit of the time, he enriched churches and monasteries by presents and grants of land; the Frankish clergy, whom he kept in strict obedience, began to claim political power on the ground of their wealth, even in his successor's reign. Apart from tithes, the Church possessed wide properties and estates—the abbey of Fulda, for instance, owned fifteen thousand hides shortly after its foundation. At the same time, these incomes had to provide for much charity, for the education of the poor, and other obligations, while the overlords retained their right of appropriating church property in order to reward their own adherents. The monasteries and churches remained, however, the central points, not only of education, but also of trade and intercourse, of manufacture and agriculture.

The great ecclesiastical festivals were also the most important market days. Even if business was at a standstill on those particular days, it was carried on the more zealously either before or afterwards. In the towns and market villages, foreign merchants came in where formerly trade and manufacture were permitted only to the members of guilds. The name "mass" for a market was derived from the solemn high mass which was held on such days, and was attended

by numerous natives and foreigners. Around churches and monasteries arose new marks and even new towns. Within the territory of the monastery lived also the non-free artisans, who worked for the inmates of the monastery, and stimulated manufacture by their industry and cleverness. Agriculture and viticulture, gardening and vegetable growing, were increased by the example of the monasteries; new products were discovered and new methods introduced. The growth of the ecclesiastical estates and their methods of cultivation on a great scale, which almost recalled the Roman *latifundia*, gave a useful impulse to changes in the primitive system of agriculture in vogue upon noble and peasant properties.

Charles remained a true Teuton in his mode of living; his dress, his favourite exercises of riding and hunting, were entirely German. Of an excitable disposition, which could move him easily to tears, he was yet entirely master of himself. He had, for instance, completely overcome the tendency to excessive drinking which was characteristic of the Teutons, and, to a less degree, his inclination to eating, which his bodily vigour permitted him to satisfy. His constant activity, extending often through the hours of the night, was a standing example. Wherever he went he inquired personally into details; his household, the administration of justice, and the settlement of quarrels were subjects in which he took most interest. He resided in his palaces at Nimwegen, with its sixteen-cornered chapel, at Nieder-Ingelheim, built in 768-774, and at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, rebuilt between 777 and 786, and not in the Romance portions of his empire.

In 793 Charles attempted to connect the Rhine with the Danube by the canal from the Altmühl to the Rednitz, which was never completed; at Mainz he built a

wooden bridge over the Rhine 500 yards long, and when this was burnt down in May, 813, he projected the construction of a new bridge in its place. He was often obliged to change his headquarters owing to the difficulty of collecting the necessaries of life in any one spot, for communications by road or river were then highly defective. In his last years Aachen was his favourite residence, and its hot baths provided him with relief

for his growing infirmities; he advised his son, his friends, and his courtiers to make constant use of them, and often more than one hundred persons bathed together.

He was distinguished above all other Franks for his breadth of mind, which was especially obvious in his preference for foreign culture and its exponents, and in his disregard of the limits of nationality and of religious faith, when higher political objects seemed to be at stake. He concluded alliances, not only with Alfonso II. of Galicia and Asturias and with the Scottish princes, but also with Harun al-Rashid, who was a friend of culture. Under the protection of this Mohammedan, Charles sent an embassy to adorn the Holy Sepulchre, while Harun sent messengers to conduct the Franks on their homeward journey, bearing presents to Charles of treasures, robes, and spices of the East, in addition to an elephant, for which the Frankish ruler had asked.

Charles also showed an entirely German spirit in his relations with the female sex. He did not indeed follow the traditional polygamy of his ancestors, but he constantly changed his wives and was never long a widower. After marrying the daughter of Desiderius at the wish of his mother, Bertrada, for whom he had a great respect, he divorced her for unknown reasons, and married Hildegard, a Swabian woman of noble birth, who died in 771. After this, in 783, he married a Frankish woman, Fastrada, who was followed by the Alamanian Luidgard, who died in 800. Beside his legal wives, he had concubines, whose numbers increased to three after the death of Luidgard. He allowed his unmarried daughters entire freedom of sexual intercourse.

The glamour which has been spread around this great emperor and his paladins by legend and poetry must pale in the light of historical truth. But this will also destroy the grotesque picture of the one-sided French Charlemagne, to which French historians have clung until recent

times, in conscious opposition to German manners. Charles the Great is rather to be regarded as the earliest exponent of the excellencies of the Teutonic character, the rudeness of which he was able to moderate while overcoming or mastering its weaknesses.

It is a common historical experience that great empires, consisting of mixed peoples connected by outward ties rather than by inward solidarity, often lose their greatness or fall into disruption upon the death of their founder. Such was the case in the fourth century B.C. with the empire of Alexander the Great; also in Central Asia, after the death of Tamerlane; and the phenomenon was repeated in the case of the Carolingian monarchy. The one-sided theory which regards mankind as master of circumstances, and not as subject to them, usually makes the less capable successors of great princes responsible for such disruption; but the deeper reasons lie in foreign and domestic political conditions. Such was the case with the Frankish Empire. Notwithstanding his sedulous care for the defence and security of his frontiers, Charles the Great had never been able entirely to overcome two dangerous enemies.



LOUIS THE PIOUS

The sole heir of his great father, Charlemagne Louis the Pious was, in 814, crowned emperor at Rheims. He has been denounced as a weakling because he divided the empire among his three sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis.

Even during his time the Northmen, or Vikings, were plundering the English coasts under the leadership of their petty kings, who had been driven out of their Norwegian possessions by powerful governors. In 795 they captured the island of Rathlin on the north coast of Ireland, in 802 the missionary settlement of Iona, one of the Hebrides, and in 804 they sailed up the Boyne and captured Dublin. They were also advancing in the interior of the country; in 789 they raided Wessex, and in 799 Northumberland. Charles fortified the coasts and rivers on the north frontier of his empire, but for want of a fleet he could no more permanently repel these raids than drive back the Danish sea-king Gottfried. The example of the Northmen in Western Europe was repeated by the Saracen pirates in Southern Italy, and



THE DEPOSITION OF LOUIS THE PIOUS

When Louis the Pious divided the empire among his three sons he sowed the seed of future trouble for himself. These sons revolted when their father subsequently altered the principle of the partition in order that his son by a second marriage, afterwards known as Charles the Bald, should not be left without possessions. In the midst of the upheaval which followed, Louis was deposed in 833, but he returned to the throne about a year later, and died in 840.

here again Charles strove to protect himself by fortifications at the river mouths and harbours. The main object of the Northmen was the extortion of tribute and the acquisition of plunder, and the extent to

which Charles' successors suffered under this plague will be seen when we study the history of Scandinavia.

The second enemy was the Slav people, who were divided into a number of tribes; they had occupied the country abandoned by the Germans during their migrations from the Baltic and the mouth of the Elbe to the Bohemian Forest; thence they had extended to Styria



THE EMPEROR LOTHAIR

This son of Louis the Pious was crowned in 823. Troublous times followed, in which Lothair and his brothers struggled for supremacy.

and Carinthia, to the Danubian territories of the Byzantine Empire, and even into ancient Greece. In Moravia a powerful empire had arisen under Svatopluk—who died in 895—which was not to collapse until the beginning of the tenth century. The modern territories of Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia and the Austrian Alps were in the possession of Slavonic tribes. Notwithstanding the victories of Charles over the Sorbs and Wilzes, they retained their wide sphere of influence practically undiminished. The dissension prevailing among the individual tribes, of whom even in Charles' time the Obotrites of Mecklenburg joined the Franks, made it impossible that they should withstand the superior military prowess of the Germans.

Until the tenth and eleventh centuries they were steadily driven back before the missionary zeal of their western neighbours; only in heathen Prussia did they resist the power of the Teutonic knights until the thirteenth century. In the interior the feudal nobility had been kept in check by the strong hand of

Charles, but its tendency to separatism had not been thereby destroyed. The rich presents and favours of Charles had raised the power of the ecclesiastical nobility, which soon became a force threatening the monarchy, although the papacy continued subject to the protectorate of the Franks for a longer period.

Louis the Pious was the sole heir of his great father, who died on January 28th, 814. He was crowned emperor in Rheims by Pope Stephen V., and was by no means the helpless weakling that he is painted in the traditional accounts of his reign. During the lifetime of his two elder brothers he was naturally thrown into the background, and was brought up in Aquitaine by monks in an environment of prayer and penance. After his accession he continued the great work of conversion begun by Charles, and created two strong centres of Christianity in the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Hamburg.

Hamburg was intended to form a bulwark against the heathen Danes and Northmen, but was reduced to ashes by them in 837, about thirty years after its foundation.

Louis also followed his father's example by enriching the clergy with gifts of land and rents; but he allowed the secular princes subordinate to himself to appropriate Church property. It was chiefly for this reason that the clergy, who were conscious of their independence, conspired against the Emperor on behalf of his rebellious sons.

The action of Louis in dividing the empire between his sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis, in 817, has been denounced as weakness. But this partition was in the first place proposed rather by the great ecclesiastics of



CHARLES THE BALD

Another son of Louis the Pious, for whose benefit the principle of the partition of the empire was altered—a step which led to strife.

the empire than by Louis himself, and was but a continuation of the precedent set by Pippin and Charles. The unity of the empire and the emperor's own position were guaranteed by the provisions that Louis should remain sole ruler during his lifetime, that the imperial title should pass only to the eldest son, without whose consent the other two sons could not wage war, conclude peace, or negotiate upon questions of foreign policy, while the consent of the national assembly was necessary before they could enjoy their

could take place only when the Emperor's consent had been obtained.

The misfortunes of Louis were due to his weakness in dealing with his second wife, the Guelf Princess Judith. In order that the son of this marriage, Charles, afterwards known as the Bald, should not be thrown into the background, Louis altered the principle of partition in favour of this son without the consent of the nation, but with the assent of the compliant Pope. These feminine intrigues were the signal for a revolt of the three



THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROBERT THE PIOUS

Robert II., King of France, better known as Robert the Pious, incurred the severe displeasure of the Pope because of his marriage with Bertha, a distant relative of his own. The king was commanded to put Bertha away, under pain of excommunication, and though he struggled for four or five years against the terrors of the papal ban, he was at length compelled to yield, and to send from his side the wife to whom he was deeply attached. He afterwards married Constance, daughter of the Count of Toulouse. Robert reigned for nearly thirty-five years, dying in 1031.

From the painting by Laurens in the Luxembourg

shares. Upon the death of the eldest brother the next in age was to take the seniority. Pope Paschal I., who had been won over by guarantees securing his territory, agreed to this scheme of partition and showed great readiness to support the empire. On April 5th, 823, he crowned Lothair as emperor, and allowed the new ruler to impose a regulation upon the Romans by which they were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope and the Emperor, while the papal elections

other sons, whose possessions were thus reduced. The rebellious sons were now joined by the West Frankish clergy, who had grown extremely powerful.

The Empress Judith became a special point of attack on the part of the opposition nobles. These were laymen, many of whom had already shared in the revolt of Bernhard, the nephew of Louis. They were able to relieve themselves of Judith by confining her in a monastery; but the monarchy was too

firmly rooted to be overthrown at one blow. Louis was able to find help among the East Frankish nobility against the West Franks and his own sons, of whom Lothair was the ringleader. At an imperial diet held at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, in 831, the emperor and his queen, who had come back from her monastery, were justified, and Lothair was forced to submit. The revolt of the clergy from the crown offered a favourable opportunity to the Pope for breaking away from the dependent position which Charles had introduced, and for making himself supreme over the shattered power of the king. When the sons again raised the banner of revolt they found Gregory IV. on their side. At Colmar, in Alsace, the Emperor's officials, seduced by the Pope himself, deserted to their rebel comrades in arms at the end of June, 833; Rotfeld, where this treachery was completed, received the contemptuous name of Lügenfeld, or field of lies. We now find a division in the ranks of the West Frankish episcopate. Many who feared that the papal aggressions threatened their own independence renewed the allegiance to Louis; a minority, led by the vigorous Archbishop Ebo of Rheims, forced the Emperor to do penance in the church of St. Médard at Soissons; to abdicate his position as emperor, and to enter a monastery. The other party induced Louis to withdraw the decision which he had made at St. Denis, and to renounce his deposition at a council at Diedenhofen in 835. The Emperor was induced by his wife to make a fresh partition in 839, under which Louis, whom she hated, was placed at a disadvantage in favour of Lothair and Charles, although it was to Louis in part that the Emperor owed his restoration; Pippin had died on December 13th, 838. Louis then took up arms against his father, who, however, died at Ingelheim before any battle was fought,

on June 20th, 840. The struggle for the inheritance was carried on by the two younger brothers, Louis and Charles, who joined their forces against the domineering Lothair. Lothair was utterly defeated at the Ries in the beginning of 841, and at Fontenoy en Puisaye, near Auxerre, on June 25th, where the flower of the Austrasian nobility fell. He summoned to his help the heathen Saxons, to whom he promised the restoration of their old privileges, and the

Death of Louis the Pious

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Danes; he also secured the support of the papal legates, but he was unable to recover the supremacy of his West Frankish territory. He therefore agreed to the partition treaty of Verdun on August 10th, 843. He was left in possession of the imperial title, together with the old province of Austrasia, the main portion of Burgundy, the Alamannic districts on the left bank of the Rhine, Provence and Italy; that is to say, of a district extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the harbours of the Mediterranean. Neustria, Flanders, and Brittany, North-west Burgundy, Aquitaine and the Spanish Mark went to Charles. Louis, known as the German, received all the country on the right of the Rhine, and on the left bank Worms, Mainz, and Speier, together with parts of modern Switzerland.

Thus the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, although Lothair retained the imperial title. The East and West Franks, under the rule of Louis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development, affecting their national characters, their languages and their

The Divided Carolingian Empire

policies, which ended in the differentiation of France from Germany. The kingdom of Lothair was broken in 855 into

three parts connected by a show of outward unity. These were: Austrasia, with Friesland, and the left bank of the Rhine—"Lotharingia," so called from its future owner, Lothair II.—Provence, with Burgundy, and Italy, which belonged to the Emperor Louis II. Lotharingia, although inhabited by Germans, was exposed to French aggression.

However, in the treaty of Meerssen on August 8th, 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that the Romance districts—namely, Provence and Burgundy—should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should fall under the East Frankish ruler.

Politically, however, the separate portions of the divided empire went their own ways. In East Francia, the old hereditary Duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria gradually gained a new importance which menaced the existing unity. In West Franconia a number of greater and smaller vassals secured their independence, and in course of time reduced the crown to the position of a meaningless and helpless shadow.

RICHARD MAHREHOLTZ



THE BRITISH ISLES FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. DAVIS, M.A.

FROM the western shores of Europe there extends northward into the Atlantic Ocean a broad submarine shelf at an average depth of 300 feet below the surface. On the north-western edge of this shelf rise Great Britain and Ireland, the only two European islands of any considerable size. They are surrounded by upwards of 900 smaller islands. The whole group is to be regarded as a fragment of the European continent. It was separated from the continent at a period when the mammoth and the cave-bear were still thriving species, and when the Glacial Epoch had been succeeded by one of milder climate. The flora and fauna of the British Isles are different from those of Europe, and the first human immigrants came hither before the formation of the English Channel and the North Sea. Of these earliest inhabitants we

Inhabitants of the Stone Age possess some memorials, for the most part flint implements and weapons. There are stones which seem from their shape to have been used as missiles; others to be wielded by the hand for purposes of striking and cutting; while some are carefully pointed, and appear to have been fitted with wooden handles. In these stone weapons we find every degree of finish: the earlier are rudely chipped into shape; those of later origin are polished with a skill which a workman of to-day, using the best modern tools, would find it difficult to imitate. The stock to which belonged the makers of these weapons is a matter for conjecture. They are, however, generally agreed to have been a dark-haired race of the primitive Altaic stock, the Iberians of Tacitus, and in default of fuller evidence this hypothesis may be allowed to stand. This primitive people advanced some distance from their first stage of civilisation. They learned to make clay vessels.

They developed a primitive agriculture.

But the means of subsistence which they could procure in this way and by their older industries of hunting and fishing must always have been

How Britain Became an Island scanty, and we cannot suppose that they increased in numbers to any great degree. Hence they fell an easy prey to the

Indo-Germanic race of the Kelts. This people, advancing westward through Europe, expelled the Iberians from every land in which they met them. On reaching the Atlantic they broke up into a northern and a southern horde, the latter marching over the Pyrenees into Spain, while the former entered the British Isles. By this time the Atlantic had forced a passage through the English Channel. The flat alluvial lands of North-western Europe had sunk; and the British Isles were now separated from Scandinavia by the broad but shallow basin of the North Sea.

The Keltic newcomers were a stalwart race, and they had already passed into the age of bronze. Inured to war by their long wanderings, and equipped with superior weapons [see page 243r], they can hardly have found much difficulty in dealing with the Iberian aborigines. The latter fled for refuge to Ireland, to Cornwall, to the mountains of Wales and Scotland. Their descendants may still be detected in these outlying regions, but appear to have adopted the language of their conquerors. There are

Coming of the Kelts traces of a non-Aryan speech in the Keltic districts of the British Isles, but these traces are slight. In the

Keltic immigration two successive waves can be distinguished. First came a tribe which bore the name of Goidels; next followed the Brythons, who drove their forerunners to join the Iberians in the more remote regions of the

British Isles. The dialects of the two tribes were different. That of the Goidels gave birth to the Gaelic, Manx, and Irish tongues; while from the Brythonic dialect are descended those of Cornwall, now a dead language, and of Wales. It is probable that these two first and most important swarms of invaders were continually followed up by smaller bands. At all events, we know that Britain was, in the first century B.C., still liable to immi-

Britain as a Land of Tin Mines

grations of Celtic tribes from Gaul. But of these movements and the conflicts to which they gave rise history has nothing to record. Before the coming of the Romans, Britain was known to the civilised world simply as a land of tin mines.

The development of the tin trade appears to date from the time of Pytheas of Marseilles—a Greek scientist, who died in 322 B.C.—who visited Britain with the object of ascertaining what truth there might be in the current rumours of the country's mineral wealth. He explored the east coast of Britain for a considerable distance, and observed the habits of the natives. Tin he can hardly have found in the parts which he visited, but his native city appears to have followed up the inferences which he drew. There is the evidence of coins to prove a trade connection between Britain and Marseilles at the close of the third century B.C. When Posidonius, another Greek explorer, visited Britain, about 110 B.C., he found that the tin trade with Marseilles had reached considerable proportions, and that the ore was mined and smelted by the Britons with a degree of skill which presupposed a long experience.

In the wake of the Greek scientists came the Roman legions. Julius Cæsar found the Kelts of Britain troublesome neighbours to the newly conquered provinces of Gaul, and he raided Southern Britain in 55 and 54 B.C. To these incursions we are indebted for his highly interesting account of British life and manners. Otherwise they had little result.

Julius Cæsar in Britain

In the words of Tacitus, Cæsar can be said only to have indicated Britain as a future field for conquests. At his first attempt, he barely succeeded in effecting a disembarkation before the approach of the winter season compelled him to withdraw; on his second appearance, he crossed the Thames and entered Essex,

but withdrew after receiving the submission of the Trinobantes and some other tribes. From this time forward the relations of Britain with the Roman world were peaceful, until Claudius undertook the work of reduction in 43 A.D.

At this date, as in the time of Cæsar, Britain, though comparatively populous, was weakened by political divisions. It was inhabited by tribes of small size, who rarely, if ever, agreed to unite under a common leader; and the task of the invader was facilitated by the mutual jealousies of tribal kings. Every stage of civilisation appears to have been represented among these tribes. Those of the south-east had benefited by peaceful intercourse with the Roman Empire and by the infusion of new blood from Gaul. They drove a considerable trade with the continent, not only in slaves and skins and metals, but also in corn and cattle—a fact from which we may infer that they had reached considerable proficiency in agriculture and stock-breeding.

These tribes made use of coins of gold, silver, brass and copper. They showed some

Weapons of the Early Britons

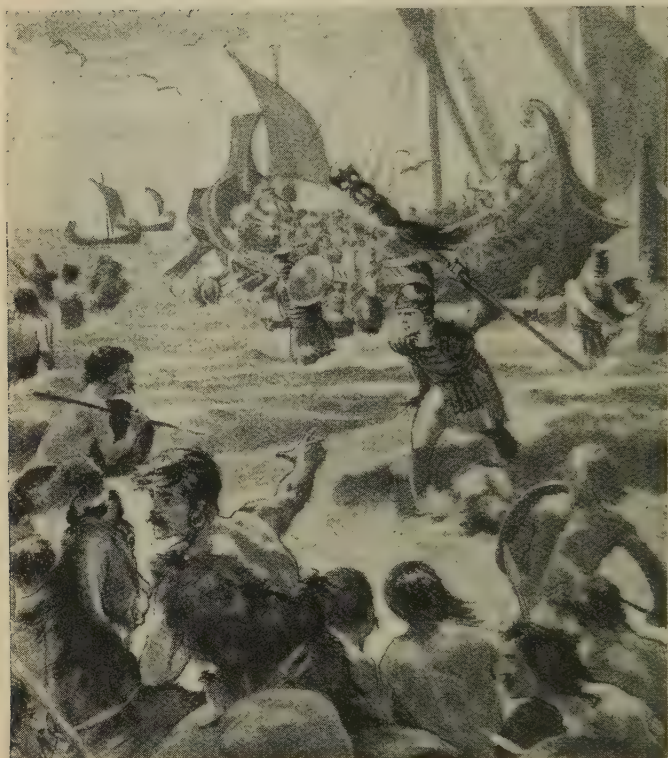
skill in working bronze and iron and clay. The remoter peoples, however, conducted their trade by the primitive methods of barter, were barely able to manufacture the rudest types of pottery, and depended largely on stone instruments. The interval between the most and the least civilised was great. But even the tribes of the south-east had made little progress in the art of war. Their strong places were defended by earthworks and wooden palisades; there was no walled town or fort to be found in Britain, and the ordinary village was open to the first attack. The strength of a British army lay in the scythed chariot and light cavalry. The skill of the individual combatant was often great, but the armour and weapons of offence were poor. There was a want of discipline, and if the initial onslaught proved unsuccessful, the entire host melted rapidly away.

Such difficulty, therefore, as the Romans experienced in effecting the conquest and holding the conquered country was due rather to the circumstances of geography and to the scattered nature of the population than to the strength of the tribal communities with which they had to deal. The work of reduction proceeded steadily, though chequered with



THE WRESTLERS: AN INCIDENT IN THE PREHISTORIC STONE AGE

From the painting by Stuart G. Laves, by the artist's permission



JULIUS CÆSAR LANDING ON THE SHORES OF ENGLAND

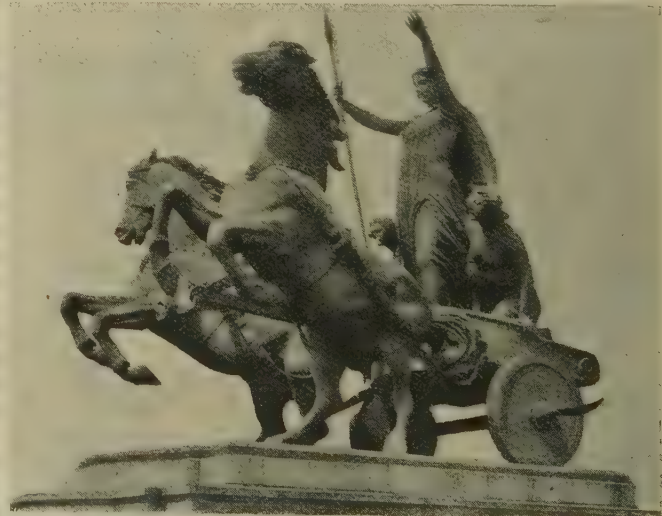
Following in the wake of the Greek scientists, the Roman legions found their way to the shores of Britain, Julius Cæsar landing in 55 B.C., and raiding Southern Britain. The Roman occupation, beginning a century after Cæsar, lasted about 350 years.

occasional reverses, until the time of the Emperor Hadrian. Of the early governors of Britain the most successful was Julius Agricola (78-84 A.D.), who completed the conquest of Wales, extended the sphere of Roman influence to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, instilled into the tribes farther north a wholesome fear of the Roman name, and was meditating an invasion of Ireland at the time of his recall. It was in his time that the leading British families were induced to adopt Roman manners and send their sons to Roman schools.

Hadrian, who visited the island in 119 A.D., is remembered in British history for the great wall of stone, studded with forts at regular intervals, which

he built between the Solway and the Tyne, apparently less as a boundary for the Roman province than to regulate the communications of the subject tribes on each side of the wall. As far as the Forth and Clyde the whole land remained Roman territory. Recent archaeological discoveries suggest that Roman garrisons were at one time stationed even further to the north; but the attempt which Severus made, in 208, to continue the northern conquests of Agricola was rudely checked. The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for about 350 years. Little, however, is known of the history of this period. The legions of Britain were an important factor in several dynastic revolutions. Carausius in 288 attempted to make his governorship of the island a stepping stone to the empire, and Britain remained under his rule, an

imperium in imperio for eight years. In Diocletian's scheme for the administration



MONUMENT TO THE BRAVE QUEEN BOADICEA

Boadicea, an early English queen, fought the Romans in the first century, leading her people to the battle. It is said that rather than be taken prisoner she slew herself. This statue group, by the late J. L. Thornycroft, stands at the foot of Westminster Bridge, London, facing the Houses of Parliament.



A FINE SPECIMEN OF THE ROMAN BATHS IN THE CITY OF BATH



THE PRÆTORIUM OF BOROVICUS AT HAYDON BRIDGE



CIRCULAR BATH STILL IN FAIR PRESERVATION IN THE CITY OF BATH

RELICS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF ENGLAND

Photos by Valentine

of the empire, Britain, Gaul, and Spain were grouped together under a Cæsar, who was subordinate to the Augustus of the West. Constantius, the first holder of the new office, who died in 306, became in due time an Augustus, and planted his capital at York. Through him Britain may claim a connection with

The First Christian Emperor

the work of his son Constantine, the founder of the new Rome on the Bosphorus and the first of the Christian emperors.

Britain, therefore, plays a certain part in the general history of the empire. But of the provincials, as distinct from the legionaries and their governors, history is almost silent.

Christianity found its way into the island by the beginning of the fourth century; but the old Keltic deities long continued to receive the veneration of the natives. Roads and colonies and camps were built; in the south-east, in the Severn valley, along the lines of the great roads, and in the neighbourhood of the great military stations the dominant race built sumptuous villas, and attempted to maintain the luxury of the Roman fashionable life.

But however much the noblest Keltic families may have been affected by Roman example, there was a broad gulf fixed between the conquerors and the great mass of the conquered. City life and Roman administrative methods offered little attraction to the provincial, and Caracalla's gift of the citizenship to all the free-born inhabitants of the empire was an inadequate return for the crushing taxation which was necessitated by an elaborate and centralised government, a magnificent imperial court, and the enormous armies of the continental frontiers. In Gaul and Spain the empire took firm hold upon the minds of its subjects, and a new Gallo-Roman nationality came into existence in these countries; but in

Britain Attacked by Barbarians

Britain the Kelt remained, as of old, turbulent, attached to his tribal traditions, impatient of civilisation, apparently incapable of political development.

In the fourth century A.D., Britain, though shielded by the sea from the pressure of the main barbarian advance, began to suffer from the guerrilla attacks of the untamed Kelt on the one side, and of the Teutonic pirate on the other. The country lying north of the Roman walls was overrun

by Scots from Ireland. The Picts, or "painted people," the older inhabitants of the north, recoiling before the invasion, sought to make a passage through the Roman frontier and to find a safer dwelling in the south. Flying squadrons of the Scots harassed the south-west coast of Britain, while the appointment of a "Comes Litoris Saxonici," to supervise the defence of the south and east coasts, bears witness to the raids of a people hereafter to be intimately connected with the fortunes of the British Isles.

In 367 the Roman armies of occupation were utterly defeated by invaders from the north and pirates from the sea; two years elapsed before the security of the province could be restored. In 383 a Roman governor, Clemens Maximus, denuded the British provinces of their legions in order to make a bid for the empire; and although, fifteen years later, a few soldiers were sent from Rome to Britain, no attempt was made to raise the garrison to the old strength. In 407 the last of the Roman governors left Britain to repeat the

adventures of Clemens Maximus; with his departure the Roman occupation came to an end. The Britons, so long protected by the armies of the empire, were left to defend themselves as best they might. Some great roads, some decaying cities, soon to be reduced to ruin, a Christian Church of dubious vitality, a degraded Latin dialect as the language of educated society, a few improvements in the art of agriculture, a few titles of office and insignia of rank—such appear to have been the legacies which the Roman conquerors left behind them.

There followed on the Roman period a time of wild confusion and anarchy, extending over the best part of two centuries. It is the time in which Britain was colonised by the Angles, Jutes and Saxons; in which the Keltic population was pushed to the far west, or exterminated, or enslaved, according to the humour of different bands of Teutonic invaders.

These invaders came from the German coasts of the Baltic Sea: at first, if the traditions may be trusted, as pirates under war leaders, afterwards, when the opportunities afforded by Britain were more fully realised, by tribes and nations with their wives and children and household gods. Each band chose its own



THE ROMANS IN LONDON: MEMORIALS OF THEIR OCCUPATION

It is an interesting fact that the first mention of London by classic writers is that which occurs in the Annals of Tacitus. Excavations for building purposes, carried on in recent years in the vicinity of the Mansion House, have brought to light many important evidences of the occupation of London by the Romans. The above illustrations show several discoveries. The stone sarcophagus was found at Haydock Square in the Mineries, the sculptured figure on the left was unearthed in Canonville Street, Bishopsgate, while the piece of tessellated pavement was discovered in Backlersbury.

point of descent, and worked inland till settlements were provided for all the adventurers, or natural boundaries were reached, or the way was barred by the settlements of earlier swarms. Bernicia and Deira—later united as Northumbria—between the Forth and the Humber; East Anglia, between the Wash and the Stour; Essex, Kent, Sussex, and the West Saxon state, which, beginning at Southampton, spread out fan-wise on each side of the Itchen valley and on the north extended into the basin of the Thames, are the chief of the early settlements. Far inland, in the upper valley of the Trent, and round the Peak in Derbyshire, were clustered the tribes which afterwards coalesced to form the Mercian kingdom. In Cornwall, Wales, Strathclyde—that is, Cumberland, Westmorland, and the western lowlands of Scotland—were huddled together the remnants of the unsubjugated Keltic people.

Of intercourse between the two races there can have been little save such as exists between master and slave. Place names apart, the Keltic element in the English language is small and unimportant. Whatever traces of Keltic tribal institutions survive in the Teutonic parts of Western England must be attributed to the fusion of races at a later period, when

the influence of a common religion had softened their antagonism. The political system and the private law of the early English kingdoms are purely Germanic. These kingdoms are ruled by descendants of Woden; in the smaller of them the old national assembly of all the freemen has still the ultimate authority. In the *gesiths*

of kings and great men we may recognise the *comitatus* described by Tacitus. The popular law courts, in which the freemen act as assessors to an elected judge, the village community, in which land is periodically redivided, the methods of agriculture, the law of succession, the division of social classes—all remind us of the society depicted in Germania. The religion, too, so far as we can judge from scant memorials, can be referred to the same source—a dry, prosaic rendering of the mythology which Scandinavian imagination has glorified and immortalised. Into this rough and primitive society the Christian religion made its way at the end of the sixth century.

It was imported from Rome, and not from Keltic Britain. Not that Christianity had failed to take hold upon the British Kelt. The names of St. Patrick, the evangelist of Ireland, and of Pelagius the heretic, are enough to prove the interest of Roman Britain



THE BAPTISM OF KING ETHELBERT

The fifth king of Kent, Ethelbert, began his reign in 568, and followed in the paganism of his fathers. His wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, the Frankish king, was a Christian, and worked persistently to induce her husband to adopt Christianity. When Augustine, despatched by Pope Gregory on a missionary enterprise, reached England, he had conferences with Ethelbert, who ultimately became a convert, and submitted to the Christian rite of baptism.

From the fresco in the House of Lords by William Dyce, R.A.



EDWIN, KING OF NORTHUMBRIA, A CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY

The conversion to the Christian religion of Edwin, who became king of Northumbria in 617, was another of the triumphs of the early Church in Britain. When an attempt was made on his life with a poisoned dagger, Edwin declared that if he recovered and defeated his enemies, he would cast off his idols and serve Christ. He was restored to health, and subdued those who had conspired against him; then he spent a long time in silence deliberating over the question of religion. Finally, he publicly declared his acceptance of Christianity, and was baptised at York in 627.

[From the fresco by Ford Madox Brown in the Manchester Town Hall]

in the new religion. If the legends may be believed, religion had helped to animate resistance to the barbarian. St. Germanus of Auxerre is said to have led the Britons to victory against the Picts and Saxons at the Hallelujah Field in 430. But the Kelts made no attempt to proselytise among their Saxon conquerors.

The first missionaries came from Rome at the bidding of Gregory the Great in 597, and the victory of the new creed is inseparably connected with the name of their leader, Augustine, who converted Ethelbert of Kent, at that time Bretwalda, or overlord of Britain, made Canterbury the metropolitan see, and established bishoprics at Rochester and London. Augustine and his patron did not, however, live to see the conversion of the west and north. The evangelist of East Anglia was a Burgundian bishop, Felix by name (about 631); at the same date the kingdom of Wessex accepted

the ministrations of Birinus, another missionary from Rome. In Northumbria the good work was begun by Paulinus, a follower of St. Augustine, and encouraged by King Edwin, who succeeded, on the death of Ethelbert, to the paramount position among the rulers of the English. But Edwin fell in battle against the Welsh and Mercians in 633, and Northumbrian

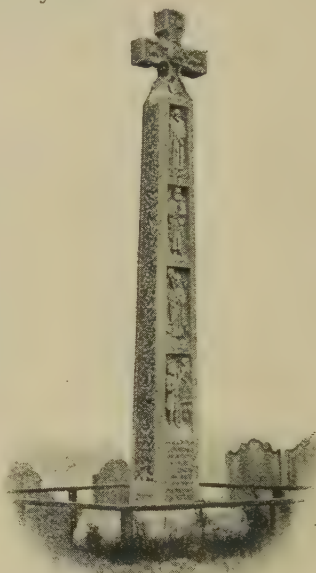
Christianity was temporarily obliterated in the period of anarchy which followed his death. Under his successors, Oswald and Oswiu, a race of Celtic missionaries from the Irish monastic colony at Iona was introduced. Northumbria embraced that

emotional, ascetic type of Christianity which had developed in the Isle of Saints during two centuries of separation from the general body of the Western Church. But the priests of the south came into conflict with their Celtic rivals of the north, and at the Synod of Whitby in 654 King Oswiu decided in favour of St. Peter's men. His decision determined the issue of the conflict in every part of England. The Celtic priests submitted or retired, and the English Church was remodelled according to the Roman pattern by an archbishop sent from Rome, the famous Theodore of Tarsus (669-690). From his time the ecclesiastical unity of England may be said to date.

The whole body of the English clergy now acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, and began to meet in national synods for legislation and mutual encouragement. Thus the nation was schooled by the Church in habits of common action and self-government. Apart from this great service, the new religion deserves gratitude for the stimulus

which it gave to intellectual activity. It inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, who died in 680, and of his anonymous disciple in whose rendering of the Old Saxon Genesis we have an anticipation of Milton's genius; and in the person of the Venerable Bede (673-735) it produced the greatest historian of the Dark Ages, and one of those encyclopædic scholars who handed on the torch of learning through a period of general ignorance. Whatever learning, intellectual activity, or poetic imagination existed in the early English was encouraged and protected by the new religion. With the internal squabbles of the English kingdoms and the vicissitudes of their early struggles for supremacy the historian need not concern himself. After the death of Oswiu, in 670, Northumbria rapidly sank from her paramount position. Doomed by

Nature to remain poor and thinly populated, she was further weakened by the feuds of Bernicia and Deira. Her kings, moreover, allowed themselves to be distracted from English affairs by ill-judged schemes for the conquest of the Picts and Scots. Mercia rose to prominence on the ruins of Northumbrian greatness. Cut off from the sea on every side, composed of heterogeneous elements, backward in civilisation, Mercia nevertheless succeeded, under Offa's rule, in dominating all her neighbours (757-796). This sovereign drove the Kelts still further to the west, and fixed the boundary between Wales and England by constructing the great earthwork known as Offa's Dyke. Under his guidance England first entered into the sphere of European politics; he was on friendly terms with Charles the Great, and



CÆDMON CROSS AT WHITBY

The new religion introduced into Britain by Augustine inspired the religious poetry of Cædmon, a servant of the monastery at Whitby, who sang all the principal events in sacred history. Cædmon died in 680.



THE ANCIENT CATHEDRAL OF IONA AND ST. MARTIN'S CROSS

Valentine

On the little island of Iona, in the Inner Hebrides of Scotland, stand the partially-restored ruins of the oldest Scottish cathedral. The history of this sacred isle begins in the year 563, when St. Columba, leaving the shores of Ireland, landed upon Iona with twelve disciples. Here they built a monastery—the mother church of the Picts. The Norsemen burned the building and massacred the sixty-eight monks on one occasion, and slew fifteen of the monks on another. "That man," said Dr. Johnson, on the occasion of his visit to Iona, "is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona."



THE VENERABLE BEDE ON HIS DEATH-BED DICTATING HIS TRANSLATION
OF THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

From the painting entitled "The Last Chapter," by I. Doyle Penrose, by permission of the Autotype Co.



KING EGFRID AND CUTHBERT, THE HERMIT OF FARNE ISLAND

In this illustration Egfrid, king of Northumberland, is seen offering the bishopric of Hexham to Cuthbert, who had originally been a shepherd boy, but became a monk at Melrose, and subsequently led the life of a hermit on an islet off the Northumbrian coast. It is not known whether the humble servant of the Church accepted the king's offer, but in 685 he was consecrated Bishop of Lindisfarne, which he resigned soon afterwards to return to his hermitage. He died in 687, and was buried at Lindisfarne. Two hundred years later, in consequence of the ravages of the Northmen, his remains were removed, and ultimately found a resting place on the hill where Durham Cathedral now stands.

From the design for the fresco by William Bell Scott at Wallington Hall, Northumberland

respected, though disliked and feared, by the papacy, now reawakening to a sense of its European obligations. But Offa died before the power of Mercia could be consolidated, and within thirty years Wessex had supplanted Offa's dynasty in the supremacy.

The victory of Wessex was due to King Egbert (802-839), whom, in his younger days, the hostility of Offa had driven to take refuge at the Frankish court. The lessons learned at Aachen by the exile were not thrown away. When he returned, after the death of his enemy, it was to

establish for himself in England a position analogous to that held upon the continent by Charles the Great. He incorporated in his kingdom the provinces of Sussex, Surrey, Kent and Essex; the rulers of East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, and North Wales became his vassals, and the West Welsh were confined within the narrow limits of Cornwall. North of the Thames and west of Offa's Dyke his power rested on insecure foundations, but he had sketched the plan of the political edifice which his dynasty was to complete.

H. W. C. DAVIS

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS V

SPAIN AND ITS CONQUERORS

UNDER THE GOTHS & SARACEN INVASIONS

THE union with the Roman Empire had at first been an indisputable advantage to Spain. Agriculture and cattle-breeding were encouraged, excellent roads and bridges were made, aqueducts were built for the towns, harbours were constructed and improved. But the ruinous economic policy of the emperors, which reduced Italy to an uninhabited wilderness, began to make its fatal results gradually apparent in Spain.

In the Iberian peninsula those enormous latifundia, or estates, sprang up, the owners of which led a luxurious and useless life in the towns, while gangs of slaves drove the plough where free men had once gained their daily bread in zealous toil. The country folk were cheated out of their ancestral acres in all kinds of ways, and went to swell the parasitic proletariat of the towns. Civic pride died

**Rome's Vices
Reproduced
in Spain**

out, and the municipalities became copies in miniature of Rome—like Rome, corrupt, and inhabited by a population to whom work was as hateful as vice was familiar. The nation lost its vitality and its personality, its warlike spirit and its love of progress. Those who still retained some degree of vigour expressed their hostility towards the excesses of a hypertrophied civilisation, after the fashion of the half-subdued highlanders in the north, by joining the banditti of the mountains, whose numbers increased to a dangerous extent, and who became a factor of very serious import in the daily life of the nation. Jewish immigration, which had been especially extensive under Domitian, at last assumed such proportions that at the time of the Goths we find the Jews forming an important and dangerous element of the population. The general advantage to the country was very small, as the productive powers of the nation were not appreciably increased by the mercantile Semites.

When Christianity gained a footing on the peninsula, it might have fulfilled the task that lay before it—namely, to end the growing sterility of the spiritual life, and to lay the foundations of a development upon different lines; but it could not, and would not, breathe fresh life into the civilisation of the ancient world, to which it was essentially

**Christianity
in the
Peninsula**

indifferent or hostile; and it was equally powerless to shatter its dull, stereotyped formalism without that external aid which was afterwards provided by the upheaval of the great migrations. Heathen philosophy and poetry were replaced by theological disputation, which was equally fruitless, and was carried on with great animosity. It entailed the useless expenditure of the nation's entire intellectual powers at a time when the barbarians were thundering at the very gates. One great problem, however, Christianity solved: it replaced the political ties of the Roman Empire, which was then upon the point of dissolution, by a spiritual bond, which united the nations of Europe, and enabled them to take up the old civilisation, to preserve it, and to improve it for themselves.

Christianity made but a late entry into Spain. For a long time the growing Christian communities remained unnoticed and undisturbed. They developed an organisation of their own, and kept peace among themselves, while in other districts of the Roman Empire theological differences of opinion had begun to excite enmity.

**Deposition
of Apostate
Bishops**

The first persecutions took place in the year 287, and are especially remarkable for the fact that when the Spanish Christians had deposed certain apostate bishops, and elected others in their stead, they addressed themselves to the bishops of Carthage for confirmation of their action, and did not obey the ordinances of the Roman pontiff,

who had already begun to exercise his supremacy over the Church.

In the year 297 the first Spanish martyrs suffered death—the Bishop Fructuosus of Tarraconia, with two of his priests; and in 303 the number of martyrs rose considerably during the persecutions of Galerius Maximianus. Here, as everywhere, repressive measures resulted only in the wider extension of Christianity. When the new faith emerged victorious under Constantine, there were already nineteen bishoprics in Spain, the incumbents of which met in solemn council at Illiberis, not far from the modern Granada, to regulate the affairs of the Spanish Church. Their resolutions indicate a stern determination to preserve the purity of the Church and the morals of its members. During the subsequent struggles between the Arians and Athanasians, the Spaniards, under their most famous bishop, Hosius, remained firm adherents of the Athanasian teaching.

However, even in Spain degeneration appeared only too rapidly. The Church certainly provided an intellectual and spiritual means of escape from the intolerable conditions of social life; but those conditions were in no way altered, and a great impulse was given to the unhealthy growth of monasticism. In the cloister alone could that equality which was an essential element in early Christianity be realised, and retirement from the social life was inculcated as a duty. The result was that the bishops were obliged to make stringent regulations against the excessive growth of monasticism.

That element of fanaticism in the Iberian races which in later times was to work such dreadful effects showed itself even thus early. In opposition to the orthodox churches of the country, which were founded upon dogma, communities of mystics had been formed in Spain, just as under a variety of titles Christians in faith divided themselves from Christians in name, seeking blessedness after their own fashion. The best characteristic of this kind of sectarianism is generally its harmlessness; and the Gnostic communities in Spain, at the head of which, at the beginning of the fifth century, was Priscillianus, were no exception to this rule. Certain orthodox bishops considered it of the highest importance to break

up these harmless and right-living dissenting communities; they denounced them to the emperors and the Bishop of Rome, and when Maximus, a Spaniard, was elected emperor they persuaded him to order the execution of the heads of this party, and of Priscillianus in particular. They even urged the creation of a formal

The Rise of Gnostic Societies

court of inquisition, a project that was only with difficulty frustrated. These Gnostic societies arose not only because the stereotyped orthodoxy failed to satisfy their members, but also as a protest against the prevalent immorality and corruption, which resulted from the unhappy conditions of social life, and with which the Church was powerless to cope. The Gnostics themselves had no other remedy for this evil except that of renunciation and retirement; they could not invigorate decaying society. Thus, when the northern barbarians passed the threshold of the Pyrenees they found the country sunk in spiritless resignation. No one seemed to think it worth while to strike a blow in defence of the old institutions, now hollow and corrupt; the landed proprietors attempted to taste the pleasures of life in wild orgies before the pageant reached its close, and the mass of the people seemed entirely indifferent to their fate. Thus, the Roman period of Spanish history came to an end in an inglorious torpor.

Thanks to its position, the Iberian peninsula was long spared the attacks of the German migratory tribes. As a matter of fact, the country was almost impregnable as long as the passes on the north were protected by a small force. When, in the year 407, the British legion chose Constantine as emperor in opposition to Honorius, some distinguished Spaniards raised an armed force from the slaves and labourers on their estates, and successfully held the passes of the

Forfeited Rights of the Spaniards

Pyrenees until Spain recognised the usurper in the following year. This last effort of the Spaniards had important consequences for them. Constans, the son of Constantine, deprived them of the right of guarding the passes, and entrusted this duty to the Honorians, a body of untrustworthy troops, picked up from several nationalities. The leaders of the Vandals, the Suevi and the Alani, who were then roving about in Spanish

Gaul, had no difficulty in coming to an understanding with those redoubtable defenders. In the year 409 the dreaded barbarians broke into the unhappy country, and the inhabitants submitted to fate almost without a struggle.

The result was an extraordinary decrease in the population. As there was

Famine and Plague in Spain

little or no serious fighting, the number of the slain could not have been great; but the utter devastation of the country produced a withering famine, and the plague broke out with great violence among the starved population. When the conquerors themselves began to suffer, they were obliged, whether willingly or not, to restore some form of order which should, at least, permit the cultivation of the soil. They divided the peninsula among themselves by lot: the Suevi and part of the Vandals took the North-west, the remaining Vandals took Bætica—that is, the South; the Alans took Lusitania and the southern portion of Tarraconia, while the rest of this province was left to the Roman viceroy, Gerontius, who had assisted the German invaders out of hatred for Constantine. As before, the races in the mountains on the north seem to have preserved their independence. Gerontius was killed soon after in the struggle with the Gauls, and the Alans took possession of the territory assigned to him.

Meanwhile, the Roman capital had been pressed to the uttermost extreme by the Western Goths, and had sought to save itself by inviting the Goths to undertake the reconquest of Gaul and Spain, in the hope that the barbarians would either destroy or keep one another in check. In the year 414 the first bands of Goths, under Athaulf, appeared in the modern Catalonia (Gotalonia). A year later, under Wallia, they had overrun the entire peninsula, and were prevented only by

Barbarians Driven to the Mountains

chance from carrying the war into Africa itself. The German races already settled in Spain were driven into the wild North-west, and Roman governors were reinstated in the provinces, while the Goths themselves retained the possessions in Aquitania and Catalonia which had been assigned to them by the emperor. And it is a strange and significant fact that when the hated barbarians were driven into the Galician mountains, numbers of

the natives joined their ranks, preferring to share danger and freedom with the wild sons of the North rather than bow their necks again under the yoke of the Roman military bureaucracy. Here we have the clearest possible proof that the world-wide empire of Rome was on the point of collapse.

The Germans in Galicia, who, for want of better occupation, had been carrying on incessant war among themselves, now made a second irruption into the country. The Roman governor, Castinus, was abandoned by his German auxiliaries at the moment of greatest need, and overthrown in Bætica by the Vandals in 422; the richest province of Spain, which then, apparently, gained its name Andalusia (Vandalitia), fell into the hands of the conquerors. Shortly afterwards a Vandal fleet made a descent upon the Balearic Islands, whither the riches of the Spaniards had been conveyed, and carried off these carefully guarded treasures.

Some remnants of the love of freedom were manifested in the Spanish towns; Carthagera and Seville attempted to shake off the barbarian yoke, but paid very dearly for the effort. Carthagera was destroyed entirely, and Seville was sacked. The Vandals then crossed into Africa, and Andalusia again fell into Roman hands. But after a few years the Suevi replaced the departed Vandals, and left nothing to the Roman governors, save the province of Tarraconia. At last the Western Goths took the field, and, under their king, Theoderic II., finally reduced the whole of Spain. The Suevi were restricted to a portion of Galicia, were obliged to submit to the Goths, and continued for some time, like the native mountain tribes in the north, half independent and ever ready to create disturbance among the valleys of their mountain district. The king of the Western Goths, Eurich (466-484), was recognised by the court at Rome as the lawful possessor of Spain and Southern Gaul.

The period of West Gothic supremacy falls naturally into two unequal portions, the dividing point being marked by the conversion of Recared from Arianism to the orthodox belief. It was an unfortunate circumstance that most of the German migratory races had adopted the Arian form of Christianity, and clung firmly to that belief, while the subjugated

peoples of the Roman Empire, in particular the Spaniards, were fanatical adherents of the orthodox teaching.

We may assert that Arianism was the ruin of the Vandals in Africa. During the centuries of Roman rule national differences had disappeared, and, consequently, the fair-haired barbarians began to adopt the civilisation which they had conquered, and found their origin no bar to their progress. But these national divergencies had been replaced by the sharper line of demarcation of religious belief; the more insignificant the points of difference were, the more passionately did men cling to their own creeds. The Goths were too keen not to recognise that the maintenance of their power depended, in the long run, upon the closeness of their union with the native inhabitants. The Eastern Goth, Theudes, the guardian of Amalarich, broke through the prevailing customs about 560, married a noble Spanish lady, and formed a body-guard of Spanish troops. There are many instances of similar attempts to promote mutual friendship between the races.

**King Agila
Persecutor of the
Christians**

The far-seeing among the Goths must have been all the more pained by the religious opposition between the conquerors and the natives, because the spirit of hostility, which with time grew less marked, was continually re-animated by the narrow bigotry of the Gothic princes. Thus, King Agila (549-554) instituted and organised the persecution of the orthodox Christians. A considerable amount of trouble abroad was also brought about by the Arianism of the Goths. There was much friction with the Franks, for Frankish princesses who had married Goths found themselves beset by proselytising Arians.

The Emperor Justinian, the conqueror of the heretical Vandals, made serious preparations, in conjunction with the orthodox in Spain, for reconquering the lost province. He actually succeeded in getting possession of some towns on the south-east coast in the year 552. From that time war with the Byzantines was one of the permanent duties of the Gothic rulers; but even the warlike Leovigild, who everywhere firmly established the Gothic power, could not entirely drive the Byzantines from the country.

Under the government of Leovigild (568-586), however, who was a vigorous supporter of Arianism, a revolution had

already begun. The eldest son of the king, Hermenegild, who was afterwards canonised, was converted to the Athanasian belief, chiefly through the efforts of his Frankish wife, Ingund; the mere fact of this conversion was enough to excite the inhabitants of several towns of Andalusia, where the prince had made some stay,

**The Prince
Hermenegild
Put to Death** to a revolt against the king, with the object of putting Hermenegild in his place. The revolt was suppressed, and a second, which was supported by the Byzantines and Suevi, met with no success; Hermenegild was taken prisoner and put to death by the king's orders.

However, this unsuccessful rising was only the prelude to a general change in Gothic belief, a change which political expediency demanded. Recared, the successor of Leovigild (586-601), adopted the Athanasian belief in the tenth month of his reign, and was supported by his people with but little dissent. The Arian writings were collected and burned on a certain day by the king's orders. The strained relations which had existed between conquerors and conquered were removed; the clergy, who had clung most closely to the Roman civilisation, and had most zealously stimulated opposition to the barbarians, saw that the time of its triumph had come, and prepared to enjoy the splendour of the Church, triumphant after the days of sacrifice and persecution. In a short time the proud Gothic princes had learned to scan anxiously the faces of the prelates of their realm, when important decisions were hanging in the balance, and exchanged profound communications with learned bishops upon doubtful points of Christian dogma.

Social conditions in Spain had in no way deteriorated under Gothic rule. The victors, indeed, claimed two-thirds of the country for themselves; but the serfs who had to till the land for them found their masters just and kind at heart, if rough in manners, and their rule greatly preferable to the scourge of the corrupt Roman landowners. Moreover, a third of the arable land was left to the Spaniards, who were, thus far, in free and undisputed possession, and were by degrees admitted to share the privileges and responsibilities of the Goths. After the schism in the Church had been healed, property began steadily to pass into the hands of the

clergy, to the ultimate benefit of the vastly preponderating native population. In some exceptional cases taxation seems to have been excessively high; but, as a general rule, the kings were satisfied with the gifts of their free subjects and with the income accruing from the royal domains. It is reasonable to suppose that this

High Moral Standard of the Goths

improvement in social conditions brought about an improvement in the morals of the rising Spanish generations.

The example of the Gothic peoples also exercised a great influence. The testimony even of their opponents ascribes to them from the outset all the virtues of the Germanic national character—faithfulness, uprightness, and social purity; the strong contrast which they formed to the Roman corruption may be deduced from the fact that in the mouth of the Goths the word “Roman,” by which they denoted all native Spaniards, was a synonym for liar and cheat. The simple morality of the Goths was also manifested in their legal code, the “lex visigotarum,” issued to Goths and Spaniards under Chindasvinth (641-649) and Reccesvinth (649-672); this was founded upon the Roman civil law, but was free from hair-splitting and quibbles.

Only a small fraction of the Spanish population resisted the Gothic rule—namely, those highlanders in the north who had not been properly subjugated even under the Romans, and who continued to make occasional incursions from the Asturian and Biscayan mountains. The Goths never subdued them completely, though Christianity gradually took root among them. In the struggle between Christianity and Islam they still had an important part to play in history.

Though the native population gradually adjusted itself to existing conditions, there was another people who refused to be assimilated, and remained as a

How the Jews

Grew Rich

foreign and deleterious body in the organism of Gothic Spain. As we have already observed, the Jews who were expelled from Italy under Domitian came, for the most part, to Spain, and there, as elsewhere, speedily enriched themselves through financial affairs. The Goths found them settled in every town, and ready, even under the new government, to continue a business that contributed but little to the social prosperity. It

seems that the Arian Goths, who were at first looked upon with suspicion by the Christian Spaniards, made friendly advances to the Jews, who were in a position similar to their own. Many Gothic princes were not ashamed, when they were pressed for money, to turn to Jewish usurers; the Arian kings also raised no obstacles to the suspicious operations of the chosen people, and contented themselves with the imposition of a tax on Jews, which formed a considerable part of the royal revenue.

As usual in such cases, the Jews, from a financial, became a political, power. As long as the Jews were allowed only to accumulate hoards of coin there was a natural limit to the activities even of the most grinding usurer; but when they were allowed to possess real property, and to make slaves of free men, then the unprofitable and ruinous methods of Jewish capitalism gained unbounded scope. Especially disgraceful was the trade in slaves and castrated children which Jewish speculators carried on with the Arab settlements. Under King Egiza

Political Power of the Jews

(687-701) the situation had become unbearable, and led to a catastrophe. The king attempted to bring over the Jewish capitalists to the Christian Church by the promise of nobility and immunity from taxation, while the refractory were expelled from the country. But it was discovered that the new converts were plotting a revolt with those who had emigrated to Mauretania, a movement which the numbers and wealth of the Jews made extremely dangerous; recourse was then had to measures of the greatest severity. There is no possible doubt that the Jews, as a result of these events, had an important share in the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

It is, perhaps, idle to inquire how a country and a nation would have developed if an irruption from without had not given a different direction to all its striving after progress; but we may, at least, conclude that, had it escaped the Saracen invasion, Spain, like the rest of Western Europe, would have fallen under the feudal system. Signs already betokened an unavoidable breach between the royal house and the nobility. The nobles attempted to limit the ancient right of the people freely to elect their king, so as to increase the influence of

the upper classes. The clergy strengthened their temporal power, and the stronger among the kings endeavoured to make their position hereditary. Under the corrupting influence of the Roman element in the population even the high morality of the Gothic people gradually degenerated. Before our gaze is unfolded a long series of wars unscrupulously waged, treaties disgracefully concluded.

In France absolute monarchy had finally won the day, while in Germany and Italy total disruption and confusion were the result. Spain, too, it seems, would here have had a worthy task to accomplish in the recreation of European civilisation. But fate willed that it should exert an influence, extraordinary, though transitory, of quite another nature on the history of human civilisation. The fact that the greater part of Spain was conquered by the followers of Islam, and that the old population was not thereby destroyed, produced a brilliant complexity of Roman and Oriental civilisation at the period when feudal chivalry was at the height of its development in the rest of Europe.

**Beginning
of Arab
Invasion**

The Gothic kingdom was torn by internal dissensions when the first Arab bands cast longing glances across the strait towards smiling Andalusia, which promised a prize far surpassing any that the wild mountains of Mauretania had to offer. The Arabic general, Musa ben Noseir, had begun the subjection of the district of Mauretania in the year 697, and had, in the main, completed his task after several years of warfare. But his greatest success consisted in the fact that he had inspired a portion of the warlike Berber tribe with enthusiasm for Islam, and had enlisted them under his standard. He had thus created a reserve force, which was to be of the greatest importance in every further undertaking, for upon it Spanish Islam depended for a century, the position of Islam in Spain being untenable without Mauretania.

The rulers of the Gothic kingdom, who possessed some settlements on the African side of the strait, do not seem to have recognised the danger which thus threatened them, although Musa had pushed forward a strong force under his lieutenant, Tarik, as far as Tangier, and had wrested this town from their grasp. It is clear that certain Gothic nobles first aroused in Musa the idea of an invasion of Spain. It would, however, have been

quite possible for the Goths, if they had forgotten their internal differences, to have prevented the landing of the Arabs. The town of Ceuta, perhaps the last remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Africa, repelled all Musa's attacks, and an Arab fleet was utterly defeated by the Gothic navy under Theodomir in 709.

**The Gothic
Empire in
Confusion** Unfortunately, the approach of danger found the Gothic Empire in confusion. The king,

Witiza, who had reigned since the year 701, was by no means equal to his responsibilities, and in his efforts to restrain the threatening advance of feudalism, had rushed into the extremes of cruelty to which weak rulers are prone. Among other crimes, he caused the duke Theodefred of Cordova to be blinded, and thereby created an implacable enemy in his son Roderick, who apparently took refuge with the mountaineers in the north. Roderick succeeded in collecting a body of Spanish and Gothic adherents and in overthrowing Witiza in 710. But a breach in the Gothic nation was thus brought about which could never be repaired.

The downfall of Witiza was not merely the removal of a man unworthy of rule; a number of important families who had been his supporters lost their power at the same time. Many ambitious nobles considered the new occupant of the throne a usurper, and thought they had an equal right to the crown. In their blind rage they grasped at the first hand which offered help. Emissaries of the defeated faction, among them Witiza's brother, Oppas, the Archbishop of Seville, betook themselves to Musa's camp, and invited him to fight against Roderick. The Arab chroniclers narrate romantic occurrences, such as are born of the popular imagination, which is ever ready to surround the fall of a mighty kingdom with the glamour of legend and fable; the fact is, that

**Goths in
League
With Arabs**

the feudal system, with its insatiable lust for power and dominion, a spirit that was destined to flourish so long in the rest of Europe, was in this country the ultimate cause of these events. Musa at once sent a small force under Tarik across the strait by way of trial. Tarik found the representations of the Gothic conspirators true, the country rich and but weakly defended. After his return Musa placed under his command

an army of 12,000 men, which was afterwards increased to 17,000. He took no part in the campaign himself, and apparently desired Tarik to do nothing more than gain a firm footing in Andalusia, whereupon he proposed to follow with the main army and to conclude the struggle. In pursuance of this plan, most of the

Arab Victories in Andalusia Arabs remained in Africa, and the Berbers formed the majority of Tarik's troops. When he landed, in the year 711, at that rock fortress which since then has borne the name of Tarik's rock (Gibraltar), he met with only slight resistance, as King Roderick had made practically no preparations for defence. With the help of his Gothic allies, Tarik was able to lay waste Southern Andalusia at his leisure.

At length, the Gothic levies and their Spanish subjects were assembled. In numbers Roderick's army was considerably superior to that of Tarik; and when the armies met in a bloody battle at Xeres de la Frontera, the mailed cavalry of the Goths might have won the victory had not the treachery of Witiza's adherents thrown their ranks into confusion. Thus the fate of the kingdom was decided in one great battle in July 19-26th, 711. The Goths fled in utter rout; their king disappeared in the confusion, and was never seen again. The victorious Arabs had no intention of handing over the crown to Witiza's faction, but took possession of Spain in the caliph's name. Musa, whose jealousy was excited by Tarik's brilliant victory, came over immediately, and completed the subjugation of the country.

The history of Islam in Spain appears to be one wild confusion when considered in detail; but when regarded from a sufficiently comprehensive point of view, it resolves itself without difficulty into certain periods and stages, which follow naturally upon one another. After the conquest of the country and the failure of

Spain part of Saracen Empire the invaders' attempts to push northward into France, Spain became a member of the Saracen Empire; but its most remote member, and one destined by its position and geographical characteristics to be independent. In fact, the country speedily severed its connection with the central power, and became an independent and miniature caliphate, its organisation being based on the lines of the caliph's empire. The second period coincides

with the greatest prosperity of this Spanish caliphate.

The feudal tendencies peculiar to kingdoms founded on conquest soon manifested themselves. The component parts of the Spanish kingdom kept struggling for greater independence, and, at length, the caliphate became but the shadow of its earlier greatness, while on the north Christian provinces increased in strength, and threatened the small and helpless provinces of Islam with total destruction. Then we see how closely

Islam bound Southern Spain to Africa. Twice was the Mohammedan power saved from destruction by the rulers of Morocco, who, seemingly at least, restored the unity of the Saracen possessions. When this help was at last withdrawn, a Moorish kingdom held out for centuries in the mountains of Granada, and succumbed at last to the united attacks of the Christian rulers. The last and saddest period begins with the fall of Granada; it comprises the vain attempts to convert the Moors to Christianity and the despairing revolt of the Moriscos, and it ends with the complete

Making of the Moors expulsion of the Moors from Spain. Parallel with the progress thus outwardly manifested, there runs a course of development below the surface. From the original mixture of populations there is formed the Moorish people, who finally appear as an ethnological unity, although, in the course of history, they are continually receiving accessions of fresh blood. As we rarely have an opportunity in historical times for observing so closely the formation of new people, the rise of the Moors demands our closest attention. Especially do we see how a common spiritual belief—in this case Islam—can serve as a temporary bond of union until separate groups have coalesced, and differences of language and physique have been modified or have disappeared. The work of unification was finally accomplished by the Arab language.

The native Spaniards who remained in the country formed the main stock of the population; they themselves were a product of the blending of Iberians, Kelts and Romans. Many Goths also remained, and if converted to Islam, continued to enjoy a portion of their property and influence; for example, the feudal lords of Murcia sprang from an ancient Gothic family; and upon the fall of the

caliphate, an independent Moorish state arose in Aragon, with Saragossa as its capital, the rulers of which could also boast of Gothic descent. Elsewhere the Arabs simply took the place of the Gothic lords, and were careful not to disturb the tributary native population. Similarly, in the towns, the Spanish inhabitants were, for the most part, allowed to remain.

The Arabs formed the new Spanish nobility. They were the real exponents of the beliefs of Islam and of the policy of conquest connected therewith; but they were not, in any sense, a united body, fighting on behalf of one faith. No matter how far they pushed their brilliant campaigns, to their new homes they brought their racial feuds and family quarrels, and they drew swords upon their own brethren almost more cheerfully than upon the enemies of their faith, being ever ready to avenge old blood-feuds or recent insults. Especially noticeable is the hostility which appears under many names between the pure-blooded Bedouins of Upper Arabia, who generally appear as

The Famous Battle of Secunda

the Kaisite, or Mahadit, party, and the party of the Jemenites, or Kelbites, which comprised the peasants and town population. Spain saw many a murderous battle of this kind, such as the famous struggle at Secunda in 741, when the Kelbites were defeated. It was chiefly owing to these battles that the Arab element, which had at first preponderated, gradually began to lose ground, not altogether to the advantage of civilisation in Moorish Spain.

The Arabs had no means of replacing the men they lost; but exactly the opposite was the case with the other race, the Berbers, whose rude power had really brought about the conquest of Spain and who settled side by side with the Arabs in the newly won territory. Repeatedly Spanish Islam became indebted to this people for its salvation, and such assistance invariably coincided with the immigration of a large body of Berbers into Spain. The higher civilisation derived no advantage from them. Intellectual development suffered, in fact, irremediably through the growing influence of the bigoted, fanatical Berbers.

The close connection with Africa, whence came this strong infusion of Berber blood, with its unfavourable results, also

occasioned the immigration of a considerable number of negroes, who entered the country as the slaves or bodyguard of the princes, and were gradually absorbed into the new population as it was being formed. They certainly enter into the composition of that motley and brilliant picture of the Moorish period in Spain which imagination so easily depicts; but their influence upon the morals of the nation cannot be described as favourable. The main body of the Moorish population lived in the south of Spain, a region where the overflowing abundance of Nature's gifts tends to enervate even the most vigorous race.

In Carthaginian and Roman times the inhabitants of Andalusia were the most unwarlike and the most easily conquered of all the peoples in the peninsula; during the period of Islam they retained this unenviable reputation. The rulers of the country could not rely upon the inhabitants, and were, therefore, obliged to organise their armies round a strong nucleus of foreign troops; similarly, at an earlier period the Turdetani had enlisted Celtiberian warriors in their service. These soldiers, who were of most diverse origin, contributed an additional element to the mixture of nationalities. During the period of the caliphate we find numerous "Slavs" in the service of the monarchs. Although all troops enlisted from the north of Europe were known generally by this name, yet we are apparently here concerned with those Slavonic prisoners of war who were taken in large numbers during the conquest and colonisation of Eastern Germany, and were transferred south by the Jews in course of trade. The Jewish traffic in slaves is mentioned by Germanic authorities of the period. Many of these northern soldiers made their permanent homes in Spain under the Moors, and intermingled with the rest of

Jews in the Wake of Arabs

the population. Finally, the Jews, whose lucrative activity has been mentioned above, intermarried but little or not at all with the Moors of Islam; but their numbers and character made them important in another way. They had come in a body into Spain from Morocco in the wake of the Arabs. Those native Jews who had survived the earlier persecutions welcomed the conquerors with open arms. They had every reason for doing so: the

era of the Moors in Spain was destined to be for the Jew a period of prosperity, both in the good and bad sense of the word.

In the first period of Islam rule the different streams of population flowed in parallel or transverse directions almost without intermingling. The conquest of the country was quickly accomplished

after Musa reinforced Tarik's Berber force with the main strength of the Arab army. Generally speaking, the victors behaved with great moderation, thanks to the commands of the caliph and also to the presence of Gothic deserters in their ranks. Musa and Tarik were guilty of acts of aggression, and were speedily recalled. Subsequently the governors, who set up their residence in Cordova, were changed constantly.

The Arabs, who had had the least share in the fighting, succeeded in gaining for themselves the lion's share of the booty. They divided the rich province of Andalusia among themselves, and established themselves as the dominant landed class. Very few of them settled in the towns; where Christian and Mohammedan Spaniards lived side by side with the Jews in peace. The Berbers, who had borne the main brunt of the war, received the barren portions of the country, the high tablelands of the interior, the northern frontier — whence they were speedily obliged to beat a partial retreat—and the bare mountains in the south. The Arabs were, for the moment, fairly well satisfied: Musa's army had been largely composed of Jemenites and the old "Defenders," the ancient companions in arms of Mahomet, who had fallen into disrepute at the caliph's court, and now found a refuge in Spain. But this was altered when a fresh wave of Arab immigrants swept into the peninsula.

A terrible revolt of the Berber population in Africa, in the year 741, obliged the caliph Hisham to despatch Arabian troops, under the general Kolthum, against the rebels; he also sent Kaisite Arabs from Syria, whose racial hatred of Jemenites and Defenders had often been displayed with portentous result, and after the bloody Battle of the Meadow had risen to fiercer heat. The African Arabs, who were also Jemenites for the most part, received the army of relief with deep mistrust; many towns closed their gates

against the force, and the contingents of indigenous Arabs joined the army much against their will. Kolthum then attacked the Berber army, and was defeated and slain.

His nephew, Baldsch, flung himself into Ceuta with 7,000 Syrian cavalry in the hope of escaping to Spain. He had failed to take into account the racial hatred of the Spanish Arabs. Abdalmelik, who was then governor of Spain, was a fanatical "Defender," and coolly allowed the Arabs to be reduced to the extremities of starvation by the Berbers who besieged them. An unexpected occurrence gave the hard-pressed men breathing space. The news of the revolt of the African Berbers had gone abroad in Spain, and the Berbers of that country, who were disregarded or despised by the Arabs, were stirred to a state of restlessness, which was further encouraged by sectarian fanatics. At length the outbreak came. The entire north of Spain took up arms. At this terrible crisis Abdalmelik resolved to call in the help of Baldsch and his Syrians. A promise was extorted from that

Arab Wars and Dissensions

half-starved army that they would leave Spain when they had conquered the enemy: they were brought across, fed and clothed, and after several bloody battles the Berbers were completely crushed. Then, however, the inevitable dissensions among the Arabs broke out. A quarrel took place on the subject of the return to Africa. Baldsch seized Abdalmelik, and had him put to death in a shameful manner. Thereupon the Spanish Arabs took up arms, and made common cause with the Berbers. Baldsch gained a victory over them, but died of his wounds in 742. The war continued until the arrival of a new governor put an end to hostilities.

The new immigrants obtained lands in Murcia, Granada, Malaga, Seville and Jaen. Henceforward, the old animosity between Syrians and Jemenites constantly broke out. Bloody battles were fought, and for a long period these internal dissensions were the predominant feature in the internal history of Mohammedan Spain. By degrees, however, the spirit of party died away under the influence of a new environment, and nothing remained to fight for. The work of reconciliation was completed by the closer fusion of the races.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



RISE OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEST MISSIONARY ZEAL OF GREGORY THE GREAT

THE roaring waves of the great migrations beat upon a twofold wall; the Roman Empire collapsed before their onslaught, but the Christian Church, though severely damaged, was able to survive the catastrophe. Even while the Teutonic nations in the vigour of their youth were dividing the empire as the spoil of victory, the Teutons were learning to bow the knee in reverence before the Church. It was no longer the Church of old, glorious in its pure belief and in its divine love. It had received into itself the heathen masses, and with them much of their heathen spirit. The faith which was to unite the individual with God had been degraded to the point of law; and the universal tie of love had been interpreted as obedience to the heads of the Church.

But by reason of its very modifications, Christianity was probably more capable of appeal to these rough nations, as it was less in contradiction with their modes of thought and their natural sympathies. The strength of that antagonism in which every heathen stood to Christianity was further broken in the case of these Teutonic nations by the fact that the migration had torn them from their native soil. The figures of their own gods grew pale when they found themselves surrounded by other mountains, streams and groves than those in which their native gods had hitherto lived. There was a third fact that facilitated the reception of Christianity by the Teutons, notwithstanding their entire hostility to the Roman Empire. When they came into contact with the Christian Church in larger numbers, there existed two absolutely opposed forms of Christianity, the Orthodox and the Arian creeds. In the imperial church orthodoxy won the day, and the Arians were regarded as enemies. Hence it was possible for the Teutonic nationalities to accept Christianity and yet to retain their hostility to the Roman

Empire; it was thus Arian Christianity which they accepted.

So early as the third century Christianity had been preached even among the Goths, who dwelt on the shores of the Black Sea, by Christian prisoners. A Gothic bishop

Three Days' Plunder of Rome was present at the Council of Nicaea in 325. About thirty-five years later the Gothic bishop, Ulfilas, who had been consecrated in Constantinople, reduced the language of his people to writing and gave them a translation of the Bible. He worked among them for decades, continuously spreading the Arian form of Christianity. When they began their devastating eastern march under Alaric, they plundered and ravaged the remnants of heathenism, but spared and revered the Christian sanctuaries. The three days' plunder of Rome in 410 was concluded by a solemn procession in honour of the sacred vessels of the Church, which the victors had discovered in a hiding-place. From the Visigoths Christianity passed in its Arian form to the Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi and Langobards.

The first of these wandering nationalities to receive the Catholic faith in its pure form was that of the Franks. Chlodwig, or Clovis, had extended the Frankish dominion from the north to the Loire. The heathen conquerors felt that the Christianity and the civilisation of the Romans whom they had conquered had given them an intellectual superiority. The king chose a Catholic Christian as his wife, and she was allowed to have her children baptised; eventually she succeeded herself in converting her husband "to the Catholic law." At the Christmas festival of 496 he received baptism at Rheims, together with several thousands of his people, in great solemnity. It must be remembered that this was the nation which was to take a leading part in the mediæval world. The Bishop of Vienne

Clovis Becomes a Christian

was correct in his prophecy, when, in his congratulations to the king on his baptism, he spoke of Clovis's action as ensuring the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and of Catholicism over Arianism. The fierce life and death struggle through which the Christianity of the Græco-Roman world had passed would be avoided in this instance, as Christianity had begun by conquering the Teutonic world.

The question, however, remained whether Christianity would not excite struggles of another nature, whether these

their own property, and the bestowal of ecclesiastical offices on the clergy as their right? And would the Church admit these claims if they were advanced? Would the Church extend her powers beyond her true limits, and claim supremacy in the political sphere in order to make the interference of laymen in ecclesiastical affairs an impossibility?

For the moment the Church was so entirely occupied by the task of inducing these tumultuous and warlike nations to adopt a friendly attitude towards Christianity that these high objects were left



BAPTISING THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN CONVERTS IN BRITAIN

It is believed that even before the arrival of St. Augustine in this country with the message of the Gospel there were missionaries of the Christian faith in Britain, and some historians even assert that the preaching of Christianity began as far back as A.D. 60, while Nero was on the Roman throne. At that period the Druids held sway, and most of the inhabitants of these islands were slaves to their barbarous worship. Human victims were frequently laid upon the altars. The Druids strongly resented the introduction of Christianity, and the early missionaries were exposed to great danger.

From the picture by J. R. Herbert, R.A.

facile converts would bow to the law of the Church; and the Church could demand no less, now that it had become a legalised educational force. Above all, would the rulers, who had opened Christianity to the masses by their own conversion and their appreciation of the Church, consider that this action had given them rights superior to the Church? It was these rulers who erected sacred buildings and provided revenues for the officiating clergy. Would they not be inclined to consider, upon Teutonic principles, such churches as

out of sight. If we attempt to gain an idea of the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the west at the moment when the migratory peoples came to a halt, some light is thrown upon the situation by the life and work of the most important Roman bishop of that century. Gregory I. belonged to a senatorial family and had been prætor in Rome. He was, however, persuaded that the honour and the emoluments of his position turned his heart to wordly things, and he therefore decided to renounce the world. He

expended the large property which he had inherited from his father in the adornment of monasteries, and entered one that he had founded in his own house. By his zealous self-mortification he shattered his health, but this was a matter beyond his consideration.

This was the side of Christianity of those ages which filled with reverential awe the wild nations, who were dominated by sensual passions. When, however, the Roman bishop of the time summoned Gregory from his monastery and sent him to Constantinople as his agent, Gregory obeyed, though with an aching heart. Even at that stage of Christianity blind submission to the orders of ecclesiastical superiors was regarded as the highest virtue. When he was nominated Pope, Gregory did his best to decline this high dignity. The life of contemplation seemed to him the only life worth living, and he shrank from the gigantic tasks which awaited him as the occupant of Peter's chair.

At that time the political position of a Roman bishop was extremely difficult. Rome was subject to the rule of the distant Greek emperor, who was, however, too weak to protect the city from the menaces of the wild Lombards. These barbarians appeared before the walls of Rome in 592, and the exarch of Ravenna could send no help. To protect the town from destruction Gregory found himself obliged to conclude peace with the enemy. The emperor abused him for his simplicity, and the exarch broke the peace. Once again the enemy appeared before the city. From the treasures of the Church Gregory paid a heavy ransom to avert the sack of Rome. It was his business to see that the troops received their pay, and that the fortifications of the town remained effi-

cient; he ransomed prisoners of war and fed the poor. His resources were provided by the rich estates which the Roman church possessed, not only throughout the whole of Italy, but also in Dalmatia, Gaul, and Northern Africa. These were presents to St. Peter, the "patrimonium Petri," which had enormously increased in the course of centuries, and were largely provided by the last representatives of the Roman nobility, who were anxious to know that their names would be recorded at least in heaven, when they were near extinction upon earth. Gregory husbanded

this rich source of income with the greatest care. Hence it naturally followed that the Popes could not confine their efforts to purely spiritual activity; they also became politicians, and were honoured as territorial princes in Central Italy; this was the beginning of the "temporal power."

Gregory had formed a noble conception of his spiritual supremacy; he called himself the servant of God's servants. The words of Christ, "Who among you will be the greatest, let him be the servant of all," were understood by him to mean that the spiritual office was employed in the service of others. He did not,

however, conclude from this text that every bishop should serve others, and that the wanderer must follow the man who showed him the right path; he made it his duty to serve all bishops, and he then made it their duty to obey himself. He thus retained the old theory that the Bishop of Rome was master, though master in service, of all other bishops.

Hence, too, his zealous efforts to bring the quarrels of the universal Church before his tribunal for decision. For this reason he was greatly angered by the action of



POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

Gregory I. did not willingly seat himself in the papal chair, for he shrank from the great tasks associated with the high office, and would have preferred a life of contemplation. But he obeyed the call of duty, and did magnificent service in advancing Christianity and establishing it in England.

the Bishop of Constantinople in styling himself an "œcumenical" bishop. In Gregory's opinion, only the Bishop of Rome could have "œcumenical" importance in the Church. When Gregory used every leverage to abolish that title, he considered himself the champion of a great principle and of an ordinance of Christ that was necessary for the maintenance of the Church.

Equally difficult were his relations with the Gallic Church; as the Franks had become Christians without a struggle, they saw no advantage in struggling to remain Christians. Their reckless selfishness, their aggressive nature, which drew the sword on every occasion, their want of

to bear with what could not be altered, to cherish and to extend the organisation of the Church, in order that a comprehensive influence might be exerted upon the whole nation. It was in this way that Gregory attempted to influence the Gallican Church.

He opened correspondence with the rulers of the Frankish state and with individual bishops, but he did not speak as lord of the Church. He was well aware that he could gain advantage here only by representations and advice. Many have been unable to understand how he could send such flattering letters to the "Frankish fury" Brunhilde, praising her "Christian life" and her "love of divine service"; but this

Frankish woman gave him many things of which the Frankish Church was in need. She built churches and endowed monasteries, begging the Pope to send her relics and privileges for the latter; she was "full of reverence for the servants of the Church" and "overwhelmed them with honour." With this Gregory remained satisfied when he could secure no more, when he was unable to



ST. AUGUSTINE BEFORE KING ETHELBERT

St. Augustine, the great missionary of Christianity, is here represented explaining the doctrines of the Christian religion to Ethelbert, king of Kent, whom he found seated in the open air for fear of magical arts. Later on, Ethelbert became a convert to Christianity, and was baptised.

subject to the secular rulers of the country, rulers whose morality was nothing less than scandalous. Often enough they appointed bishops at their own will and pleasure, and sold ecclesiastical offices as they pleased, in many cases to laymen. The Bishop of Rome was honoured as a successor of the Prince of the Apostles and as the guardian of the unity of the faith; but he was not generally regarded as the ruling head of all Churches, the Gallic Church included.

At the same time this nation was not beyond all hope of reformation; the Franks clearly showed a consciousness of their religious deficiencies. Hence the obvious policy for the Pope was

put an end to simony and to the appointment of laymen as bishops, or, when he could not secure the convocation of synods, to stop abuses. It was first necessary to build the houses in which this rough nation was to be educated, and not until then could the process of education begin.

The greatest and most fruitful work which Gregory undertook was the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Wherever these Teutonic invaders had secured the mastery in England, they had destroyed Roman civilisation and almost every trace of the old British Christianity. In 596, Gregory sent the Abbot Augustine to England with forty Benedictine monks.



ST. AUGUSTINE IN ENGLAND, PREACHING THE NEW FAITH OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SAXONS AND THEIR RULERS

The missionary enterprise of St. Augustine and his forty monks, who landed in Britain in 597, was crowned with much success, and in a comparatively short time he was able to report to his master, Pope Gregory, the conversion to the Christian faith of over 10,000 of the population. In the illustration St. Augustine is seen preaching to the Saxons, who were worshippers of Woden, regarded by them as chief of the gods. In the work to which St. Augustine had set his hand it was fortunate for him that he had the support of both Ethelbert and his queen, Bertha, the former granting him permission to remain as long as he pleased and to make as many converts as he could. Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury; with his band of monks, appaelled in robes of silk and gold, he entered the city in a solemn procession, a picture of Christ being carried aloft and a silver crucifix borne before him.

Reproduced from the painting by Stephen B. Carlill

In the following year some ten thousand Anglo-Saxons were baptised, and King Ethelbert of Kent a few years later. The Pope directed this mission upon comprehensive principles, with a sure hand and a set purpose; here again he followed out his principle of leaving to the future all that could not be secured in the present.

Anglo-Saxon Church Established

He contented himself for the moment with the actual foundation of the Church. He ordered his evangelists not to outrage the feelings of the heathen by destroying their temples, but to facilitate the conversion of the people by changing the temples into Christian churches, to place relics where the images of the gods had stood, and to transform heathen sacrifices into Christian festivals for the honour of God and his saints.

In his care for the monastic system, Gregory was also looking to the future. The monasteries had suffered severely in the storms of the great migrations. Benedict of Nursia had founded the monastery of Monte Casino in Campania, and had given the monks the famous rule known by his name, which was framed by a wise process of selection from several of the existing monastic rules. In the year 580 the monastery was destroyed by the Lombards and the monks fled to Rome; Gregory then recognised that their rule was more likely than any other to meet with general approval. He therefore placed them in the monasteries which he himself had founded, and his powerful protection secured them victory in every case. It was clear to him that monks and nuns could devote themselves to the life of contemplation in peace only if the monasteries were secured against all molestation by secular and ecclesiastical lords. Formerly, efforts had been made to subjugate the monks to the bishops, that they might not lead unspiritual lives; but this apprehension had passed away, and Gregory there-

What Gregory Did for Divine Worship

fore sought to make them independent of the episcopal power. Of great future importance were the changes in divine worship, and especially in church singing, which have hitherto been ascribed to Gregory. The mode of singing long customary at divine worship was popularised and subjected to strict rules by Bishop Ambrosius of Milan, who died in 397. Unfortunately we know too little of the nature of this music to under-

stand the reasons which made later changes appear desirable. Probably the supposition is correct that the earlier style of singing was, on the one hand, too difficult for the uneducated clergy of that age, and was, moreover, little calculated to impress the barbarous masses and to become an educative force. In consequence, the number of tones was diminished and melodies were simplified, effeminate modulations and changes of time being excluded. In this way ecclesiastical singing acquired a powerful solemnity and a deeply mysterious character. The "Gregorian chant" proved triumphant over all other styles in the West and has survived to the present day. Even in Milan, where the old Ambrosian liturgy is still retained, the style of singing has gradually conformed to the Roman use in course of time. It must be said that modern investigations have at last made it doubtful whether, or how far, these new regulations are justly attributable to Gregory.

Gregory's writings also exercised a great influence. His "Pastoral Rule," which attempted to make the clergy the educators of the people, was so highly prized by posterity that every Frankish bishop on his consecration bound himself to observe the principles of this book. His "Dialogues" were, if possible, more popular; but these were glorifications of the monastic heroes of Italy, and impressed the masses who had been converted to the Church by their numerous stories of miracles, dreams, and apparitions, which would influence only uncultured and superstitious minds. All his writings, indeed, were composed with reference to such minds. For this reason, no other father of the Western world has been so zealously studied.

Gregory laid the foundation of ecclesiastical teaching in the Middle Ages. He was a pupil of the great Augustine, but in his attempts to popularise his teaching he lowered the whole spirit of his system. To his example was chiefly due the importance attached to the intercession of saints in the mediæval Church, to the penances necessary to avert punishment for sin, and to the sacrifice of the Mass, which was also offered for souls in purgatory. To his influence we may ascribe the fact that the lower motive of fear is a central point of mediæval Christianity, and is but slightly modified by hope and

cheerfulness, that Christian repentance becomes fear of punishment, and is exerted only to escape punishment. Gregory provided a bridge of transition from the old period to the new, from Græco-Roman to Romano-Teutonic Christianity. He handed on, however, only that modified form of Christianity which was in vogue before his time; the deeper principles, though they survived in his own heart, were not emphasised in the new period. Christianity was degraded that it might be the more easily effectual among nations in a low stage of civilisation, and the possibility of its elevation to its former height remained an open question.

Boniface has been called the apostle of the Germans. This title gives him too much credit, and also fails to express his full importance. Others before his time had planted Christianity in Germany, and it is not only Germany that stands indebted to him. When the Anglo-Saxon Church, which Gregory had founded, extended northwards, it came into contact with the Celtic Church, which regarded as its founder St. Patrick, a saint who had left Roman Britain for Ireland about 432. This Irish Church had remained in complete isolation, and had retained

**The First
Missionary in
Germany**

certain characteristics of the earlier period; in particular, it lacked that hierarchical organisation which had been developed among the newer churches. It was entirely overpowered by the northward advance of the Anglo-Saxon Church. But before this date it rendered great services to the Continent; it sent the first preachers of Christianity to Germany. In Germany the Christian Church had already made a beginning; remnants of the Christianity of the Roman period had been preserved in the former province of Noricum, while Arian influence had extended to Bavaria and Thuringia. Catholic Christianity might have been introduced here and there by Frankish immigrants; but of missionaries proper the Irish-Scots were the first. We cannot indeed write a history of their work, for but few are known to us by name out of the large numbers who laboured on this difficult soil; and what we hear of them is rather legend than history. Moreover, their achievements were somewhat scanty. The preaching of the gospel was not their primary object; they were anxious rather to secure the respect of the wild heathen

for the humility and self-renunciation of the ascetic lives which they led in their miserable cells or in the forbidding monasteries which they had founded, and to induce the surrounding people to make a similar renunciation of the world. They suffered, too, from a defect for which neither their fervent belief nor their

**Enthusiasm
of the Great
Boniface**

moral seriousness could compensate; they knew nothing of organisation. Individual converts they certainly gained, but they were unable to found a church which could survive and extend its influence by organised activity.

The qualities which they lacked were possessed in the fullest measure by the Anglo-Saxon Church, which had been founded directly from Rome. From this church Winfrid, who had been named Boniface by the Pope, started in 715 for Friesland, whither the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord had set out twenty-five years previously. When Boniface met with no success in this difficult country, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and secured the right of missionary work from the Pope. From this point we trace a remarkable distraction of aims in his career. He had no doubt that his foundations could exist only in close connection with the Roman papacy, but in his holy enthusiasm his real object was to lead as many heathen as possible to the living God, and his chief desire was to gain a martyr's death in his work.

The Pope, on the other hand, considered it of supreme importance that there should be no Christians who did not recognise his own supremacy. Hence he attempted to quench the fiery zeal of the bold missionary and to make him a pioneer of papal supremacy. After Boniface had preached Christianity in Hesse with great success, and had destroyed all that was not purely Roman in Thuringia, he returned to Rome, to be sent out by the Pope to the heathen Saxons.

**Boniface as
the Founder
of Monasteries**

The Pope, however, desired first to see the Bavarian and Alamannic Churches subject to the Roman chair. Boniface reluctantly obeyed. In Bavaria he organised four bishoprics, carried out the delimitation of their dioceses and founded monasteries, visited the clergy and purged the ranks of unworthy members. The same organised power was exerted in Thuringia and Hesse, until the German Church was firmly

incorporated with that hierarchical system which centred in Rome. Boniface, who by this time was sixty-five years of age, hoped now to begin his missionary work among the wild Saxons, and again was forced to delay.

The Frankish Church was on the point of dissolution. Owing to the economic development of the Frankish state, the bishops had become territorial magnates, while their higher education had secured for them an important part in political life. Hence they were involved in constant struggles with the nobles for the supremacy, and in the course of these each party attempted to secure the largest number of episcopal sees for itself. The secular authorities presented or sold ecclesiastical positions to their friends, who naturally cared nothing for the spiritual welfare of their people. In this way the property of the Church was expended, and ecclesiastical organisation trodden under foot; the clergy were scattered, the monasteries were homes of immorality, and the people were relapsing into heathendom. At that moment in 741, Charles Martel died. He had employed with the utmost ruthlessness the property of the Church, and the presentation of bishoprics as a means to found his supremacy.

His successor, Carloman, immediately resolved "to restore the piety of the Church, which had ceased to exist for some seventy years." For this gigantic task he summoned Boniface, and invited him to hold a reforming synod, the "first Teutonic council" in 742. So averse were the Frankish clergy to a reformation that only six bishops appeared. This, however, was a benefit rather than otherwise. It was now possible, unhindered by opposition, to adopt the most sweeping canons, which were issued by Carloman as his own decrees, and immediately received legal force. The fact that Boniface devoted all

his strength to this work of reform is evidence of his great self-renunciation. The work, however, was not carried out as he would have wished, for Carloman was by no means inclined to abandon any of his rights of supremacy over the Church. It was he, indeed, who convoked the synods. The synods, however, were not to issue resolutions, but to offer advice. He then determined the questions at issue, and it was he

who appointed bishops, including the Archbishop Boniface.

With even greater independence did Pippin begin his work, when he in his turn resolved upon the reformation of his church. Here Boniface was employed merely as an adviser. He was able, however, to inspire the clergy with a spirit that allowed him confidently to expect that which was unattainable in the present. This was clear at the last synod which he held, in 747. It was attended by many priests, deacons, and suffragan bishops, and by thirteen bishops. They agreed that the archbishop or metropolitan should have disciplinary power over the bishops, and should occupy a position intermediary between themselves and the Pope. All signed this declaration: "We have resolved to maintain our subjection to the Roman Church to the end of our lives, and in every way to follow the commands of Peter, that we may be numbered among the sheep entrusted to his care."

These resolutions were, however, far from becoming the constitutional basis of the Frankish Church, for in practice the princes were still its heads. The future, however, was decided, not by legal texts, but by the prevailing spirit of brotherly community. When Winfrid had first united them with Rome, these same clergy desired anything rather than subjection to the papacy, and the fact that they now showed a real enthusiasm for the papal supremacy was a splendid result of his labours. The wide extent to which the veneration of the papal chair had become operative was manifested by the fact that Pippin could not assume the crown without the Pope's consent. A closer connection between Rome and the Frankish Empire was also secured by the fact that Pope Stephen II. visited Frankland in 752, asked for Pippin's help against the Lombards, solemnly anointed Pippin and his two sons, and received the assistance he required. This success must have repaid the aged Boniface for the many disappointments which he had suffered.

He longed only for one thing more, that he might be allowed to conclude his valuable life as a missionary and a martyr. In the spring of 754 he again set out for Friesland, and in June of the following year he was killed by the heathen. The work begun by Pippin and Boniface was completed independently by Charles

**Frankish
Church in
Difficulties**

**Boniface
Killed by
the Heathen**

**Carloman
and the
Church**



THE CROWNING OF PIPPIN AS KING BY ST. BONIFACE

the Great. It seemed as if this superhuman character, Charlemagne, had ascended the throne with a programme ready in his hand, of which one point after another was realised, with no weakness or hesitation.

The Frankish state had now entered into a new relationship with Rome and the papacy. Pippin had become the protector of the districts which he had transferred to the Pope, and questions might arise as to the rights and duties which this position involved. Charles made his way without difficulty. The Lombard kingdom, against the aggrandisement of which the Pope had sought

Frankish help, became part of Charles' kingdom, and Rome a city within it. The Pope became his subject, and, as a secular prince, was merely a Frankish vassal. He was obliged to learn a language of which he had previously been ignorant. The King "ordered," and the Pope "fulfilled the royal will."

What, then, were the results of this incorporation of the old imperial city of Rome with the Frankish state? The final act of the new system was the imperial coronation of 800, which had been hanging in the balance since 797. Charles would no doubt have preferred to assume the imperial crown himself rather than



ST. BONIFACE FELLING THE GREAT OAK OF GEISMAR

St. Boniface, the monastic name of Winfrid, the great "Apostle of Germany," was a native of Crediton, Devonshire, and was trained in Benedictine monasteries at Exeter and Nursling. When he went to Rome in 718 he was commissioned by Gregory II. to the heathen nations of Germany, and he laboured as missionary for thirty years. At Hesse, in 724, in his great zeal for the cause of religion, he destroyed many objects of heathen worship, among them, as shown in the illustration, the great oak of Geismar, sacred to Thor, and an idol named Stufio, on a summit of the Harz, still called Stufenberg. He founded many churches and convents, and called to his aid priests, monks and nuns from England.

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to receive it from the Pope, and from one guilty of such grievous offences as Leo III. But he wished to be emperor at any cost. Only now in the eyes of contemporaries was Western Europe united under his person. It was a unity far removed from the later theory which regarded empire and papacy as separate forces. Charles was, in his own opinion, master of God's empire, the supreme unity of Church and State.

On the death of Pippin there were some who regarded the Frankish Church as a member of the universal Church, and were willing to place it under the Pope's supremacy. Others wished to maintain it as an independent national Church, subject to the Frankish king, and to reverence the Pope merely as the head of all Christians. Charles extended the Frankish Church under his supremacy that it might be the imperial Church, the empire of God upon earth, in which it was the Pope's part to teach, and his to govern. Thus the unity which Boniface had desired was attained, though by other methods than he had proposed; the whole of the Western Church

reverenced the same emperor as their ruler and the same bishop as their teacher. It was a magnificent idea; that it was not impossibly magnificent was proved by the events of the age. Far from sighing under this theocratic supremacy, the Church rejoiced; far from suffering loss, she enjoyed brilliant prosperity.

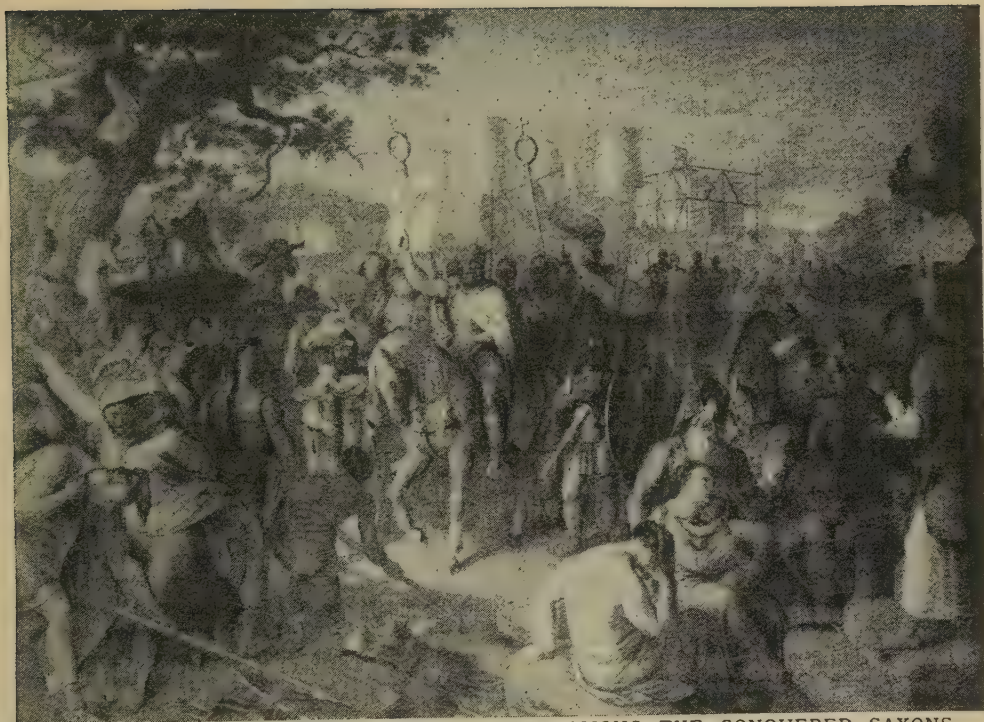
The succeeding age was to show whether such a kingdom, uniting the secular and the spiritual powers, could succeed under other conditions, or whether it was possible only under Charles the Great, who cared alike for Church and State, and was fully conscious of the needs of both, who pursued his high purposes, whether secular or religious, with indefatigable activity and invincible persistence, and never aroused opposition by misuse of his power or by weak concession, but was inspired by the lofty conviction that his supremacy was derived from God, and that he must wield it in God's service.

Thus the Popes were thrown into the background, and Charles interfered directly in the domestic ecclesiastical affairs of the papal patrimony. There was,



A TYPICAL MONASTIC SCHOOL OF THE CHARLEMAGNE PERIOD

During the reign of Charlemagne a great impetus was given to education. The great ruler, believing that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," did everything possible to encourage a spread of knowledge, and brought teachers from Rome to teach in the public schools. His ultimate object seemed to be national education.



CHARLEMAGNE INTRODUCING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE CONQUERED SAXONS

Inspired by high and noble purposes, the great Charlemagne endeavoured to make the Church a mighty power throughout his dominions, and he aimed at the conversion of the Saxons. This purpose he ultimately accomplished, for after thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church. Charlemagne died in 814.

however, no pettifogging rivalry in his interference, and he considerably raised the prestige of Rome in the Frankish Church. He regarded the Roman Church as the guardian of apostolic tradition, and its bishop as the supreme pastor of Christianity, for which reason the regulations of Rome were to be obeyed throughout the churches of the empire. He, however, was the man who secured this obedience. He appointed bishops or confirmed their nomination, and his laws appeared in the collections of canon law side by side with papal laws and the canons of councils. He it was who convoked church synods, and confirmed or extended their conclusions as he considered wise. Doctrinal disputes he settled himself after consultation with his imperial assemblies, deciding even against the Pope in cases of necessity, for if this teacher of Christianity inflicted injury upon God's kingdom, then it was the business of God's regent, the emperor, to protect his kingdom.

Such was the case in the quarrel concerning the veneration of images. At the council of Nicæa, in 787, Pope Hadrian II. and the Byzantine Empress

Irene had again legalised the veneration of images. Charles decided against them. He argued that the iconoclasm, which had formerly been popular in the East, and the veneration of images, which was now commanded, were alike boundless folly. Images might be permitted to remind worshippers of the Scripture story or for decorative purposes, but there was no necessity for them, and their veneration might inflict no small harm upon spiritual progress. Charles therefore instructed the Pope to reverse this decision. At the Synod of Frankfort, in 794, in the presence of two papal legates, it was resolved "by all the bishops and priests, in virtue of their apostolic authority, and at the command of our pious master, the Emperor Charles, and in the presence of our gracious master himself," to prohibit the veneration or worship of images, and to condemn all who should agree with the conclusions of the Greek synod. The Pope did not venture to protest.

The reform begun by Boniface within the Church was continued by Charles with brilliant success, but here again the objects and methods of the two men were divergent. Boniface was anxious to educate

the people, but only so long as they lived within the Church and were subject to it. Hence he was particularly anxious to create a powerful hierarchy. Charles desired to educate mankind as a whole, for all its tasks, for membership of the kingdom of God. The ideal before his eyes seems to have been the formation of

Charlemagne's Ideal of Education

independent character. Naturally the education of the clergy was of first importance. But as the advanced schools of which he was the founder provided a learned education both for his own children and for many youths of the first families of the empire, so also the laity were to have their share of consideration in other schools. Indeed, his ultimate object must have been national education; for the children, at any rate, an attempt was made to introduce a general system of school attendance, and it was arranged that the children of the poor should be supported by small contributions during their school lives.

Divine service also was not merely to be the outward expression of religious usage, but was to do something for the individual. Hence Charles made preaching in the vernacular the central point of the service, and ordered that a sermon should be preached in every parish church on every Sunday and saint's day. That part of the service which was said by memory was not to be used mechanically, but with understanding. So much is shown by the German commentaries upon the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which still remain to us.

An attempt was made to form a German Bible. Some fragments still survive of the German translation of St. Matthew's Gospel made at that time, which show a real power of penetrating the meaning of the Scriptures. Charles earnestly urged upon his clergy their duty of caring for souls, and, above all, of hearing confessions. It then seemed that

The Place of Confession in the Church

the old ecclesiastical system of penance, which had disappeared in the storms of the last century, could no longer be revived. The penalty for open offences consisted in exclusion from the communion of the Church, while readmission was to be secured only by humble atonement, all of which presupposed the fact that communion with the Church should be regarded as a valuable privilege by the individual. At the present moment the clergy were deal-

ing with masses who had not yet acquired love or appreciation for the Church. As they attached little or no importance to church membership, it would be impossible to force them to buy this privilege at the expense of a heavy penance. The Irish saint, Columba, who had attempted from about 584 to reform the degenerate Frankish Church, had endeavoured to influence individual souls by introducing the practice of private confession to the priest. He had drawn up a penitential, which was to instruct the clergy in this very difficult task. This institution was now revived. It is, however, a sign of his deep appreciation of religious conditions that Charles, who demanded a knowledge of the Christian verities from every one of his subjects, did not make confession compulsory. In his eyes it was valuable only when performed voluntarily. Theologians of that age, however, were the more vigorous in insisting upon the great blessings of confession. They taught that every sin could be forgiven if the sinner made the sacrifice of confession to the priest. While we must not forget the

Conversion of the Saxons

grievous dangers involved by the institution of confession, it was one which, at any rate, exerted an educative influence upon the people, which aroused a consciousness of the individual's responsibility to God, and of the necessity for forgiveness. Finally, Charles completed the projects of Boniface for the conversion of the heathen, but once again by wholly different methods.

The conversion of the Saxons was secured at the price of such appalling struggles that Charles would certainly have been obliged to confine his efforts to defending his own dominions against these threatening neighbours had he not been inspired by the idea of the theocratic king who should make his master's enemies the footstool of his feet. After thirty years of struggle he was able to add this last of the Teutonic tribes to the Church.

When he ended his energetic life, on January 28th, 814, the Gospels were placed upon his knees, a fragment of the true Cross was laid upon his head, and his sword was girded about his loins. The unity he had attempted to create was soon to be divided, for there is no symbol which can combine the sword and the Gospel.

WILHELM WALTHER



THE LAND OF THE NORTHMEN

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF SCANDINAVIA

THE northern part of Europe, or Scandinavia, consists of Denmark and the so-called Scandinavian peninsula—Norway and Sweden—to which we may add, in a physical sense, the peninsulas of Kola and Finland. The island of Iceland, which has been peopled by the Norwegians, may also be considered as belonging to these northern lands. Scandinavia forms the most north-westerly portion of the European continent; but, thanks to the sea which washes its shores on almost every side, and the influence of the warm Atlantic currents, it has a mild climate in comparison with its high latitude. It is owing to this fact that Scandinavia, although partly an arctic land, is the most productive region in so northerly a situation. Nevertheless, the climate is not alike in all these northern regions; it varies according to the altitude and distance from the sea. Denmark and Western

Features of Northern Europe Norway enjoy a climate of insular character, while Eastern Norway and Sweden are continental in their variations of temperature. Denmark, physically a portion of the mid-European plain, is much more cut up by the sea, and consists of two natural main divisions—the peninsula of Jutland and a group of islands. Western and Central Jutland have been little favoured by Nature; on the whole, the soils are unfertile, and the west coast, which is sheltered from the North Sea by the dunes, is without a single harbour, and on that account dreaded by seafarers. East Jutland and the islands are, on the contrary, very fertile, and well watered by small lakes and streamlets; the fiords and bays, which are formed by the sea along the whole coast-line, make, in addition, good harbours. Denmark was formerly covered with rich forests, but is now almost bare of wood; the land lends itself to agriculture and cattle-breeding, and the sea, which surrounds the country on every side, has always been a source of

wealth to the country, and has developed the Danes into skilful seamen.

The Scandinavian peninsula is a continuous range of mountains. In the west, where they reach their highest point—Galdhöppigen, 8,400 feet—they rise almost precipitously from the Atlantic Ocean,

Norway and Sweden in Contrast and then decrease gradually in height towards the Skager Rack, the Kattegat, and the Baltic Sea, until they sink into

lowlands, and further south emerge gradually as the Danish isles. We thus see that Norway, which forms the western portion of the peninsula, is a much more mountainous country than Sweden. The northern range consists almost entirely of primary rocks, and of the oldest and hardest slates, which are not easily disintegrated by the weather, and are therefore covered with only a thin layer of feebly productive soil. The south of Sweden is less barren, owing to the greater disintegration of the rocks.

The higher regions of the mountainous areas are fairly level, forming extensive plateaux at different elevations, embossed with prominent peaks and heights, and separated from one another by gorges and deep valleys. These formations are most wonderful on the western side, where the sea has forced its way into some of the deep gorges, thereby changing them into long, narrow fiords, hemmed in by steep rocky walls. From these rocks, at one time well wooded, but now showing only here and there a single tree,

A Land of Cascades and Glaciers gush forth streams, forming magnificent cascades, which are partly fed by the large glaciers covering the mountain heights. The extent of land adapted to agricultural purposes is small, but the grazing and rearing of cattle and sheep form important industries. It is, however, the sea to which the inhabitants now look, as in earlier times, for their livelihood. Ships form the most natural and easy

means of communication between fiord and fiord, and the numerous islands of different size which stretch along the coast afford good harbours and safe navigation.

Further inland, where the mountains fall softly away, the deep valleys broaden out, and plains are gradually formed. The valleys are still well wooded, and

Industries of the Scandinavians

watered by streams abounding in fish. There are also many lakes; in Norway, and the northern parts of Sweden

these conform to the long, narrow shape of the valleys, while in the central regions, and in the south of Sweden they become larger and broader. Cattle-rearing, agriculture, and trade in timber formed, even in the earliest days, the chief means of subsistence in these parts. Mining is also of importance, as the peninsula is rich in useful minerals and metals; and in the forests there are different kinds of game, which will repay the sportsman for his pains.

Finland, the south-eastern continuation of the northern range of mountains, is a low plateau covered with forests, innumerable lakes and marshes, called by the Finns for this reason "Suomi," that is, Fenland. The coasts, in the west low and flat, and in the south hilly, are backed by cliffs and ridges; the Aland islands in the south-west form a natural link in the direction of Sweden. The wealth of Finland consists in its forests; agriculture and cattle-rearing are also of some importance. There is a scarcity of metals.

The island of Iceland, situated in the North Atlantic Ocean between Norway and America, is a mountainous mass of volcanic origin. Bare peaks tower over wastes of ashes and lava; large glaciers and streams of lava cover wide areas of the interior, and make them quite uninhabitable. Even now volcanic eruptions occasionally take place, and there are numerous hot springs scattered about the island. The north and west

Iceland Bleak and Bare

coasts are broken up by numerous fiords into peninsulas and islands. The climate is in winter comparatively mild, but in summer rough and stormy; on this account the grain harvest seldom ripens, and there are no forests. There is, however, fine meadowland, and sheep-breeding is, together with the fisheries, the chief means of livelihood. We do not know to which race the people who first inhabited the northern regions

of Scandinavia belonged. From the traces they have left behind, we see that they stood on a low level of civilisation. They were without knowledge of metals, and their weapons and utensils were made of stone, bone, horn, or wood. The country was covered with immense forests in the Stone Age, and the people, who supported themselves by the chase and fishing, lived on the banks of rivers, the shores of lakes, or on the coast, where they obtained means of subsistence.

By degrees they began to clear the primeval forests, to engage in cattle-rearing, and to cultivate the land; they also built ships [see page 2368], and came into communication with their southern neighbours, from whom they learned the art of working in metal. The metal which they first learned to use was copper, or, rather, bronze, a mixture of copper and tin, which was exchanged for amber. We learn from weapons and pieces of ornamental work that the civilisation of this Bronze Age reached an advanced stage of development. The rudely executed pictures and drawings which are found cut on rocks and stones

Civilisation of the Stone Age

also belong to this age, and furnish us with important information regarding the life of that period. Written records of this time are just as rare as those of the Stone Age; and as the language of the inhabitants is unknown, we cannot well determine their racial affinities. Archæologists are nevertheless of the opinion that, since the Stone Age, one and the same race has inhabited these northern regions.

In the last centuries before the Christian era this northern race first became acquainted with iron, and about that time the old writers—Pliny, Tacitus, who calls the Swedes "Suiones," and others—inform us that the northern peoples of the Iron Age were Teutons. Scandinavia derives its name from the "island" of "Scandia" or Scandinavia (more correctly Scadinavia), which was known to the Romans. From the oldest literary records which the Northmen have left us we learn also that even 500 years after Christ one and the same language, the oldest Scandinavian, was spoken throughout the north, and that this was closely allied to Gothic and German. The runic letters used by the Northmen were borrowed with modifications from the Greek and Latin alphabets, which they had learned through contact with the southern Germans.



THE RIDE OF THE VALKYRIES, A STRIKING SCENE FROM SCANDINAVIAN MYTHOLOGY

According to Scandinavian mythology, the Valkyries are supernatural maidens of great beauty, who, mounted on swift horses, choose the slain in battle for transportation to Valhalla, where Odin, greatest of the gods, holds court, and where those who have thus been transported meet together in joyous feasting. Odin's maidens pouring out the mead for them.

From the painting by J. C. Dolman, with the artist's permission

We may therefore conclude that the northern lands, at least since the last centuries before the Christian era, were inhabited by a Germanic race, which probably had gradually worked its way from south to north. Jutland and the Danish isles were the first to become inhabited. After this the Northmen

reached Southern Sweden and Norway, and then penetrated further and further, until they gradually came to the Polar seas, where they came into contact with the Ugrian peoples, the Lapps, who even at that time had wandered so far north.

It is only after the ninth century A.D. that we have any definite knowledge of the social and political conditions of the north; and that comes to us through the Frankish, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish chroniclers. The Northmen themselves begin only about the twelfth century to keep any kind of historical records; their memories of earlier periods were transmitted in the form of oral legends. The social conditions of the north were at that time essentially the same as those of the southern Germanic races during the migration period. The people were divided into freemen and bondsmen. There was really only one class among the freemen, that of the peasants, and they all had equal privileges and duties. There were a few, however, who had gained position and influence, perhaps through illustrious ancestors, personal bravery, or great wealth; indeed, even before this time, more especially in Norway, a nobility had arisen.

The land was as yet little cultivated, and although much importance was attached to agriculture, still, cattle-rearing, the chase, fishing and commerce remained the more important means of livelihood. The peasants in Denmark and Sweden lived chiefly in villages; in Norway, on the contrary, where the natural condition of the country prevented this, in scattered homesteads, as is still the case.

Property descended regularly to one of the sons; the others were therefore obliged to seek a maintenance by clearing uncultivated land. The majority, however, preferred to seek their fortune on the sea, and often became sea-robbers, or Vikings, as they were called, because they usually lay in wait in bays (*Vik*) and sounds for the ships of merchants; for the sea was at that time, when natural conditions made tra-

velling by land so much more difficult, the principal high-road of commerce, and thus from early times the Northmen were trained to a seafaring life. They became capable shipbuilders and bold seamen; and thus even at an early period an active intercourse arose between these northern lands and other countries.

The Northmen possessed a strong feeling of independence; the highest aim of a freeman was to be his own master. Intelligence and prudence stood high in their estimation, but they did not despise the exercise of cunning; they possessed quick perceptions, made ready and appropriate answers, and for poetry they had a decided aptitude. Strength, courage, and endurance, were valued most of all, and battle was their highest aim. They fought often for fighting's sake, and their desire for battle rose sometimes into real fury, the "Berserker rage." Their customs were wild and rude; when they became enraged they showed a cruel, revengeful, and implacable spirit, and in their passions they were insatiable. On the other hand, their behaviour towards enemies was, as

Family Life a rule, open and honourable, and they possessed in the highest
Among the degree the knightly virtues
Northmen of good faith and honour.

Their institution of "battle brotherhood" is well known; all the members of the brotherhood mixed their blood, and swore to share good and bad fortune with one another for ever. They had a feeling for family life, and in the home the wife was the counsellor of the husband. Indeed, women enjoyed the greatest respect, and occupied in general an independent position, even taking part in public assemblies and the banquets of the men.

Northern mythology is in its origin common to all Germanic races, but it was on northern soil, where it came under the influence of Nature and the characteristic life of the people, that it received its independent development. Our knowledge of this mythology is obtained from the old Norwegian poetry and sagas—from the earlier and later Eddas—folk songs which were collected and written down in Iceland only in the thirteenth century. Thus we are unacquainted with them in their original form. Some of the later investigators are of opinion that the myths contained in these Eddas originated first during the Norman period, under the influence of a baptised people, the Anglo-Saxons and



IDUN'S APPLES: THE SECRET OF ETERNAL YOUTH

This beautiful illustration represents a highly-characterized feature of Norse mythology. Idun, the goddess for satisfying the reviving year, was the keeper of the golden apples which brought eternal youth to the gods. The story goes that Loki was carried off by Thiazi's ravens, and when spring came she made her escape in the form of a bird.

Reproduced from the painting by J. Doyle Penrose, with the artist's permission

Irish, and do not represent the religious aspects of an older period and a peaceful people, but the ideas of the Vikings, whose ideal was a life passed exclusively in warfare.

According to the Eddas, the gods, "the Ases," dwell in Asgard, in the centre

The Gods of the Northmen of the world. From this dwelling-place a bridge, "Bifrost" (the rainbow), leads to Midgard, where mortals live; towards the north lies the cold Jotunheim, the home of the giants, or Jotnen, the enemies of the gods. The highest of all the gods is Odin. His dwelling-place is "Gladsheim," with its hall Valhalla, where he holds his court, and where those who have fallen in battle meet together in joyous feasting, the Valkyries, Odin's maidens, pouring out the mead for them. Tyr is the god of war; Thor, the god of thunder; Balder, the god of all goodness and wisdom, of purity and innocence; Brage, the god of poetry; Heimdal, the guardian of the Ases; Njord and Frey, gods of fertility and peaceful occupations. Among the goddesses may be mentioned Frigga, Odin's wife and the goddess of marriage; Freya, the goddess of love; and Idun, whose apples brought eternal

youth to the gods. The gods are always at war with the giants. Through the malice of Loki, the holy Balder loses his life. The time has come when violence and evil penetrate to the world, its end draws near, and will finally take place at Ragnarok, at the last battle between the gods and the giants. A new and beautiful world will afterwards arise, in which Good shall rule. The gods were worshipped by sacrifices, which were offered under the open sky, in sacred groves and by holy springs, or in temples. The principal places of offering in the oldest times were Leire, in the neighbourhood of Roskilde in Zealand, Upsala in Sweden, Maren

and Skiringssal in Norway. There was no distinct priestly class; every man offered sacrifices for himself and his family. The king or chief, who, in his capacity of sacrificial priest, was called "Gode," offered sacrifices for the whole nation.

The Northmen were divided into several main tribes: Denmark and Scania were inhabited by the Danes; Southern Sweden and the coasts of the large lakes Wener and Wetter by the Goths (Götar), who were separated by great forests from the Svear, who lived in Central Sweden; Norway was inhabited by the

Norwegians. These tribes were subdivided into "folks," each of which had its own political organisation. The district belonging to a "folk" was called "land" or "landschaft" by the Danes and Goths, "folkland" by the Svear, and "fylke" by the Norwegians. The "landschaft" consisted of several "harden" (herred, hundred), comprising the estates of those families who had formed the original basis of society in that district. At the head of the harde stood the "herse," who was president of the herreds-ting, in which the peasants drew

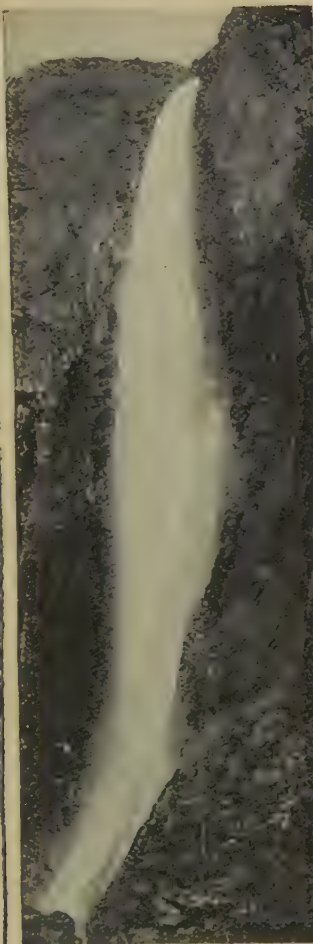


A FAMOUS WOODEN CHURCH IN NORWAY
This wooden church of Borgund, pagoda-like in its style, situated in the mountainous Norwegian district of Sogne, forms one of the most remarkable and characteristic monuments of mediæval Norwegian architecture.

up their laws, passed resolutions, and decided lawsuits. The landschaft also had its assembly (fylkes-ting) where affairs which concerned the whole landschaft were settled; in this assembly one of the chiefs—in Sweden the "lagman"—

How the Kingship Developed

was president. If war was declared, the peasants chose a leader, and from this institution the kingship gradually developed. The king, or *konungr*, was originally the leader of a band of five warriors, who had sworn fidelity to him. With this band of followers he undertook military expeditions in order to win renown and wealth. If he



CHARACTERISTIC SCENES OF NORWAY'S MOUNTAINS AND FIORDS

The Vettisfos cascade, seen in the first picture, has a drop of 850 feet; next are shown the Svartisen and Bouims glaciers, the latter a branch of the largest glacier in Europe. The first of the two lower illustrations shows Esseford, with the huge mountain rising in the background, and the other the famous Seven Sisters waterfall dropping into Geiranger Fiord.

was successful in this he rose in the estimation both of his followers and of his countrymen; he became the leader of the national host. His influence increased also in the assembly; he became king of the landschaft. As a rule, his

office was inherited by his sons, and in this way royal families had their origin. The kingship was at first very limited with respect to locality. Ambitious kings, however, were not contented with a landschaft, but contrived to extend their domain by violence or by other means. Yet local autonomy continued in force. The power of the king was virtually limited to leading the army in time of war, defending the country, superintending

who were too cramped in their own land, began to visit the countries in the west of Europe. Soon every sea was covered with their fleets, and scarcely any European coast was free from their plunderings.

The chief cause which drove out the Northmen from their native country was poverty. The Viking expeditions were therefore originally nothing more than pirate raids undertaken for the purpose of earning a livelihood. In accordance with the Norse view of life and religion, it was more honourable to earn a livelihood by the sword than by the plough. The Viking life was to them a lawful and glorious profession of arms, which was practised by their noblest men and even by their kings. The exploits of the



A GLIMPSE OF DENMARK'S ROCKY COASTS

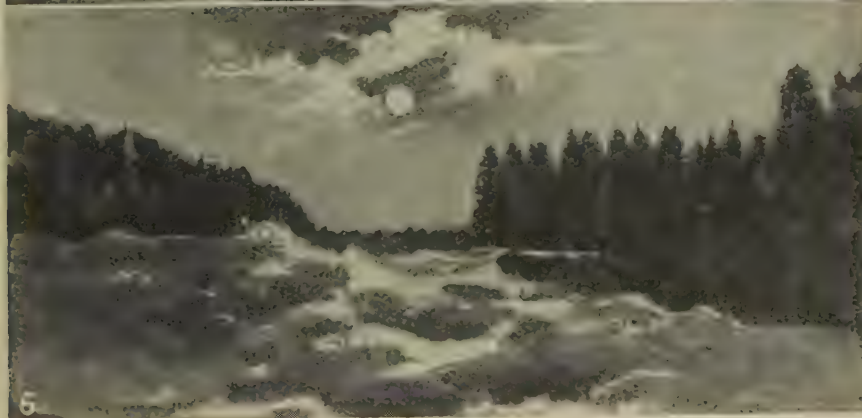
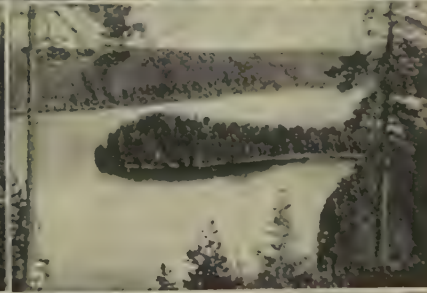
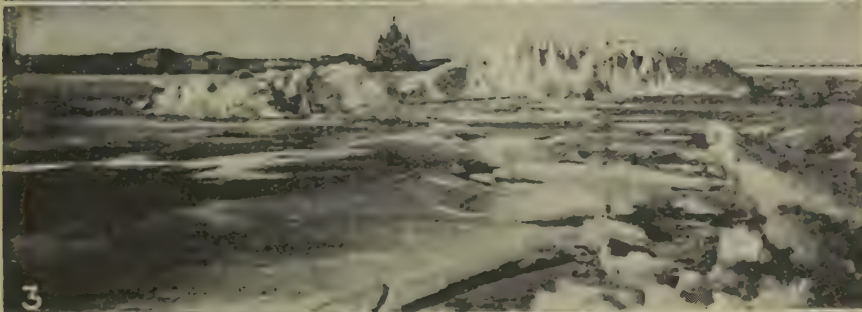
law and justice, and offering sacrifices to the gods of the people.

We do not know when the Danish and Swedish kingdoms were founded. According to legend the Danish kingdom, which had its royal residence at Leire, was founded by Skjold, the son of Odin, and on this account the old Danish kings were called Skjoldunger. The Swedish kingdom is said to have been founded by the god Yngve-Frey, the founder of the race of Ynglinger. Norway remained divided up into small kingdoms longer than the other northern countries. There the "fylkes" were not united into one state until the end of the ninth century. Before the ninth century A.D. little or nothing was known in the south and west of Europe concerning the northern peoples. But about the year 800 the Northmen,

Vikings were admired by the people and glorified by their poets; only he who had fallen in war was received by Odin into Valhalla.

The political situation in the north was another cause of the emigrations. In Denmark in the ninth century two royal families were struggling for the supremacy; victory fell now to one, now to the other, and the conquered claimants, who

were compelled to leave the country, tried to establish new empires in foreign lands, or at least to win for themselves wealth and glory. About the same time Norway became united under one king, and many princes left their homes to preserve their freedom, since they would not tolerate the authority of a superior.



'THE LAND OF A THOUSAND LAKES'. TYPICAL VIEWS OF FINLAND

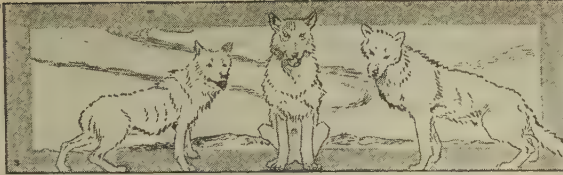
1, Rantasentti Lake; 2, Nyslott Castle, Olofsborg; 3, The breaking away of an immense ice-floe in the Gulf of Finland. 4, Taipale on the Saima Canal; 5, Hameenlinna Lake, Tavastehus; 6, The Imatra waterfall.



A KING'S DISGUISE: ALFRED IN THE CAMP OF GUTHRUM, THE DANISH CHIEF

This famous picture depicts Alfred, the heroic king, in the midst of his dreaded enemies. Long before Alfred's time the Danish plunderers had landed in England and completely held in their hands the north-eastern portion. Alfred had only part of the country under his governance, but his wise and good rule had so roused the patriotism of his people that they offered a stubborn resistance to the invading army. Disguising himself as a minstrel, in 878, and accompanied by only one servant, it is said that Alfred made his way to the camp of the powerful Danish chief, Guthrum, and delighted the Danes by his skill in singing and playing the songs of his native land. On returning to his own people he at once assembled all his available forces, and fell upon the Danes with such good effect that they had to sue for peace.

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs



GREAT DAYS OF THE NORTHMEN

THE RAIDS & CONQUESTS OF THE VIKINGS

THE Northmen were far superior in strength, courage, deeds of arms, and seamanship to the peoples whom they attacked. Moreover, England, Ireland, and the Frankish Empire were at this time weakened by internal strife. It was this fact which ensured the great success of the pirates. At first they appeared only in small bands, landed on the coasts, which they laid waste with fire, and then departed with their booty. When they saw that they encountered little or no resistance, they became bolder. Large armies were formed, which had their own laws and were generally commanded by several chieftains who were equal in power. They carried on their warfare according to a settled plan, and were no longer satisfied with plundering the coasts. They spent the winters in the estuaries or on islands lying off the coasts. In summer

**Pirates
Baptised and
Civilised**

they sailed up the rivers far into the interior, which they devastated, plundering chiefly churches and monasteries, where they knew they would find the richest booty. At last they made it the object of their conquests to provide a new home for themselves; they accordingly settled in the land they had conquered and founded new states. Then the raids ceased; the fierce pirates accepted baptism; savage warfare gave place to peaceful activities, agriculture, commerce, and navigation. As Normans, they blended with the native races, to whom they imparted new strength and whom they influenced in many ways.

All three of the northern peoples—the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians—took part in the expeditions of the Northmen. The districts which they infested were the coasts of the Baltic Sea and the countries adjoining the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea.

After the Swedes had for some time been visiting as pirates and merchants the countries of the Baltic Sea, which were

inhabited by Slavonic and Finnish races, they settled shortly after the middle of the ninth century on the coasts of the large Russian lakes, where they founded an empire called "Gardarike," with its capital "Holmgard" (Novgorod). According to the

**The Swedes
Found
an Empire**

Russian chronicler, Nestor, the circumstances were as follow: The Warjager, or Waräger, Swedes from the country on the other side of the Baltic Sea were accustomed to go to the races, living on the large lakes, and levy taxes. But in 861 these races refused to pay, and drove out the Waräger; they wished to rule themselves, but soon became disunited. Family arose against family, and war broke out everywhere. Then they summoned the Waräger again into the country in 862 to make peace. The three brothers, Rurik, Sineus, and Truwor, from the Warägian tribe Rus, or Ruotsi, advanced with a troop of Warägers across the sea and settled in Novgorod, Belosersk, and Isborsk. As Sineus and Truwor died shortly afterwards, Rurik became sole ruler in the kingdom, which had received the name "Russia" from his tribe. Some of Rurik's warriors advanced further south, marched down the Dnieper, and founded a kingdom in Kiev, which was conquered in 882 by Rurik's successor, Oleg.

Soon the Warägers extended their raids as far as the Black Sea. At the beginning of the tenth century they had even sailed past the Crimea to the Sea of Azov and down the river Don; they then dragged their ships overland to the Volga, sailed down this river to the Caspian Sea, the coast of which they laid waste, and then returned laden with booty. The Russian kingdom stood for a long time in friendly relations with the northern countries and their princes, and the Russian princes often employed Northmen in their services. These friendly relations did not

**Northmen
in the Service
of Russians**

cease until the Swedish element had gradually succumbed to the Slavonic, and the kingdom at the end of the eleventh century had become purely Slav.

It is true that the Swedes have not left any perceptible traces in modern Russia. Still, their immigration was of great importance; for through them the Finnish and Slavonic races, which had been at variance, were united for the first time in one empire, and by the communication which was opened up between Russia and the west of Europe the commerce, wealth, and power of Novgorod in particular were advanced.

It was also through the Russian kingdom that the Northmen came into contact with the Byzantines. Many Northmen entered the services of East Roman emperors as auxiliaries; after the middle of the eleventh century they were admitted to the imperial body-guard. At Byzantium they were called Varangers. "The axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay in the Byzantine Empire they have left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens.

It is probable that these inscriptions of the Swedish Varangers in the second half of the eleventh century were carved in honour of a northern chieftain who had fallen in Greek waters. As early as the end of the eighth century the Norwegians came to the islands lying off the north and west coasts of Scotland—the Farøe, Shetland and Orkney Islands, and the Hebrides. These islands, however, were then barren and unattractive, and served at first in reality only as starting-points for more extensive expeditions. The Norwegians sailed along the rough and desolate western shores of Scotland, founded several settlements,

and then crossed over into Ireland. This island was at that time divided into several small kingdoms, the rulers of which were constantly at strife. The Ardrigh, or High King, had not enough power to control the restless people and the strife-loving chieftains. These divisions facilitated the advance of the Northmen, inasmuch as the Irish were too deficient in ships and seamanship to prevent their landing. In the first half of the ninth century the Norwegians, who were called by the Irish Lochlannoch (the men from the country of lakes), Fingalls (the white strangers), or

**Dublin
Conquered by
Northmen**

Ostmen, settled on the east coast; in 838 they conquered Dublin, which they fortified strongly. The whole country was devastated, monasteries and churches were burnt, and Thorgisl, the leader of the Norwegians, became ruler of almost the whole island. After a few years, however, he was murdered. The Irish rose and drove out the foreigners. But these soon came back, and in 852 the Norwegian chieftain, Olav Hvite, founded a kingdom in Dublin; at the same time Norwegian kingdoms were established in Waterford and Limerick. The Nor-



THE FAMOUS LION OF THE PIRÆUS

In the eleventh century "the axe-bearing barbarians from Thule" entered the Byzantine Empire, where they were renowned for their courage and bravery. As a memorial of their stay they left the runic inscriptions on the Lion of the Piræus, which is now in the arsenal at Athens.

wegians built strong fortresses everywhere in order to secure their rule. For several years the kings of Dublin had to resist the attacks of the Irish, who, although their efforts were sometimes favoured by fortune, tried in vain to drive out the foreigners. About the middle of the tenth century the conquerors threatened to destroy the independence of the island. "They set up," narrates an old chronicler, "in every province a king, in every district a chieftain, in every church an abbot, in every town a bailiff, in every house a soldier, so that the men of Erin are no longer masters of their property. No one dares to show generosity or



THE NORTHMAN'S STRATEGY: HASTING EMERGING FROM HIS "COFFIN"

The most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century, Hasting plundered France for several years, and then undertook a journey to Italy with the intention of conquering Rome and securing the wealth which it contained. Driven ashore by a storm near Sarzana on the Magra, he took the town by stratagem, thinking it to be Rome. Pretending to be on a peaceful mission, he was admitted into the town and baptised at the hands of the bishop. During the following night loud lamentations were heard proceeding from the ship of the chieftain, and it was reported that Hasting was dead. He was taken ashore for burial, and the bishop was just about to conduct the funeral service when Hasting sprang from the bier, and, with the assistance of his armed followers first slew the bishop and the governor, and then attacked the town, capturing it after terrible slaughter of the inhabitants.

tenderness to father or mother, to bishop, to lord temporal or spiritual, neither to the sick nor miserable, not even to a new-born child. If an Irishman has only one cow, he must give the milk to the soldier, so that he gets no milk for himself."

The struggle continued. The Irish succeeded in gaining some victories over the hated foreigners, but they were not able to rid the land of the intruders. The most celebrated of those victories is that of Clontarf, fought in the neighbourhood of Dublin on April 23rd, 1014, which the Irish remember with pride to this day. Brian Borumha, High King of Ireland, had collected a large army and advanced towards Dublin, while the Norwegians in the town had obtained auxiliary troops from their countrymen dwelling in the Scottish islands. It was a desperate struggle, and both armies fought with great bravery. The old king Brian fell on the battlefield, but his army was victorious and the Norwegians sustained heavy losses; no fewer than 6,000 perished in the battle.

This victory did not alter the situation in the island; internal strife did not cease. It is true that the Norwegians abandoned the hope of subduing the Irish, but they remained in the country. Occasionally, when it was to their advantage, they did homage to the Irish kings. Thus matters continued till the twelfth century, when Henry II. of England, who for some time had been turning his attention to Ireland, interfered in the disputes of the two nations. On being asked by an Irish king for help, he permitted Richard Clare, Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) to cross to Ireland, and the latter conquered Dublin in 1170. The last Norwegian king was forced to flee, and when he attempted in the following year to regain his kingdom, he was taken prisoner and killed. Shortly after this, King Henry himself crossed and entered

**Norwegian
Dominion
at an End**

Dublin. Thus ended the rule of the Ostmen in Ireland. They had not, however, entirely disappeared from the island, but remained living principally in those towns where, as peaceful citizens, they busied themselves with commerce and navigation. For a long time they preserved their nationality, since they formed separate and organised communities. At the present day we find a trace of them in the name of part of the

town of Dublin—Oxmanstown = Ostman-town; that is, the town of the Eastmen.

The Irish and Norwegians were too dissimilar in character, manners, and mode of life to blend quickly. Moreover, they lived for the most part separated from each other—the Norwegians in their fortified towns, the Irish in the country; in addition, the hatred of the Irish for the foreigner kept both nations estranged. In spite of this, they influenced each other in various ways. The influence of the Irish on the Norwegians has, perhaps, been exaggerated. But it is indisputable that in the provinces of fiction and art the Norwegians learned much from the Irish, and attempts have even been made in modern times to prove that many of the northern sagas of the gods and of heroes had their origin in the tales which the Northmen heard from the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons.

The Norwegian form of the temple, the "Hov," is, it is believed, a copy of the Irish churches. On the other hand, the Irish are indebted to the Ostmen for the advancement of their municipal life. It might almost be asserted that the Nor-

**Founders
of the
Irish Towns**

wegians were really the founders of the Irish towns; it was first owing to the Norwegians, who were not only capable soldiers but also enterprising merchants and navigators, that commerce and navigation, along with agriculture and farming, became important branches of industry for the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle.

The Norwegian rule lasted longer in the Scottish islands and in the Farøe Islands than in Ireland. As has been mentioned, the Norwegians had settled on these islands about the year 800. In the tenth century they founded a kingdom of the Hebrides, in which they ruled over a Keltic population, and another in the Isle of Man; this was ruled by the king of Norway after 1100, and was not surrendered to Scotland till 1266. Tynwald Hill, near St. John's, on the west coast of the Isle of Man, was the Tinghill, which was the seat of legislation and justice for the few islanders who still hold a unique position under the British crown. To the present time the spot recalls the independence of the island when it formed a part of the Norwegian kingdom.

The Orkney and Shetland islands, where a few Kelts still remained, had for a long time been favourite retreats of the Vikings. The number of the invaders steadily



BAPTISM OF ROLLO THE PIRATE CHIEF

As head of the pirates who ravaged the Seine, Rollo, known also as Rolf, was much feared. In order to secure peace for himself and his people, Charles the Simple determined to surrender to the Northmen the country on the Lower Seine and a treaty was concluded between the two men at St. Clair sur Epte in 911. Receiving as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, Rollo swore an oath of fidelity to the king, was baptised and received the name of Robert.

increased, especially after Harald Fairhair had become sole ruler of Norway in 872; in this way the islands gradually became populated by Norwegians. As these emigrants began to pillage the coasts of Norway King Harald crossed over to the islands and made them subject to him. Later the islands were ruled by a Jarl (the "Orkney-Jarl") appointed by the Norwegian king.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they came into closer contact with Scotland. The Jarls had fiefs in Scotland. Scots settled on the islands, and the Scottish language came into use alongside of the Norwegian. The Norwegian supremacy

was, however, still acknowledged, and a constant intercourse with Norway was maintained. In 1469 the islands were mortgaged as dowry of Margaret to James III. of Scotland, and remained ever after in the possession of the Scottish crown. The inhabitants no longer have their own laws and privileges. The Norse language has disappeared, and only the place-names recall the former rulers. In the eighth century Irish settlers had emigrated to the Farøe Islands. They departed, however, after the arrival of the Northmen, who took possession of the islands and called them the Farøe—that is, sheep—



PARIS BESIEGED BY THE NORTHMEN IN THE NINTH CENTURY

This representation of the siege of Paris by the Northmen illustrates in a striking manner the original form of the famous capital of France. That portion of the town known as the Ile de la Cité, a small island in the middle of the Seine, on which the cathedral Notre Dame stands, was originally the entire city. It is still the core of Paris, but, of course, represents only a tiny portion of the immense city which now spreads in every direction from the banks of the river, and is connected with the ancient island by numerous bridges. On the south side of the river, now known as the Latin Quarter, were the headquarters of Roman Paris (Lutetia), the residence of the governor, still partially preserved in the Cluny Museum, being there situated.



A SCENE FROM THE GREAT SIEGE OF PARIS BY THE NORTHMEN IN 885

Islands, from the numerous sheep that had been left behind by the emigrants. Various chieftains ruled over the islands. More important affairs were decided at the people's assembly, or *ting*, at Thorshavn.

The islands remained in constant intercourse with Norway, and several distinguished inhabitants served Norwegian kings, who tried to bring the islands under their rule. They succeeded in doing this in 1035, and the Farøe Islands belonged to Norway till 1814, when Norway was separated from Denmark; the islands remained with Denmark and were incorporated with this kingdom in 1849. After the loss of their freedom the prosperity of the islands declined. Intercourse with the outer world gradually ceased. Voyages, especially for trading purposes, became less frequent, and the commerce upon which the welfare of the islanders to a great measure depended passed into the hands of foreigners and was not regained until 1856. From that time a new and happier time began for the islanders.

The language, which was old Norwegian, has survived in several dialects

which in their grammar bear most resemblance to Icelandic, in pronunciation and vocabulary to modern Norwegian dialects. The inhabitants of the Farøe Islands have not preserved in writing their sagas and songs, like the Icelanders. They have no old literature in the real sense of the word; yet the islanders possess a rich treasury of folk-songs, which have been orally transmitted and have been published in modern times. These songs for the most part tell of old Icelandic myths of the gods and heroes, and are derived from other Icelandic sagas and Norwegian folk-songs.

It was Naddodd, a colonist from the Farøe Islands, who discovered Iceland, in 867. On a voyage from Norway he was driven by storms far towards the north-west, and came to the shores of a large and mountainous country. He landed and climbed a high hill, from which he looked round in vain for traces of a dwelling-house. As he was leaving the land it was snowing, and on this account he called it Snowland. Not long afterwards the land was discovered to be an island, and received the

name Iceland from Floke Vilgerdsön, who spent a winter there in 870. From 874 onwards Norwegian emigrants began to settle on the island, where they found a safe retreat.

From Iceland the Norwegians went to Greenland and America. The discoverer of Greenland was Erik Röde, who was com-

How Greenland was Discovered pelled to leave Norway owing to a charge of manslaughter and sailed to Iceland. On being outlawed there he

attempted to reach a country which had been seen to the west of Iceland. He discovered it about the year 985 and called it Greenland, in order to entice others there by the name. Several settlers arrived on the south-west coast, where they lived by fishing and cattle-breeding. About the year 1000 they were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians, and a century later received a bishop of their own, whose diocese was in Gardar, in the Jgalikofjord, near Julianehaab; two monasteries were also founded there. The colony preserved its independence for a long time, but submitted in the thirteenth century to the king of Norway. For some time intercourse between the two countries was maintained, but after the devastation caused by the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century communication gradually ceased. The colonists, left to themselves, lacked everything; at the same time they were exposed to the incessant attacks of the Esquimaux, who were pressing towards the south, and to whose attacks the colonists finally succumbed. When the Danes resumed intercourse with Greenland, in the eighteenth century, they found that there were no longer any Norwegians there; a few ruined buildings are the only traces of the Norwegian colony.

Erik Röde had a son called Leiv, who sailed from Greenland to Norway, where he spent the winter of 999-1000. Early

Lost Voyager Finds a New Land in the year he wished to return to Greenland, but, losing his course on the return voyage, he

wandered for a long time on the sea until at last he discovered a land which he had never seen before. This land was beautiful to look at: there were rich meadows, vines and wheat grew wild, and there was a quantity of salmon in the water, but he did not see any human beings. Leiv arrived safely at Greenland in the autumn, and described

the country which he had discovered and which he called Vinland on account of the vines which he found there. It was decided to examine the country more thoroughly. In the following year Leiv's father and brother sailed from Greenland, but their voyage was unsuccessful, for the wind was contrary; they were driven first towards the north-east, then towards the south-east, and were forced to return to Greenland without having accomplished anything.

Two years afterwards—in 1003—a new expedition was organised for the purpose of colonising the land. A hundred and forty colonists, among whom were some women, sailed on these ships under the leadership of an Icelander, Thorfinn Karlsevne, who had come in the preceding year to Greenland and had married there. On the voyage Karlsevne discovered two countries, which he named Helleland, that is, Stoneland, and Markland, that is, Woodland, and finally he arrived at Vinland. There the colonists settled, but they were not destined to remain long. They encountered natives

Discoveries of the Northmen and began to barter with them. Soon, however, they quarrelled with the Indians, or "Skrælings"—that is, weaklings—as

they called them; moreover, they were at variance among themselves. After three years this attempt at colonisation was abandoned, and in 1006 the Northmen returned to Greenland. The countries which they discovered were, according to the most recent investigation, Labrador (Helleland), Newfoundland (Markland), Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia (Vinland). With this expedition attempts at colonisation in Nova Scotia were abandoned. Soon the course to the new country was forgotten. We do not know why the Northmen so soon gave up their new discoveries; perhaps the difficult voyage disheartened them, or else the produce which they could have brought home from there was not worth the trouble and the danger.

While the Norwegians were colonising new countries on the North Atlantic, battling more with the raging of the weather and the boisterous elements than with human opponents, the richer south was infested chiefly by the Danes. As early as the reign of Charles the Great the Northmen appeared on the shore of the Frankish Empire. Charles, who was



ROGER GUISCARD, CONQUEROR OF THE ARABS, LANDING IN SICILY

The youngest brother of the great Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia, Roger made many friends by his attractive looks and elegant manners. On his first arrival in Italy he was compelled, through lack of means, to support himself by the acts of a common robber. Roger overthrew the Arab hordes in a war that lasted from 1061 till 1090, and wrested from them the island of Sicily; he obtained the title of Count of Sicily, with undisputed possession of the island.

fighting against the Danish king Gottfried, took various precautionary measures for the defence of the coasts, but these were not rigidly maintained. Not long after his death the coasts of Friesland and Flanders were exposed to the attacks of the Northmen; several towns were plundered by them, among others the wealthy commercial town of Duurstede, or Dorestad, on the Rhine. Later they made use of the quarrels between the sons of Louis the Pious to establish themselves by force in Friesland and Flanders. Already at that time they were laying waste the coasts of France. They penetrated up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to the centre of the country, plundered towns

and monasteries, carried away men and women of noble birth into captivity, and then returned to the river mouths. Everywhere they spread terror and panic, in the churches men offered the prayer, "Libera nos a furore Nortmannorum, O Domine!" or, in English, "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord, deliver us." But scarcely anywhere were vigorous precautions taken to drive out the dreaded foe.

From the coasts of France the Northmen crossed to Spain about the middle of the ninth century; they attacked Galicia, and then turned upon the Moors in the south, besieged Lisbon, sailed up the Guadalquiver, conquered



THE DREADED DANES: A SUDDEN DESCENT ON THE COAST OF NORTHUMBERLAND
Under the command of their powerful sea-kings, the Danes, at uncertain intervals, harassed England for several centuries, and as the country was unprovided with proper defences, the entire coast was subject to their inroads, and the people were kept in a constant state of unrest and alarm. The illustration represents a sudden descent of these dreaded plunderers off the coast of Northumberland about 787. The boats from the Danish ships, filled with wild figures that leap into the surf, are already running ashore, while the terrified inhabitants are hurriedly erecting fortifications.

From the fresco by William Bell Scott



THE DANISH INVASION OF ENGLAND: A SCENE OF A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

In the spring of 877 the Danes embarked in 120 vessels at Wareham, and proceeded in a westerly direction to the aid of their beleaguered countrymen in Exeter. The elements, however, were against them. For a month the frail ships were tossed about on the stormy sea, unable to find a landing spot anywhere, and when King Alfred's warships appeared on the scene the opposing fleet was not able to defend itself. Striking on the rocks off Swanage, the greater number of the vessels were broken to pieces. The Danes who escaped the waves fell victims to the Saxon warriors.

From the picture by Herbert A. Bone

the suburbs of Seville, where they gained rich spoil, and laid waste the Balearic Islands, and even the north coasts of Africa. Later they renewed their attacks on Moorish Spain, but had not the same success against the Moors as against their other opponents. The Arabs were bold and capable sailors, and successfully engaged both on sea and land with the Northmen, whose ships were at that time fitted up for transport, and being overloaded with warriors and goods were little suited for naval warfare.

Hasting is the most celebrated of the Northman chieftains of the middle of the ninth century. After plundering France for several years, he is said to have taken a journey to Italy for the purpose of conquering Rome, of whose greatness and wealth he had heard. He was driven by storm to Luna—now a ruin, near Sarzana on the Magra, in the neighbourhood of Carrara—and by a stratagem took possession of this town, which he thought was Rome.

He sent a messenger to the bishop and governor of the town to say that he had been driven there by storm on his homeward journey, that his intentions were peaceful, and that in addition he was lying seriously ill and humbly begged to be baptised. The bishop and governor, rejoicing at the news, assured him of peace and of their friendship. The gates of the town were opened to him and to his people; he himself was carried into the church and baptised, and afterwards borne back to his ship. In the following night loud lamentations were heard among the strangers. It was reported that Hasting was dead, and it was now the duty of the church to bury him. A funeral procession was actually formed in which Hasting was carried like a corpse on a bier. The bishop was just about to perform the office for the dead when Hasting sprang from the bier, threw off the grave-clothes, and appeared in full armour. His followers in like manner let fall their

mantles which concealed their armour. Hasting slew the bishop and the governor ; his followers began a terrible slaughter and took the town, which they then discovered was not Rome. As they had no prospect of further conquests, they determined to return to France. In the meantime other Northmen continued

France in Great Tribulation

their attacks on France, and nearly reduced the people to despair. It is said that " France had never seen greater tribulation ; no one dared to leave the fortified towns ; no man slept soundly at night on his couch." The Northmen burst like a storm where they were least expected, killed the priests, dressed themselves in the vestments which they had robbed from the altars, dragged away young and old, outraged women and girls, drove away the cattle, and burned everything that they could not carry away. Only a few dared to offer resistance, among them the brave count, Robert the Strong, the progenitor of the Capets, who was extolled by the chroniclers as the Maccabæus of France, and who met with a glorious death while fighting against the Northmen in 867. A few of the invaders were destroyed, but this availed little, for they were always replaced by others.

The Frankish princes and great lords were, as a rule, too weak to offer strenuous resistance to the Northmen. Besides, the morals of the nobles were so corrupt that many received money from the Northmen in return for not disturbing them in their robberies. At the end of 885 Paris was compelled to endure a severe siege. A large Danish fleet—reported to consist of 700 ships with 30,000 to 40,000 men—had been collected at Rouen. They sailed up the Seine to Paris, where the leaders demanded free passage, promising, if this was granted, to spare the town. As

The Great Siege of Paris

the demand was refused, they besieged the town, which was bravely defended by the inhabitants. The latter hoped to obtain speedy assistance from the emperor; but Charles the Fat, with his army, did not come to their relief till the following year. By this time Paris was ravaged with famine and pestilence, but Charles, instead of engaging in battle with the Northmen, concluded a disgraceful peace with them. He promised to pay them 700 pounds of

silver by the following March, and gave them permission in the meantime to spend the winter in Burgundy. Since the Parisians would on no account be privy to this dishonourable treaty, and still refused to let the Northmen pass through, the latter dragged their ships a distance of 2,000 feet overland past Paris, took them down to the river again beyond the town, and sailed towards Burgundy; after they had devastated that province they returned back the same way.

Some years afterwards, Arnulf, king of the East Franks, succeeded, by means of a great victory over the Northmen at Löwen in 891, in procuring peace for his kingdom. In France, also, where Count Odo, who had defended Paris so bravely against the Northmen, had succeeded the weak emperor, Charles the Fat, they suffered some defeats. But to annihilate them was found impossible both by Odo and by his successor, Charles the Simple. The privations of the people became daily greater ; there was a scarcity of everything, of victuals, of cattle, and even of grain for sowing. Of the chieftains

Emperor's Surrender to Pirate Chief

of that period the most feared was Rollo, or Rolf, the head of the pirates of the Seine. He had previously been in France, and had fought in Friesland and in England, but had returned to France at the beginning of the tenth century. He established himself in Rouen, and his warriors ravaged the banks of the Seine. Charles the Simple, therefore, determined to surrender the country on the Lower Seine to the Normans, in order to procure peace for himself and his people. Charles and Rollo met at St. Clair sur Epte in 911 and concluded a treaty. Rollo received as a fief the land which was afterwards called Normandy, and swore an oath of fidelity to the king. Next year he was baptised and received the name of Robert. He divided the land among his followers and by strict laws restored peace and order. It is related that on one occasion he forgot a bracelet which he had left hanging on a tree, and after three years he found it on the identical spot.

Normandy flourished under Rollo and his successors, the dukes of Normandy, and became the best cultivated and best organised province in the whole of France. The Normans gradually blended with the French, whose language, manners, and habits they adopted. Soon they surpassed



SCOLDING A KING: AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF KING ALFRED

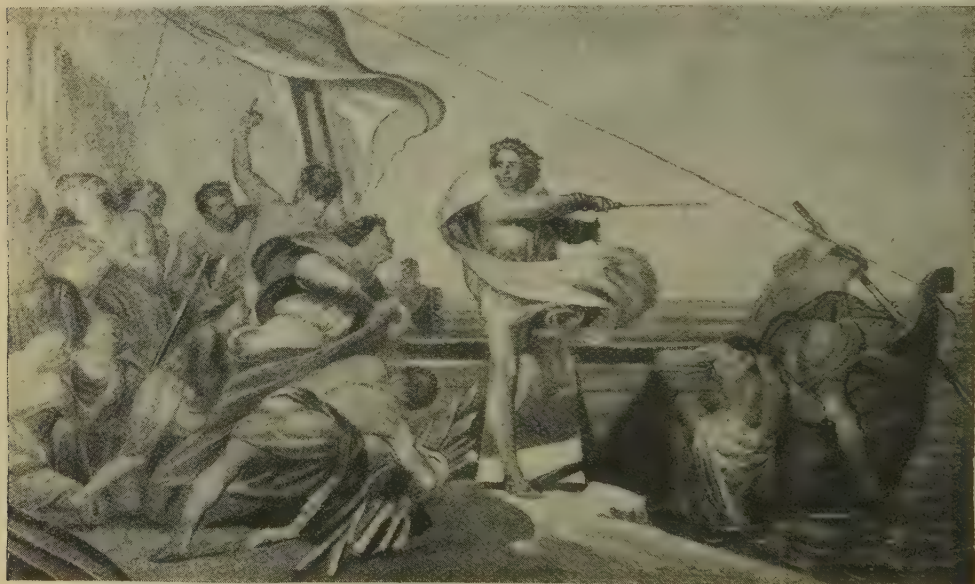
After his defeat by the Danes at Chippenham, in 878, King Alfred sought shelter in a lonely spot among the marshy lands of Somersetshire. In the house of a cowherd, one day, where he had found a temporary asylum, the good wife entrusted to the king's stranger, of whose identity she was ignorant, the task of firing the bread she had been baking. Other things were at the time occupying the thoughts of the troubled king, and he forgot all about the bread, which, later, the woman found burned and spoiled. She thereupon roundly scolded Alfred, telling him that though he was lazy in watching the bread, he would be ready enough to take his share of it at meal-time.

From the picture by Sir David Wilkie, R.A.

the men of their new country in religious zeal, without in the meantime having lost their love of fighting and adventure. They also devoted their attention with conspicuous success to literature and art. In Normandy at an early age men devoted their time to writing history; there originated the vaudeville and also, it is believed, the Gothic style of architecture. Thus the settling of the Normans in Normandy was a gain for the whole of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Normans blended with the French, their descendants still preserved many traces of their northern origin. At the

Crusades. It was a descendant of Rollo, William, Duke of Normandy, who subjugated England after the victory of Senlac, near Hastings, in 1066. The Normans came into the country with him; they became the rulers of the Anglo-Saxons, and their language, which had already been adopted by the English court, supplanted Anglo-Saxon. Gradually the Normans blended with the Anglo-Saxons; from this union originated the English people and the English language.

As early as the first half of the eleventh century the Normans had settled in the South of Italy, where at that time the



A CALL TO ARMS: KING ALFRED RESISTING THE DANISH INTRUDERS

Alfred was only twenty-two years of age when he was crowned at Winchester in 871. Within a month of his coronation he was called upon to take the field against the dreaded Danes, and his brilliant qualities as a leader soon restored the confidence of his Saxon followers. After many battles, Alfred succeeded in overcoming his enemies and receiving submission from them, and England was freed from the danger and ruin that had so long threatened her.

From the picture by G. F. Watts, R.A., in the Palace of Westminster

present day the inhabitants of Normandy differ from the rest of the French in appearance, character and disposition. In particular, they have always shown a keen interest in commerce and navigation. Normandy has always been the home of navigators and discoverers.

There are numerous proofs that the French Normans did not lose the love of their forefathers for adventures and conquests. In the middle of the eleventh century new kingdoms were founded in England and Italy by the Normans, who also took an active part in the

Germans of the empire were quarrelling with the Greeks, and the Lombard princes with the Arabs. Norman pilgrims, who stopped occasionally at Salerno on their return from the Holy Land, had helped Prince Waimar the Great in a successful battle against the Saracens in 1017. He would have willingly taken them into his service, but they longed for their native country, where, they told him, there were just as many brave men. Thereupon Waimar sent messengers to Normandy; immediately numerous knights were induced by the costly and rare



THE DANISH CHIEF GUTHRUM SUBMITTING TO KING ALFRED

England's deliverance from the supremacy of the Danes found expression in the Peace of Wedmore, which followed upon the submission of Guthrum and his followers. Reduced to despair by hunger, cold and misery, the Danes yielded to Alfred, and Guthrum indicated his desire to embrace the Christian faith. Both circumstances gave intense pleasure to Alfred, the latter no less than the former, for England's king had fought not only for the restoration of his kingdom but also for the establishment of the Christian religion. Accompanied by thirty of his followers, Guthrum appeared in Alfred's camp at Wedmore, in Somersetshire; there he was bound by a solemn "peace," and there also he was baptised.

From the design by Herbert A. Bone, executed in tapestry, by permission of Mr. Antony Gibbs

presents which he sent to accept his proposal and enter his service. However, they soon left him and helped Sergius IV., Duke of Naples, who made them in return a grant of land in 1129; there the Normans founded the town of Aversa (la Normanna) in 1030 and fortified it strongly. In order to increase their influence they summoned

Great Race of Norman Conquerors

their countrymen; troops of Normans, eager for war, and plunder, streamed to the South of Italy, where they served as mercenaries now one now another of the rival factions. In this way for some time the Normans helped the Greeks and fought on the side of the Varangers; in the end, however, the Normans under the leadership of the sons of a Norman knight, Tancred of Hauteville, directed their arms against the Greeks and took from them one piece of land after another. At last Robert Guiscard, the mightiest of Tancred's sons, by the conquest of Bari, ended the Greek domination in South Italy in 1071. As early as 1059 he had been created Duke of Apulia by the Pope, whom he acknowledged as his feudal lord; in 1076 he conquered Salerno and the other small South Italian principalities, crossed over to Greece, defeated the imperial troops both by land and sea, and plundered the country. Soon afterwards, in 1085, he died, and East Rome breathed again. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs (1061-1090), and his son Roger II., who united Sicily and Apulia, received in the autumn of 1130 the title of King of Sicily from the Pope, and was crowned with pomp in Palermo.

In England the Normans, or Danes as they are more generally called in this connection, appeared for the first time in 787, and some years afterwards they repeated their visits. Then four decades elapsed during which England had rest from the terrible sea-warriors. But in

The Terrible Danes in England

832 they renewed their attacks, and from that time every year they devastated the South of England; several times they were repulsed, but they always came back with increased numbers and began to winter in the country. From the coasts they penetrated to the interior, plundering everything as they went. They utilised the mutual enmity of the Kelts and Anglo-Saxons and concluded a treaty with the Welsh. The disputes of the Anglo-

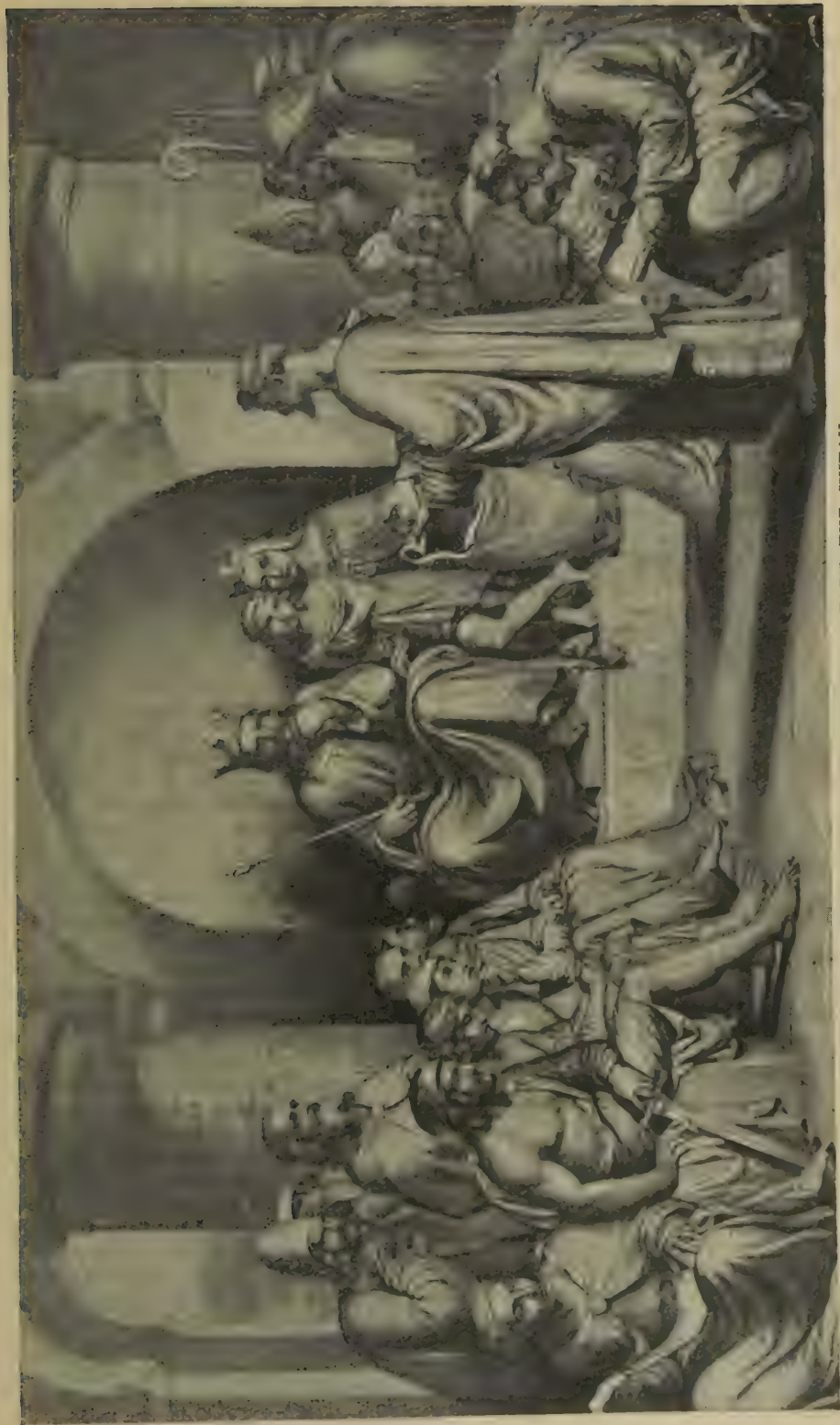
Saxons also furthered the enterprises of the invaders. After the middle of the ninth century they settled in the East of England. In the year 866 a large fleet landed on the coasts of East Anglia. The most distinguished of the chieftains commanding this fleet were the sons of Lodbrok, Ingvar and Ubbe; they spent the winter in East Anglia and concluded peace with the inhabitants. In the following spring they advanced over the river Humber to Northumbria, where two kings, Osbrith and Ella, were striving for the supremacy, and conquered York in 867.

The Northumbrian kings abandoned their strife and with combined forces advanced to York to drive away the Danes, but suffered a crushing defeat in which they both perished. By this victory the Danes secured for themselves the possession of York; and they soon subjugated the whole of Northumbria, which they gradually transformed into a colony of Northmen. From Northumbria they made incursions to the south, where the kingdom of Wessex was still unconquered, and were victorious there also. The King of Wessex,

Alfred the Great Fights the Danes

Alfred the Great, was compelled to wander about the country in disguise, and, in 878, after a war of twelve years duration, the Danes were masters of the whole country. But they could not keep their possessions for any length of time on account of the smallness of their numbers, in spite of the reinforcements which were constantly being sent over from their own country.

Alfred, who had never given up hope, declared war against them a few months after they had conquered Wessex, and succeeded in gaining a victory at Ethandune in 878. In the same year a treaty was concluded between Alfred and Guthrum, the Danish leader, under which the Danes were established in the northern and eastern half of the island—known as the Danelagh, and there they erected strongholds, the chief of which were the "Five Boroughs," Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln. They devoted themselves to peaceful occupations; many were baptised, and soon they began to blend with the Anglo-Saxons. For a long time, however, they preserved their speech, manners, and laws, and the appearance and language of the northern English, as also numerous place-names, still testify to their Scandinavian origin. The rest of England was also influenced by



KING ALFRED AS LAW-MAKER BEFORE THE WITAN

The Witán, or Assembly of the Wise, consisted of the leading thanes and clergy, meeting three times a year. In its constitution it resembled the present House of Lords, and it enjoyed supreme power, there being no appeal from its decisions. King Alfred is represented in the illustration submitting his laws to that assembly, an event described by Alfred himself in the following terms: "I, Alfred, King of the West Saxons, showed them to all my witán, and they said that they approved of them all, and would observe them."

From the cartoon by John Baldres

the Danes in many ways. Indisputable traces of Norse influence are still found in the government and jurisprudence of the country.

The attacks of the Danes, however, did not cease with their settlement in the Danelagh; but they were not so successful as formerly, since Alfred defended the coasts well and built a fleet, by means of which he was able to keep the enemy away from the coasts. In addition, the Danes were now turning their attention to France. The independence of the Danelagh did not last long. Alfred's son Edward compelled the Danes to acknowledge his supremacy. It is true they soon revolted, but they met with a crushing defeat at Brunanburgh in 937, and later attempts to secure independence came to nothing. Gradually the relations of the two races became more friendly; many Danes entered the service of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

England enjoyed peace until the end of the century, when, after the accession of Ethelred the Unready in 979, the land was torn with fresh struggles. Attacks from Denmark were renewed, and, as before, nothing escaped the ravages of fire and sword. On St. Brice's Day—November 13th, 1002—a terrible massacre of the Danes took place. But the English did not succeed in destroying all the Northmen in that portion of the country which was under their own rule, and there is no doubt that those in the Danelagh escaped the slaughter.

In the year 1013 Sven Tveskjæg—Sweyn, or Sweyn Forkbeard—who on several previous occasions had plundered England, collected a large army to accomplish the conquest. He landed in Northumbria, and soon took possession of the Danelagh, where the inhabitants attached themselves to him. He then turned his attacks to the South of England, where his efforts were everywhere attended with success, and soon the resistance of the Anglo-Saxons was crushed.

In the same year London opened its gates to the Danish king; Ethelred was compelled to flee and Sweyn became king. However, he did not enjoy his victory long, for he died suddenly at the beginning of the following year. Shortly before his death he appointed as his successor in England his son, Knut (Canute), who had accompanied him on

his expedition; but when the Anglo-Saxon Witan heard of the king's death they recalled Ethelred and promised never again to submit to a Danish king.

Ethelred returned; an Anglo-Saxon army was quickly summoned, and Canute left England to bring reinforcements from his own country, as his forces were too small. He equipped a great fleet, which was manned by veteran warriors from the north, and in the year 1015 he again appeared in England, where the magnates spiritual and temporal soon paid homage to him. Shortly afterwards, in 1016, the unfortunate Ethelred died. But Canute found a worthy opponent in his son, the brave Edmund Ironside, who was proclaimed king by the citizens of London. Canute won a great victory by treachery at Assandun in 1016, upon which a treaty was concluded, dividing the kingdom between the two kings. However, as Edmund died in 1017, Canute remained from that time sole ruler of England. In 1018 he became king of Denmark, and in 1028 king of Norway. It is thought that he wished to establish a

Influences of the Northmen's Expeditions great northern empire dependent on England. But his death, in 1035, did not allow him to realise his hopes. As his sons died after a short reign, the Danish dynasty in England ceased in 1042.

It was through these expeditions that the Northmen first came into contact with Western and Central Europe—a contact which proved of great importance for the Northmen themselves as well as for the nations whom they infested. The most important effect of these expeditions was the fact that the Northmen by their settlements imparted new strength to the enfeebled and degenerate nations, and opened up for them new spheres of usefulness. While the west gained in strength, the north itself was weakened by the great emigration. At the same time, however, the north was freed from a number of restless, proud, and obstinate chieftains and therefore the kings were more easily enabled to unite many "lands" in greater kingdoms and to strengthen the kingship. Through these voyages, also, the Northmen became acquainted with the higher civilisation of the west. Christianity, which at first had made only slow progress, gradually won the victory over paganism.



DENMARK AND ITS SISTER STATES TO THE TIME OF SWEDEN'S SECESSION

DENMARK had been united in one kingdom before 800 A.D., and consisted of three chief parts: (1) the peninsula of Jutland, to the Eider; (2) the islands, of which Zealand, with the royal residence Leire, was the most important; and (3) Scania, with Halland and Bleking. Each of these divisions had its own *Ting*, or assembly, where the people—that is, the peasants—came together in order to choose a king, to make laws, and to sit in judgment—the Jutlanders in Viborg, the Zealanders in Ringsted, and the Scanians in Lund.

The king was the bond of union between the countries. He was chosen from the royal family; he acted as high-priest, and it was his duty to preserve peace and to summon the troops in war. Next in rank to the king were the jarls, who governed large tracts of country in the king's name. The king had his "hauskerle," or "hird," who, in conjunction with the chieftains, the most powerful of the peasants, were his helpers in war and peace. The earliest reliable accounts are contained in the Frankish annals of the time of Charlemagne. During the Saxon wars Widukind took refuge with the Danish king, Siegfried, in 777, and when Charles had defeated the Saxons he came into friendly intercourse with the Danes. Their king at that time, Gottfried, or Götrik, secured his south boundaries by a rampart, and was just arming himself for an attack on the Frankish Empire when he was murdered in 810. His successor concluded a peace with the emperor, and the Eider remained the boundary between Denmark and the Frankish Empire. Shortly after this, disputes, which lasted for a long time, broke out in the Danish royal house concerning the crown; these disputes opened up the way for Christianity, with which some Danes had already become familiar, partly through missionaries such as

Willibrord, partly through travels on the Continent.

King Harald was driven out by Gottfried's sons; he fled to Germany, and was baptised in 826, in order to gain the assistance of Louis the Pious. Afterwards, when he returned to

Missionary School in Jutland Denmark, the devout Ansgar, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Corvey, followed

him as missionary. Ansgar was filled with enthusiasm for his vocation; he immediately began his missionary work, and founded a school for the training of teachers at Hedeby in Jutland. He had still many difficulties to overcome, and conversion to Christianity was slow. It became still harder for him when his protector, Harald, was driven out a second time. Ansgar was also compelled to leave the country. He crossed over to Sweden, where he was well received and won many converts to Christianity. Meanwhile an archbishopric for the north was established in Hamburg and Ansgar was called to the see, which was removed to Bremen after the demolition of Hamburg by the Danes. Ansgar succeeded in gaining the friendship of the King of Denmark, and was now able, as "apostle of the north," to take up his work again with renewed energy, a work which he continued with unwearied zeal till his death in 865. For a long time after his death Christianity made no progress, and at the same time the land was divided by internal struggles. At the beginning of the tenth century Olaf, a Swedish chieftain, took

Denmark's Royal House

possession of at least a portion of the country. His son Gnupa was defeated by the German king, Henry I., in 934, and was forced to receive baptism. However, the Swedish rule did not last long. Gnupa submitted to a descendant of the Danish royal house, Gorm the Old, whose wife, Tyra Danmarksbod, is said to have built the boundary wall known as the "Dane-

virke" (Danework). Gorm's son, Harald Blaatand (Bluetooth), who ruled not only over all Denmark but for some time also over Norway, was baptised in 940, and from that time was a zealous promoter of Christianity in his kingdom. He declares on the runic stone at Jellinge, which he set up to the memory of his

**Danish King
who Conquered
England**

parents, that he won over the whole of Denmark and Norway and baptised the Danes. Some of the Danes, however, were not pleased with his religious zeal. The discontented attached themselves to his son Sweyn (Forkbeard) in 985. Harald fell in battle in 986 or 987. Sweyn became king, and, as has already been mentioned, conquered England in 1013. He was baptised, but exercised toleration in religious matters.

It was not until the reign of his second son, Knut—better known to us as Canute—the Mighty (1018-1035), that Christianity triumphed in Denmark. Canute greatly extended his dominion; he ruled over Denmark, England and Norway. He was acknowledged as emperor of Bretland, or Britain, by the Emperor Conrad II., who ceded to him the Mark of Schleswig, and his aim, as mentioned above, was the foundation of a great northern empire. But he did nothing to unite the countries permanently under his power. He lived mostly in England, which he considered the most important of his dominions, and this country, under his powerful government, advanced in every respect. He also turned his attention to Denmark, which by the union with England, a country which had attained to a higher standard of civilisation, came into closer contact with the higher culture of Central Europe. A fresh impetus was given to Christianity; Anglo-Saxon bishops and priests worked in the country, churches were built, and the first monasteries were established. Canute was very generous

**The Great
Work
of Canute**

to the Church; the clergy received great rewards, and their influence increased. As by this means Canute laid the foundations of a Danish hierarchy, he also formed the beginning of a secular nobility by his law which he gave to his Hird, the "Tingamannalid," by which the members of the Hird received various privileges.

With the death of Canute's son, Hardicanute, the old royal family became extinct. According to a former treaty, the Norwe-

gian king, Magnus Olavssön, was also ruler in Denmark. But in 1047 the Danes chose as their king Sven Estridssön, the son of Ulfdarl and Estrid, a sister of Canute. Norway was ultimately compelled to acknowledge him as king. By Sven's accession the house of Estrid ascended the Danish throne, which they occupied for three centuries. The Estrids raised Denmark to the height of its power; but it was also under their rule that the country experienced its deepest humiliation. Sven (1047-1076) was a cultured and affable man, very popular with the Danes. Like Canute, he took a keen interest in the affairs of the Church; he regulated bishoprics, and attempted to make the Danish church independent of Bremen. His work was continued after 1080 by his sons Knut IV. and Erik Eiegod. Knut was hated by the people on account of his cruelty, and was ultimately killed by them in 1086. After 1101, however, he was honoured as Denmark's national saviour. He was the first to define the Church's special jurisdiction, and to assure her the possession of a revenue by introducing tithes. In 1104 Erik (1095-1103) received permission from the Pope to establish an archbishopric in Lund, to which all the northern churches were made subordinate.

**Denmark's
Crown
in Dispute**

For a long time after the death of Erik, Denmark was torn by the struggles for the throne among the descendants of Sven Estridssön, until finally a grandson of Erik, Waldemar the Great (1157-1182), triumphed over his opponents. Then quiet was restored in Denmark. During the strife for the crown Denmark was constantly ravaged by the Wends, who lived on the Baltic Sea and were still pagan. The country was unprotected, the peasants fled, and the Wends met with hardly any resistance. But when Waldemar became king the situation was altered; he began a vigorous campaign against the pirates. Supported by his friend, the warlike Bishop Absalom, and in league with the Saxon Duke Henry the Lion, he attacked the Wends in their own country and subdued the island of Rügen. The prince of the island became his vassal. Absalom remained true to Waldemar's son, Knut VI., and victory always followed his banner. The princes of Pomerania and Mecklenburg were reduced to submission, while Knut's brother Waldemar, whom

he had appointed duke of South Jutland, took prisoner the Count of Holstein and subdued his lands.

When Waldemar II. Seir (the Victorious) succeeded his brother as king, 1202, he ruled over all the countries west of the Baltic. He now wished to extend his power to the east, and in 1219 undertook a crusade against the Esthonians. It is supposed that the king intended to establish a bishopric in Esthonia, and to make it independent of Riga. The Esthonians were defeated in a battle with which there is associated the legend about the standard which fell from heaven, the Danebrog; they were forced to receive baptism, and the town Reval was founded.

Waldemar's power, however, did not last long. After he was taken prisoner by his vassal Henry, count of Schwerin, the dependent countries regained their freedom. It is true that Waldemar was released in 1225 and attempted to restore his former dominion, but he was totally defeated at Bornhöved in 1227. This battle decided the fate of North Germany. Waldemar was obliged to conclude peace with his

Waldemar Gives up War numerous enemies, and scarcely any of his conquests remained except Esthonia and Rügen. From that time he gave up war and directed his energies to the internal welfare of the country, principally to the improvement of the laws. The law of Jutland, which he probably intended to make the code for the whole of his empire, was enacted shortly before his death in 1241.

From these laws we can see the changes that took place in the social conditions, through the influence of the continent, during the reigns of the two Waldemars. The peasants, who had formerly been the only class in the country, were now subordinate to the nobility and clergy; second to these, a burgher class was being formed. Serfdom had disappeared, and the serfs had become cottagers. Agriculture was making rapid progress; the ground which the peasants cultivated in common was gradually being turned into arable land, and the number of villages was increasing. As in former times, the peasants assembled at the "Harden-Ting" and the "Landschafts-Ting," but the political importance of these assemblies was decreasing. The more important matters were generally decided by the king in the assembly of the nobles. The

peasants were also losing their former importance as soldiers. It is true that the old military organisation still existed; the country was divided up into districts of different size, which had to provide ships and fighting men; but the picked men of the army were the "Hauskerle" of the king, who served as horsemen. These,

The King's First Counsellors together with the royal officials, were exempt from taxes; in this way they were distinguished from the rest of the peasants and formed a nobility. Among the officials whom the king afterwards summoned as his first counsellors were the Marsk (marshal), the Drost (high bailiff), and the Kanzler (chancellor).

The clergy, under the influence of the continent, also severed themselves from the people, and strove to make themselves independent of temporal power. Although at that time the Church did not succeed in entirely realising her demand for immunity, still her power and influence steadily increased without the friendly relations being disturbed which existed between the Church and the Waldemars. Many of the clergy visited the continent, especially the University of Paris, in search of higher learning, and were thus the only Danes who possessed a higher culture and occupied themselves with literature. Archbishop Absalom in particular, who was distinguished as a clergyman, warrior, and statesman, rendered great services to literature. At his instigation, his secretary, Saxo Grammaticus, wrote in Latin, the language of the Church, a detailed history of Denmark, of which the Danes are justly proud. The laws of Waldemar, however, were published in Danish, and therefore possess great importance as monuments of the language, in addition to their value in the history of civilisation. The buildings of the Church increased in magnificence with her growing power;

Growing Power of the Church instead of the old wooden places of worship, stone buildings were now being erected according to the models supplied from the West of Germany and North of France. The towns, which sprang up from fishing villages, harbours, and market places or around the castles, were still small and few in number; they were improving at this time through commerce, navigation, fishing—especially herring fishing—and industry. The inhabitants of the towns

were gradually separating themselves from the country population and forming a distinct class. They received special privileges, and later, in addition, their own officials, from the king, whose protection they often sought. The burghers formed guilds or clubs, the members of which pledged themselves to mutual help, and

Denmark's Time of Misfortune

in this way they increased in union, strength, and importance. The most influential towns were Schleswig and Ripen. Copenhagen owes its importance as a town to Absalom, who erected a castle near the old harbour "Hafn."

After the death of Waldemar II. (Seir) a time of misfortune began for Denmark; the kingdom quickly sank from its height of prosperity. Waldemar's successors were not equal to him in ability and might. The friendly relations between the king and the nobles ceased, the magnates temporal and spiritual rose against the king. At the imperial assembly (Danehof), which had then the greatest legislative and judicial power, the nobles constantly endeavoured to increase their power by means of laws which they extorted from the crown. Unfortunately for the empire, Waldemar had given large appanages to his younger sons. They and their descendants now wished to be independent, and were the cause of much trouble to the kings; especially dangerous were the dukes of South Jutland, because they were protected by the Count of Holstein. The whole land was torn with strife.

The kings, who were often in need of money, finally took refuge in the pernicious expedient of mortgaging parts of their dominions, and as they were not able to redeem them, they were lost to the kingdom. Disorganisation and confusion steadily spread and ruin threatened. During this time of turmoil and war the peasants were compelled to bear the charges of the general misrule; their

How

Liberty was Lost

only way of protection was to place themselves under a lord and become his "Vornede" (villeins). In this way the peasants gradually lost their freedom. The condition of the burghers was not much better. The members of the Hanseatic League made their way into the towns, received various rights, and wrested the traffic with the continent from the burghers. The vigorous shipping industry, which the Danes and Norwegians had

carried on from the earliest times on the North Sea and the Baltic, now ceased.

The situation was worst during the reign of Christopher II. (1319-1332). In order to become king he had to grant an "election charter," which deprived him of almost all his power. The most important portions of the country were mortgaged, and his rule was limited to a few boroughs. The greatest mortgagee was Gerhard (III.) the Great, Count of Holstein, who possessed the whole of North Jutland. After Christopher's death, in 1332, Gerhard was the real ruler of the country. Christopher's son, Waldemar, remained in Germany. But Gerhard's arrogant behaviour drove the Jutes to take up arms against him. He was killed on April 1st, 1340, and Waldemar, who now returned to Denmark, was elected king.

Waldemar IV., surnamed Atterdag (1340-1375), was prudent, capable, and not over-scrupulous in his choice of the means to be employed in consolidating the kingdom and re-establishing the royal power. The distant Esthonia he sold in 1346 to the Teutonic Knights, to obtain

Waldemar's Success and Failure

funds for the redemption of more important provinces. He succeeded also, in 1361, in conquering the island of Gothland, together with the city of Wisby, but this brought him into conflict with the Hanseatic League. For a time victory favoured the Danish arms; but when the League, Mecklenburg and Sweden allied themselves against him, Waldemar's position became desperate. In spite of these odds, however, he was in the end able to conclude peace without ceding any of his territory. At home Waldemar's efforts were directed to the maintenance of the royal prestige. He won over the nobility by the charter of Kallundborg in 1360, and contrived both to add to the crown lands, thus increasing his own revenues, and to extend the judicial power of the throne. In suppressing lawlessness and restoring order, he acted with firmness and energy, but at the same time with such merciless severity that he enjoyed but little popularity among either the high or the low.

With Waldemar's death, in 1375, the Estridian line was extinguished, but he left a daughter, Margaret, whose son, Olaf, was elected king in 1376. He was, however, still a child, and his mother, the wife of Haakon VI. (Magnussön) of

DENMARK AND ITS SISTER STATES

Norway, acted as regent. Four years later Olaf succeeded to the Norwegian throne, with the result that Denmark and Norway were united in 1380, a union which continued almost without interruption to 1814.

Olaf died in 1387, when Margaret became queen-regent of both kingdoms, to which she before long succeeded in adding Sweden also; for the Swedish lords, dissatisfied with the rule of their king, Albert, invited her intervention, the result being that Albert was defeated

with the conditions proposed. For while the terms of the act recognised the perfect equality of the three states, Margaret, following her father's policy, wished to establish the supremacy of Denmark. In addition to this, she was dissatisfied with the limitations to be imposed on the royal power, while at the same time the Norwegians were opposed to some of the conditions laid down. Thus it came about that no real union was concluded at Kalmar; but for a while the three kingdoms remained united in fact, and this



THREE OF THE CHIEF DEITIES OF NORSE MYTHOLOGY

Burne-Jones has, in the above decorative paintings, given striking conceptions of three of the deities of Norse mythology. The first is Odin, the supreme god, the bestower of wisdom and valour; the second, Freyja, goddess of the spring and fertility; and the third is the son of Odin, Thor the Thunderer, wielding his hammer "Mjolnir."

and taken prisoner in 1389. In the same year, and again in 1396, Margaret secured the election of her great-nephew, Eric of Pomerania, to the thrones of all three kingdoms, and in 1397 she summoned representatives of the nobility of the three countries to a meeting at Kalmar for the purpose of defining the character of the union.

Eric was duly crowned, and the text of an Act of Union was drawn up; but the act never became law, owing, presumably, to Margaret's disagreement

actual union is known as the Union of Kalmar (1397-1523).

If the union-kings had been wise and capable, these three nations, with their common interests and characteristics, might have coalesced and been welded into a powerful Scandinavian state; but for the most part these kings looked upon themselves as Danish kings, for Denmark was the predominant partner, and the royal residence was fixed in Denmark. They showed little concern for the welfare of the other two kingdoms, visiting

them but rarely, and seeking only to exploit them for their own purposes. Under such treatment these states felt, and rightly felt, themselves to be neglected; they became dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction led to continual revolts. Thus the period of the union became a time of discord and strife; instead of creating a strong and united Scandinavia, the union produced enmity and hatred between the northern peoples.

With her prudence and energy, Margaret, who kept the reins of government in her own hands until her death, had been able to maintain peace at home, but after her death, in 1412, discord broke loose. Eric of Pomerania aimed at continuing his foster-mother's policy, and endeavoured to deprive the counts of Holstein of the dukedom of Sönderjylland, or Schleswig, which they had acquired on the extinction of the ducal line in 1375; but after a struggle of twenty years' duration he was obliged to give up the attempt. At the same time he was waging an unsuccessful war with the Hanseatic League. This was embittered by the manner in which he favoured the Dutch, and by his levying of tolls on vessels passing through the Sound. The taxes which he was compelled to impose for carrying on the war aroused much dissatisfaction, and complaints of bad government were made. Rebellions broke out in Norway and Sweden, while even in Denmark discontent

was rife. At last he was deposed in 1439, and his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria—Christopher III.—made king.

On the death of Christopher III., in 1448, the union was actually dissolved; for the Swedes raised their former viceroy, Karl Knutsson, to their throne, while the Danes chose Count Christian of Oldenburg, who two years later became king of Norway also. Christian I., it is true, as well as his son John (1481-1513) and his grandson Christian II., strove to renew the union with Sweden, where there existed a Danish party. The two former, indeed, succeeded, in 1457 and 1497, in making themselves kings of Sweden, but not for long. Christian II., therefore, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden by the execution of a number of the nobility, clergy,

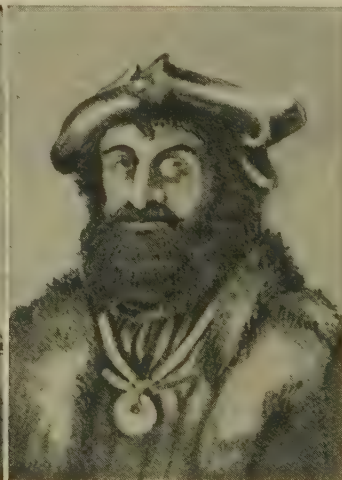
and townsfolk in what is known as the Stockholm Blood-bath, November 8th, 1520; but the only result was a fresh rebellion, which ended in the final separation of Sweden from Denmark in 1523.

Though they lost Sweden in the manner above described, the Oldenburgs extended their power in another direction. On the extinction of the Schauenburg line, Christian I. had been elected duke of Schleswig and count of



MARGARET, QUEEN-REGENT

On the death of Olaf, in 1387, Margaret became queen-regent of both Denmark and Norway, to which kingdoms before long she added Sweden. She held the reins of government till her death in 1412.



KINGS CHRISTOPHER III. AND CHRISTIAN II.

There were troublous times in Norway and Sweden, and even in Denmark, when Christopher III. mounted the throne in 1439, and when he died, in 1448, the Swedes receded from the union. Christian II., king of Denmark and Norway, attempted to crush the spirit of revolt in Sweden, but the only result was a fresh rebellion.

Holstein on March 2nd, 1460, on condition that these states should remain for ever undivided. The attempt, however, to subjugate the independent people of Dithmarsh ended disastrously at Hemmingstedt

on February 17th, 1500. During this period the royal power, which had been consolidated by Waldemar IV. and Margaret, grew weaker. The Danehof ceased to exist, and its place was taken by the Rigsraad, or council of state, an independent body whose consent the king was forced to obtain in important matters. Through the medium of the Rigsraad, which had developed out of the royal council, and whose most important members were the Drost—later Lord High Steward—the Marsk, the Chancellor, and the Bishops, the nobles increased their power by making use of the conditions imposed on the kings at each election to increase their privileges. None but nobles were allowed to administer the fiefs (the administrative districts), the revenues from which most of them enjoyed in return for military service and money payments to the crown. They were exempt from taxation and had considerable power over the peasantry, while their only duty was the defence of the country. At the same time the position of the peasantry deteriorated, and the number of peasant owners of "odal" (allodial) land steadily decreased. The majority of the peasantry were tenants who were in some districts—Zealand, Lolland, and Falster—tied to the soil; they were bound to pay to their overlords various dues, such as fines on succession and land tax, and in addition to render labour service. The towns fared better, for the kings recognised that the privileges enjoyed by the Hanseatic League were injurious to the Danish merchants, and therefore, without exception, did all in their power to put an end to the supre-

macy of the League; they curtailed its privileges, concluded commercial alliances with the Netherlands, England, Scotland and France, and created a navy with which they hoped to secure the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic.

The last union king, Christian II., was especially solicitous for the welfare of the townsfolk and the peasantry. He was a gifted, enlightened, and energetic ruler, but at the same time passionate, inconsiderate, and suspicious, and frequently revengeful and cruel. From his youth onwards he hated the nobility and the higher clergy, whose power he constantly endeavoured to diminish. To the conditions on which he was elected king he paid no heed, for he aimed, like the other European sovereigns of his time, at making his own power absolute. In his struggle with the ruling classes he relied on the support of the commonalty, for whom he always entertained a special preference, and whose position he improved by numerous laws. In consequence he was loved by them, while the nobles, on the



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF FANÖ, DENMARK

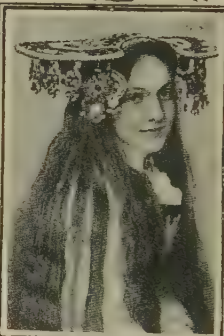
contrary, feared and hated him to such an extent that they at last renounced their allegiance and offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic of Holstein-Gottorp.

Losing heart, Christian took ship for the Netherlands in April, 1523, to claim the assistance of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. Eight years later, towards the end of 1531, he made an attempt, with Norway as his base, to recover his throne, but without success, and died a prisoner in the castle of Kollundborg on January 25th, 1559.



Woman of Aalesund,
Norway

Woman of Reykjavik,
Iceland



A Norwegian bride



Peasant women of Thelemark



A peasant man of Thelemark

FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE PEOPLE OF NORWAY AND ICELAND

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS X

NORWAY'S RISE AND FALL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ICELAND

IN Norway, or Norge—originally Nordvegr, that is, the Northern Way—the primitive political conditions persisted longer than in Denmark and Sweden. Even as late as the ninth century the land was divided into many petty states. The kings of these districts had but little power. In the *herad*, or sub-district, and district assemblies (*ting*) the yeomen exercised their legislative and judicial power; in the latter it was the chieftains, in the former the heads of the temples, who had the greatest influence. The peasantry were partly allodial, partly tenant farmers, and dwelt on scattered farms; no towns existed, but there were market centres, which were frequently visited by foreign merchants.

The Norwegians themselves also visited foreign countries to barter their wares. In addition to agriculture, stock-raising, hunting, and fishing, commerce was an important means of livelihood, and the Norwegians enjoyed the reputation of being capable merchants.

Norway's Great Warriors

About the middle of the ninth century there lived in the district round the fiord of Christiania a royal race descended, according to tradition, from the Yngling kings of Upsala. To this race belonged Halfdan the Black, a great warrior who, at his death, was master of South-eastern Norway. His son Harald (about 860-930) conceived the idea of subjugating the whole country, and vowed never to cut his hair or beard until he had achieved his object. The petty-kings who did not fall in battle were forced to flee, and after his victory in the Hافرstjörd, near Stavanger, in 872, he became the sole ruler, whereupon he had his hair and beard trimmed, and received the surname Haarfager (Fairhair).

Harald declared himself owner of the soil, and the peasantry, who had until then been free from taxation, were compelled to pay him taxes. The kinsmen of the old chieftains he attempted to propitiate

by choosing from among them his higher officials, or Jarls. But as their rank usually descended by inheritance to their sons, a nobility grew up which soon formed a party of opposition to the ambitions of the crown. Many of the old chiefs, however,

Norwegian Chiefs Settle in Scotland

were unable to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, and left their native soil, betaking themselves to the Scottish islands and avenging themselves on Harald by their raids on Norway. He therefore led an expedition against the islands, subjugated them, and compelled all who would not brook his sway to seek refuge still further away. Many of them migrated to the Faroe Islands and to Iceland, which had been discovered in 867, and now received its first population.

As Harald had conferred kings' titles on all his sons, the unity of the kingdom was endangered when he died, and the Danish kings interfered in the hope of gaining the overlordship for themselves. Of Harald's sons, the youngest, Haakon the Good (935-961), deserves special credit for his legislation and organisation of the military forces. He had been educated and baptised in England, and on his accession made the first attempt to convert his people to Christianity. But the peasantry would have none of the new doctrine, and he was himself obliged to take part in their pagan sacrifices. His work was continued by Olaf I. Tryggvesson (995-1000), and completed by Olaf II. Haraldsson (1016-1030). Both in their youth had visited foreign lands as Vikings

How Norway Became Christianised

and accepted baptism. After their return and accession to the throne they worked zealously to convert their subjects, and dealt severely with all who were recalcitrant. The temples were destroyed and churches were built, while clergy were brought over from England, with the consequence that the Anglo-Saxon Church influenced the Norwegian in several

respects. Thus the country was indeed Christianised; but it was long before the last remnants of paganism disappeared.

The organisation of the Church was also Olaf Haraldsson's work, and he promulgated the first ecclesiastical law. By exterminating the petty kings of Harald

Fairhair's race he became the second unifier of the kingdom. But his strict rule and his attempts to increase the royal power at the expense of the self-willed nobility caused the latter to appeal to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who readily followed their summons and was made king of Norway. Olaf was forced to flee the country in 1028, and betook himself to Gardariki, in Russia. After remaining there for two years he made an attempt to recover his kingdom, and invaded the northern portion of Norway with an army raised in Sweden; but he fell in the battle of Stiklestad on July 29th, 1030. Before

long, however, the Norwegians regretted what had been done, and the nobles found their hopes disappointed. There spread rumours of miracles worked by the dead body of the fallen king, and as early as 1031 Olaf was canonised by the bishop. The nation rose against Danish rule, and in the year 1035 Olaf's son Magnus, who had been left in Russia, was proclaimed king of Norway

With the reign of Magnus the Good (1035-1047), who, on the extinction of the Danish royal house, became king of Denmark also, there began for Norway a century of prosperity. A succession of kings who were skilled warriors as well as able rulers raised Norway in the estimation of other

nations and increased the welfare of the people themselves. A more vigorous international intercourse of a friendly nature was established. The towns which had been founded by the kings, the most important of which were Nidaros—now Drontheim—Oslo, and Bergen, increased in number and greatness; churches and monasteries were built, and the dioceses of the bishops regulated. Foreign customs and habits were introduced, and in addition the European system of education.

This period of prosperity ceased in the twelfth century, when Norway was disorganised for a long time by disputes concerning the crown (1130-1240). It is true the crown had

been hereditary in the family of Harald Fairhair. But every king's son, legitimate or illegitimate, had a right to it, and many who were not of royal birth declared that they were, and to prove the truth of their assertion underwent the ordeal by fire. In this period the power of the magnates increased, since the contending kings



THE SORCERESS, THE RAVEN AND THE KING
Born about 850, Harald Haarfager was the son of Halfdan the Black, king of Upland, a small district in Norway. He was only ten years of age when he became king. The illustration shows a Norse sorceress consulting her familiar in the form of a raven, a sacred bird among the Northmen, with regard to the career of Haarfager.

From the drawing by Frederick Sandys

were compelled to purchase their help by compliance; at this time the clergy also became more powerful. The Norwegian Church, which was at first subordinate to the Archbishop of Bremen, and later, in 1104, to the Archbishop of Lund, but the real head of which had been the king, became independent in 1152, with the Archbishop of Nidaros as its head.

The archbishop made it his aim to free the Norwegian Church from the power of the laity, and to provide for it the same influence which other European churches possessed. In 1161 one of the most powerful chiefs, Erling Skakke, had succeeded in getting his son Magnus elected king, and wished him to be crowned by the

little success. His followers were few in number, poor and miserable, and were nicknamed "Birchshanks," because for lack of shoes they bound their feet with birch-bark. They were, however, a brave, intrepid, and persevering band, who shrank from neither danger nor toil. After some years Sverre was victorious in 1184. By the death of many of the chiefs belonging to Magnus' party the power of the magnates had become weakened; their posts were given by Sverre to his "Birchshanks," who had remained faithful and obedient to him. However, the struggle began again when Sverre was about to restrict the power of the Church. Sverre was excommunicated by



THE BATTLEFIELD OF STIKLESTAD, IN NORWAY

In an attempt to recover his kingdom, Olaf Haraldsson fell in the battle of Stiklestad in 1030. As a Viking in his early youth, Olaf had visited foreign shores, but he accepted Christianity, and after his accession to the throne of Norway he laboured zealously to convert his subjects. The nobility rebelled against him, and appealed for assistance to Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who, readily responding, was made king of Norway. Olaf fled from the country in 1028, but returning two years later with an army raised in Sweden, met his death in the battle that ensued.

archbishop to compensate for the fact that he was not of royal descent. Magnus was crowned, but was compelled to grant important concessions to the Church, the chief of which was that in future the archbishops and the bishops should decide which of the king's sons should rule. This made the archbishop the virtual head of the kingdom; Norway was all but an ecclesiastical fief.

The threatened independence of Norway was saved by Sverre Sigurdsson, who opposed Magnus as rival king in 1177. Sverre had been educated in the Faroe Islands and was destined to become a priest; but when he heard from his mother that he was the son of a king he crossed over into Norway. At first he met with

the Pope, and a clerical party, called the "Baglers" (*bagall*, that is, crosier), was formed, against whom he was compelled to contend till his death. In spite of that he had secured the independence of the country from the hands of the clergy, and at the same time strengthened the power of the king.

After Sverre's death, in 1202, his grandson, Haakon IV. (1217-1263), put an end to domestic strife by abolishing the ordeal by fire, and by making the right of succession more definite. Under the beneficent rule of Haakon the country attained to a degree of prosperity hitherto unequalled. Peace and quiet prevailed. Haakon contrived to keep on friendly relations with the

Church party without detracting from his own power. He improved the laws, founded towns and monasteries, built churches and castles. His name was familiar in other countries, and foreign princes sought his friendship.

Pope Innocent IV., who was at open feud with the Emperor Frederic II., offered Haakon the imperial crown. Haakon, however, who was too wise to accept the gift, and, apart from that, was on friendly terms with Frederic, answered that he was always ready to fight against the enemies of the Church, but not against those of the Pope. In the north, however, he endeavoured to extend his dominions. He succeeded in bringing Iceland and Greenland under his control, and this marks the greatest expansion of the Norwegian kingdom.

In the second half of the ninth century, as we have already seen, discontented Norwegians had settled on Iceland. The emigrants had taken with them their household goods and movable property and their cattle, and were doubtless settling down in their new country as they had lived in the old. The chief took possession of a piece of land, on which he built his house and a temple (Hov), and over which he presided. His followers settled round about; he was the spiritual and temporal head. Colonisation in this fashion continued for almost sixty years (874-930).

At first the chiefs had no political organisation in common; each ruled his province, or *godord*, independently of the others. However, as the island gradually became more thickly populated they felt the necessity of becoming

more united in politics, and, accordingly, in 930, drew up laws by which the island became an aristocratic republic. Affairs which concerned the whole island were settled in the *Alting*, which was held

every summer, and in which every man had a voice. The president of the *Alting* was the lawman, who was elected for a period of three years; his duty was to recite the laws. The real legislature was the "*Lögrétta*," which consisted of the "*Goden*" and their assessors. Judicial business was carried on in the first instance by a tribunal elected in the *Godarden* by the *Goden*; the superior courts were the "*Fjorðungsdomar*" and "*Fimtar-domar*," which

held their sittings in the *Alting*, and the members of which were also appointed by the *Goden*. There was no single executive power for the whole island.

About the year 1000 the islanders were converted to Christianity by the Norwegians. The Church now began to gain influence, especially after 1100, when two bishoprics were established on the island. The *Goden* still retained their power; a *Gode* often included several *Godords*. Then, however, the island was devastated with civil war. Finally, in 1261, the islanders submitted to the kings of Norway under the condition that they should retain their own laws and native officials. That state of affairs, however, did not last long. The *Alting* lost the power of legislature, the office of "law-reader" was discontinued, and the island was governed by a royal official. The situation did not improve when Iceland, together with Norway, came under the control of Denmark. We may here make the



THE GREAT WOODEN CHURCH OF THELEMARK

The Hitterdal's Kirke, at Thelemark, a picturesque district in Norway, shown in the illustration, is generally considered by experts to be the most remarkable wooden church in the world.

anticipatory note that it was not until the nineteenth century that conditions were bettered. Trade, which had for a long time been a monopoly of Danish merchants, became entirely free in 1854. Since 1874, the legislature is shared by an assembly of the people—the Alting—and the king, and in 1903 Iceland received a Minister of its own, who has his residence in Reykjavik, and is responsible to the Alting, not to the Danish Parliament.

The Icelanders have acquired great reputation by their literary activity. On this distant, lonely, and inhospitable island there flourished, during the period of liberty, a literature in the vernacular, by reason of which the Icelanders will always be given a place of honour in the history of men. They carefully treasured the sagas and poems which they had brought with them from their fatherland. They kept up by means of travel a constant intercourse with the outer

**Culture
of the
Icelanders**

world, especially with Norway, and at home they followed foreign affairs with a keen interest.

For a long time the poems and sagas were transmitted orally. But in the twelfth century, when the Icelanders became familiar with the Latin alphabet, a written literature, both of poetry and prose, sprang up.

The most important of the poems are the Eddas, a collection of folk-songs, which date from heathen times, and in which are narrated stories of the gods

and heroes. This school of national poetry came to an end in the tenth century, and was replaced by the artificial poetry of the skalds, which was influenced by Irish models. It was originally simple and unaffected, but gradually became more artificial and overloaded with figurative expressions, and therefore unintelligible. These poems were generally written for the glorification of the kings, and the skalds

**Iceland's
Famous Poets
and Historians**

were in the most cases court poets, who were greatly honoured and richly rewarded by the crown. One of the most celebrated, Snorre Sturlesson, who died in 1241, edited a manual of poetry, the "Later Edda," but won greater renown as a historian. At the beginning of the twelfth century Are Frode, who died in 1148, wrote his "Islendingabok," a brief history of Iceland, in which he reduced the history of the Norwegian islands to a chronological system, and began, perhaps in addition, his "Landnamabok," a register of the most distinguished emigrants, their residence, their successors, and their fate; a work which was afterwards continued by others.

People now began also to write down the numerous sagas which hitherto had been handed down orally. Then there sprang up a rich saga literature, which rose to the highest perfection in the thirteenth century. The greatest of the saga writers is the above-mentioned Snorre, who, in



GENERAL VIEW OF THE HISTORIC TOWN OF BERGEN IN NORWAY

his saga "Heimskringla," has described the history of the Norwegian kings from earliest times until 1177. The Icelandic family sagas are also attractive, because they give an admirable picture of the life of the Icelanders during the period of liberty. The share which the Norwegians themselves have contributed to this literature is comparatively insignificant; the most important, with the exception of a few sagas, is the so-called "Konungskuggja," or king's mirror, which is of great significance in the history of civilisation, inasmuch as it depicts the life, occupations, and duties of the merchant, the courtier, and the king.

Notwithstanding the fact that the literary activity of Norway was not great, the Norwegian kings and chiefs did much to encourage "Norröne" (Norwegian-Icelandic) literature by taking Icelandic poets and narrators of sagas into their service, and otherwise patronising them. Sverre and his descendants were especially noted for this; they were themselves cultured men, who took an active interest in literature. The literary activity of Iceland declined with the loss of liberty. The old chieftain families, who had been its chief patrons, died out, and with them ceased the "skald" poetry and the composition of original sagas.

The Icelanders did not altogether abandon literary pursuits; they copied old works and re-wrote the old sagas in verse. The Norwegians, in the meantime began to cultivate foreign poetry, and after the middle of the thirteenth century their literary energies were mainly directed to translating French and German heroic poems. The most flourishing period of Norwegian literature was the reign of Haakon Haakonssön, which in other respects, as has been mentioned above, was a time of prosperity. Haakon's son and successor, Magnus (1263-1280), was not so powerful as his father. He rendered, however, valuable services to the kingdom as a legislator, on account of which he was given the title Lagaböter or improver of laws. His chief merit was that he was the first to bring Norway under one uniform code. By this means, it is true, the Lagtinge, where the peasants had up till that time passed their own laws, and in consequence the people themselves, lost

their power of legislation. From this time the king became the legislator; at the same time he shared the right of jurisdiction with the people, for he appointed the presidents of the supreme courts. In order to promote trade, Magnus concluded a commercial treaty with England, and allowed certain privileges to the North German towns.

Haakon's successor was his grandson Magnus, an infant who had just succeeded also to the crown of Sweden; so that for a time the history of the two countries unites. At a later stage Haakon VI. lost the Swedish, but not the Norwegian crown; and through his wife, Margaret of Denmark, the Danish and Norwegian crowns were united when their son Olaf became king of both countries in 1380. From this time the country rapidly deteriorated; it could not maintain its independence in the union. This was pre-eminently the result of the political and social conditions. There was no powerful aristocracy or clergy, no well-to-do and liberal-minded middle class; in brief, there was nobody who had the power or the inclination to vindicate the independence of the kingdom. The populace consisted of peasants who, after being deprived of their political power, interested themselves only in their own affairs.

The prosperity of the country was ruined by the Hanseatic League, which was steadily increasing in power; at the same time Norway was terribly devastated in the fourteenth century by several pestilences, in particular by the Black Death, which swept away almost one-third of the population. The retrogression of the material welfare of the country was accompanied by a decline in the literary life; after the middle of the fourteenth century almost all literary activity ceased. Decadence was manifest in every department of life; Norway followed involuntarily in the union and became more and more dependent on Denmark. The Danes made their way into the country and obtained civic rights by intermarriage. They brought with them the Danish language, which displaced old Norwegian as the literary language and strongly influenced the colloquial language of the towns. The separate history of Norway is merged in that of Denmark, and does not emerge again for some centuries.

Literature and Liberty in Iceland

Danish and Norwegian Crowns Unite

What King Magnus did for Norway

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
EMERGING
OF THE
NATIONS XI

SWEDEN AND FINLAND FROM EARLY TIMES TO THE DANISH DOWNFALL

SWEDEN, or Sverige (that is, the kingdom of the Svears), consisted at one time of the two main divisions Zealand, or Svealand, and Gothland, or Gotoland, which received their names from the tribes Svear and Götär. Scania, Holland, and Blekingen belonged to Denmark; Bohuslen, Herjedalen, and Jemtland were Norwegian, and Norrland was inhabited by Ugrian races; only on the coasts of Norrland were there a few scattered Swedish settlements. Zealand and Gothland had no common political organisation; the cantons of which they were made up had each its own laws, its Ting and its own "Lagman" (Judge). The Lagman, who was elected by the peasants, was the president of the Ting; it was his duty to vindicate the rights of the peasantry against the king and his ministers and to notify the king of the wishes of the people. The most noted of the Landschafts was Upland, where the

The Sacred Shrine of Upsala

most sacred shrine, the temple of Upsala, was situated; there the king had his residence and there also was the seat of the Ting, which served for the whole country, the "Allshärjarting," where the king was wont to address the people from the Ting-hill near Upsala. The king, who was elected by the Upsvear, undertook a journey through the different cantons after his election, to receive homage. He formed the link of union between the cantons, which were ruled in his name by Jarls and other officials whom he appointed. The social organisation was the same as in Denmark and Norway.

In mode of life, habits, and customs the Swedes did not differ from their southern and western neighbours. Their development, however, was slower because they were cut off by their geographical situation from all intercourse with the Finnish and Slavonic races dwelling on the other side of the Baltic; in addition, the rivalry between the Svear and Götär for a long time prevented a peaceful development.

The Ynglingi kings, who were descended from the gods, are said to have ruled over Sweden from time immemorial; the "Northern Saga" tells of their deeds. The first reliable accounts, which are, it is true, very scanty, are furnished by missionaries who visited Sweden

Missionary Historians in Sweden

at the beginning of the ninth century. Ansgar, who had been active in Denmark for some time, went to Sweden about the year 830. He was kindly received by the king, Björn, and remained for a year and a half in the neighbourhood of Mälaren, where he won a few souls for Christianity. He visited Sweden again at a later date—in 853—and worked hard to establish the new doctrine. But soon after his death the missionary work came to a standstill.

It was not until the beginning of the eleventh century, under Olaf Skötkonung—probably so called on account of a tax, or scot, which he imposed upon the people—that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the country. Olaf's father, Erik Segersäll, the victorious, had driven out Sweyn Forkbeard and subdued Denmark. After his death, however, about 994, Sweyn concluded a contract with Olaf Skötkonung, recovered Denmark, and married Erik's widow. Afterwards Sweyn and Olaf united against the Norwegian king, Olaf Tryggvesson, who had insulted both of them, conquered him at Svolder, in the neighbourhood of Rügen, and in 1000 divided Norway between them. Olaf Skötkonung received the northern portion, but lost

Where Christianity Triumphed

it after a few years to Olaf Haraldsson, who freed Norway from a foreign yoke. His attempts to recover the country were fruitless; his own subjects compelled him to maintain peace with Norway. Olaf Skötkonung and his sons had received baptism in 1008 and Christianity made steady progress, especially in Gothland, but it was still a good while before it

completely won the mastery. The old royal line became extinct with the death of Olaf's sons about 1061. About this time a fierce struggle broke out between the Svear and the Götär, which lasted for almost two centuries. Up till then the Götär had given precedence to the Svear in the election of the king, for in their province lay the national sanctuary, and there also the king and his family resided; now, however, they claimed the same rights as the Svear, and equal power, and wished to choose a king from themselves. Since the Götär were for the most part converted, while the Svear still clung to paganism, the struggle was not only between the two races and their kings, but between heathenism and Christianity. In this struggle, in which the kings of the Svear and Götär alternately got the upper hand, Christianity was finally victorious, and thus the union of the people was greatly furthered.

The new doctrine was firmly established in Svealand chiefly by the gentle and just King Erik IX. who changed the temple at Upsala into a Christian church and founded a bishopric in Upsala. He was also solicitous about the conversion of the neighbouring heathen races and undertook a crusade against the Finlanders, with whom the Swedes had had intercourse since very early times, and on whose shores there were already Swedish settlements. The inhabitants of Finland, the Ugrian Finns, or, as they called themselves, *Suomalaiset*, had wandered, even before the ninth century, out of the districts east and south-east of the Gulf of Finland, where the neighbouring kindred tribes of the Estonians, Livonians and other Ugrians dwelt, into Southern Finland and had then spread over towards the north. The Finns are divided into two groups as regards language and physique: the West Finns—the true Finns and the Tavastes—and the East Finns—the Carelians. As late as the twelfth century they had not founded any states, but were living in their original condition. They were rough and superstitious, but were distinguished

for their bravery and love of freedom and clung to the faith of their fathers. Erik succeeded in conquering and converting the south-western tribes, and by this means he laid the foundation of the Swedish supremacy in Finland. Erik was killed by an enemy on May 18th, 1160, not long after his return from Finland. It is said that miracles happened on the spot where he died, and he was, therefore, canonised by the people; he was afterwards regarded as the patron saint of Sweden, as Erik the Holy, and the Swedish

national ensign in the Middle Ages bore the name "St. Erik's Ensign." The influence and power of the Church in Sweden rapidly increased with the victory of Christianity. A national Church was formed in 1164 under the Archbishop of Upsala; the clergy received various privileges—for example, exemption from taxes. Monasteries were introduced. The first monks were Cistercians from France, who not only acted as spiritual teachers, but also instructed the peasants in agriculture and in industrial pursuits. They were joined later by mendicant monks.

When the family to which Erik IX. belonged became extinct, in 1250, Birger Jarl, of the rich and respected Folkunger family, was the most powerful man in the country. He was energetic and well versed in state affairs and had proved himself a capable warrior in Finland where, in 1249, he had established and extended the supremacy of Sweden by the subjection of the Tavastes. Although he had married a sister of the late king, he was not himself of royal blood and, therefore, not he, but his elder son, Waldemar, was elected king. As the latter was not yet of age, Birger, as his guardian, became actual ruler and governed till his death, on October 21st, 1256.

At home Birger restored peace and order and raised the kingdom to a high place among the northern nations, with whom he endeavoured to maintain peace and balance of power. In his legislation he made it his principal aim to adjust domestic rivalries, and he also



A WISE RULER

This memorial in Stockholm commemorates the rule of a wise and able man, Birger Jarl, whose son, Waldemar, became king. Birger died in 1256.

endeavoured to bring about an improvement in morals. In order to promote international commerce and trade he concluded a commercial treaty with Lübeck, for hitherto the Swedes had lacked enterprise. The inhabitants of Lübeck, however, used this treaty, as they did those concluded with the other northern countries, to get the trade gradually into their own hands. Still, the union with Germany was useful to the Swedes. Mining and other branches of industry were improved by Germans who had crossed over into the country; the towns were organised in German fashion; they received their own government and their prosperity increased.

good order with a strong hand, and lived on good terms with his neighbours, who even asked his help as arbitrator in their disputes. By various laws he protected the peasants against the violence of the barons, on account of which he was given the honoured title of "Ladulas"—the castle of the barn. The peasants, however, were losing their political influence. Magnus desired to extend the king's power in every direction, and reserved for himself the right of giving laws together with his council and the highest men in the kingdom; in this way the work of legislation passed out of the hands of the people. The king was also acknowledged as supreme judge; the



UPSALA: A PLACE OF IMPORTANCE IN SWEDISH HISTORY

The illustration shows the three great royal barrows at Old Upsala, about three miles from Upsala, where the election of the old Swedish kings took place. After his election the king undertook a journey through the different cantons in order to receive the homage of his people. The cantons were ruled in the king's name by jarls.

Stockholm in particular developed enormously; it owes its importance as a town and a fortress to Birger Jarl. Other towns of importance were Wisby, Söderköping, Kalmar, and Lödöse. Wisby, which belonged to the Hanseatic League, was for a long time the wealthiest and most magnificent northern town, until the fourteenth century, when its power and prosperity were destroyed by Waldemar Atterdag. In 1266 King Waldemar himself took over the government, but soon showed that he was not equal to the task; he was weak, fond of pleasure, and profligate, and in 1275 was dethroned by his younger brother Magnus, who resembled his father in vigour and ability. Magnus (1275-1290) continued the work of Birger; he maintained peace and

Lagmen, who had previously represented the peasants and their rights, were gradually attaching themselves to the lords and became considered as government officials.

The highest functionary in the kingdom had hitherto been the Jarl; this post, however, became extinct with Birger, and the chief men in the king's council were the Marsk, the Drost, and the chancellor. Magnus introduced foreign customs and institutions into Sweden, the most important of which was the Russtjenst, or mounted service. In Sweden, as in other northern countries, the obligation of warlike service had been confined to naval defence; the country was divided into circuits which in the event of war had to furnish a ship with the crew, and in times of peace paid a war tax. As warfare

on land became more common, Magnus wished to have an able-bodied cavalry, and decreed that whoever served him with horse and armour should be exempt from taxation. These troopers formed a distinct military body, and as shortly afterwards Russtjenst, and consequently exemption, became hereditary, the basis

Decline of Swedish Navy

of a special nobility was established. In connection with the Russtjenst, knighthood was also introduced; the knights, who were appointed by the king and were called lords, formed the nucleus of the army. With the introduction, however, of Russtjenst there began a decline in the navy. Hence, the Swedes, like the Danes and Norwegians, were forced to resign their naval supremacy. This now passed into the hands of the Hanseatic League, which had control over the Baltic and the North Seas.

Magnus Ladulas left at his death, in 1290, three sons, Birger, Erik, and Waldemar, who were all minors. The eldest, Birger, became king; his guardian was the Marsk Tyrgils Knutsson. Tyrgils was brave and clever and discharged the duties of his office with earnestness and fidelity. He ruled with the same vigour and ability as Birger and Magnus; he continued the work of Erik the Pious and Birger in Finland and by subduing the savage Carelians completed the conquest and conversion of the country. It was a long time before there was a close union between Finland and Sweden. Swedish language, customs, and institutions made slow headway; and the Catholic Church alone, which had several able advocates, succeeded in gaining great power. It is true that Swedes settled in Finland, where strong castles were built, and that Swedish commanding officers, who took up their permanent residence in Finland, formed the basis of a Finnish nobility; but the country was not incorporated

The Basis of Finnish Nobility

with the Swedish state, and remained fairly independent of the Swedish kings, until the sixteenth century. When Birger and his brothers grew up they soon disagreed. Erik and Waldemar were not satisfied with the fiefs which they had received, and revolted against Birger; but they were reduced to submission by Tyrgils, who remained faithful to the king. The dukes realised that it was necessary for their plans to depose the

Marsk; they accordingly persuaded Birger that Tyrgils was to blame for the brothers' quarrel. Birger was sufficiently ungrateful and indiscreet to order his faithful minister to be beheaded in 1306. After Tyrgils' death Birger's good fortune ceased. He was taken prisoner by his brothers in the same year, and in order to regain his freedom, was forced to cede to them in 1308 and in 1310 two-thirds of the kingdom. Birger meditated revenge, but acted as if he had forgiven everything, and disarmed their fears by feigned friendship. However, when they visited him at Christmas, 1317, at the Castle of Nyköping, he locked them into the tower, where they probably died of hunger.

Birger profited little by this treachery. On hearing that the dukes had been taken prisoners, their retainers rose in rebellion; Birger was compelled to flee. Erik's three-year-old son, Magnus II., was proclaimed king, and a regency was appointed in 1319. In the same year the child inherited the kingdom of Norway from Haakon V. (Magnussön), his maternal grandfather. Thus Sweden and Norway

Union of Sweden and Norway

were united for the first time. However, the union was not very close, because the two kingdoms had only the one king in common. During the minority of the king the power of the lords grew; their behaviour in the country was anything but seemly, and it did not improve after Magnus took the government into his own hands in 1332. He was a well-meaning but weak prince, who entirely lacked the strength necessary to control the arrogant lords. Still, slavery was at last abolished, the administration of justice improved, and national and municipal codes of law were issued.

Magnus extended his dominion by annexing the Scanian cantons. It is true that he was unable to keep them for any length of time, owing to the attacks of Waldemar Atterdag, so that they were soon reunited with Denmark—1360. Of his other enterprises a war against the Russians was unsuccessful; they had been on hostile terms with the Swedes since the conquest of Finland. At the same time the country was devastated by the Black Death, which swept away at least a third of the population. The king was helpless to relieve the distress. In Sweden as well as in Norway the people had been discontented with him for a long time. The



THE ROYAL PALACE AT STOCKHOLM



PANORAMIC VIEW OF SWEDEN'S CAPITAL



THE RIDDARHOLM CANAL AND THE RIDDARHUS, OR HALL OF THE KNIGHTS



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY



THE NORRBO, OR NORTH BRIDGE

SCENES IN STOCKHOLM, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF SWEDEN

Norwegians complained that he was neglecting the country, and to satisfy them he had been forced to give them his son Haakon (VI.) as king in 1343. Haakon was also elected King of Sweden in 1362 by the Swedish lords, whose powers and liberties Magnus wished to restrict. However, he attached himself to his father; and, in order to be able to fight against the refractory lords with more success, the two kings united with their former enemy, Waldemar Atterdag, whose daughter, Margaret, Haakon married. By his marriage he severed himself completely from the Swedish lords. Both he and his father were deposed, and the son of Magnus' sister Euphemia, Albert the Younger of Mecklenburg, was proclaimed king on November 30th, 1363.

Haakon attempted to regain the crown by force of arms, but was defeated and compelled to content himself with Norway; there Magnus also passed his last years. In this way the first union between Sweden and Norway was dissolved.

A year before the death of Magnus in 1374, occurred that of his kinswoman, Saint Brigitta; she has become celebrated on account of her visions and revelations. She was born about the year 1302, and even in her childhood gave evidence of unusual talents, and lived in a world of phantasy, in which the Saviour, the Virgin, and the saints revealed themselves to her. She was filled with ideas of reform, preached repentance and renunciation, and denounced the universal immorality of the times. At the court, where she was for a time the governess of the queen, she roused indignation by her severe and earnest reprimands; but among the people she acquired great reputation as a saint and a prophetess. As the situation in Sweden was no longer congenial to her, she left her native country and went to Rome, where she died in 1373. She had received permission from the Pope to found a convent

Saint
Brigitta's
"Revelations" at Vadstena, on the east shore of Lake Wetter. In 1370 Urban V. confirmed the rule which she had drawn up for the convent of the Brigittine order, and in 1391 she was canonised. The "Revelations," which she herself recorded or dictated, were translated into Latin and circulated over the whole of Catholic Europe; they rank among the most important literary

productions of Sweden at a time when there was hardly any literature in the real sense of the word.

Of the pagan sagas and poems only a few traces have survived. The oldest Swedish linguistic monuments of which we know are the numerous runic inscriptions. The laws of the several cantons, a few of which are very old, are also drawn up in Swedish. Everything else which has survived dates from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as do also the national code of law—about 1350—a few rhyming chronicles, the Euphemia songs, many folk-songs, which are apparently of foreign origin, and finally some prose translations of foreign narratives.

The domestic conditions of Sweden did not improve with Albert's accession. The king was weak and not respected; the nobles played the rôle of masters. Assaults, feuds, murder, and plunder were daily occurrences; from their castles and garrisoned estates, which extended over the whole country, the lords oppressed the peasants, whose original freedom in this way became seriously threatened. When,

Erik, King
of Three
Nations in 1386, Albert at last made an attempt to obtain more influence, the lords called Margaret of Denmark into the country. She sent an army into Sweden, and, on February 24th, 1389, in the battle of Asle near Falköping, won a victory over Albert, who was taken prisoner. Soon the whole of Sweden submitted. Stockholm alone, which was supported by the Mecklenburg princes and towns, upheld the cause of Albert for several years; however, as he could not pay his ransom, the town was eventually handed over to the queen. In the meantime, in 1396, the Swedes and Danes had chosen as their king Margaret's grand-nephew, Erik of Pomerania, who had become king of Norway in 1389; and on June 17th, 1397, he was crowned in Kalmar as king of the three nations (Union of Kalmar).

Peace and quiet had been restored under Margaret; she managed to bridle the unruly nobles and to make every one obedient to her. But with her death, in 1412, the peace came to an end. Erik XIII. did not possess the strength and ability of his foster mother; consequently, his reign was injurious to the union as well as to each kingdom individually. He irritated the lords temporal and spiritual by his despotic and indiscreet actions,



GIRLS OF RÄTTVIK, SWEDEN



A GRANDMOTHER OF LEKSAND, IN SWEDEN



A CHARACTERISTIC VIEW OF LAPLANDERS AND THEIR PRIMITIVE HOME



A TYPICAL WOMAN OF LAPLAND



A SWEDISH GIRL IN BRIDAL DRESS

TYPES OF PEOPLE IN SWEDEN AND LAPLAND

Valentine

whilst he allowed his bailiffs and nobles to oppress the people; complaints were made about the bad administration and the heavy taxes, which were enacted with the utmost rigour. As all complaints were in vain the peasants of Dalarnen rose up in 1434 against the foreign yoke; they found a capable leader in Engelbrekt

Deposition of King Erik

Engelbrektsson, and the rest of the people joined them, including the nobles, who hoped to recover the power of which they had been deprived by Margaret. The foreigners were driven out and Engelbrekt was extolled as the liberator of his country in 1435. The nobles, however, feared the powerful leader of the people; they had attached themselves to the movement in order to obtain a diminution of the king's power, but they did not wish to share that power with the peasants and their leader. They were accordingly not displeased when Engelbrekt was murdered on April 27th, 1436, by a personal enemy, and the Council of State agreed with the Danish Council that the union should be maintained. Erik, with whom the Danes were also discontented, was deposed in September, 1439, and his sister's son, Christopher of Bavaria, who willingly agreed to all the conditions, was elected king in 1440.

This was a victory for the aristocracy; they had obtained a king after their own heart, and made use of their triumph to limit the privileges of the peasants. There were, however, a few even among the nobility who either from ambition or patriotism joined the popular party; thus there arose two parties, one national, the other attached to the union, which were strongly opposed until the beginning of the following century. After Christopher's death, in 1448, the national party triumphed and placed a Swede, Karl Knutsson Bonde, who had been vice-regent from 1438-1440, on the throne of Sweden, while the Danes chose Christian, Count of Oldenburg, as their

The Tragic Heritage of Union

king. The latter wished to maintain the union by force of arms. The war was carried on by both sides with great bitterness and cruelty; and it sowed the seeds of that national hatred which was the most tragic heritage of the union.

Christian I. succeeded, in 1457, in gaining the crown of Sweden with the help of the union party, at the head of which was Jöns Bengtsson Oxenstierna, Arch-

bishop of Upsala; however, he could not keep it permanently. Eventually, in 1467, Karl was still king of Sweden, and continued ruling till his death, in 1470. He was succeeded by the Stures. Sven Sture the elder (1470-1503), his kinsman, Svante Nilsson (1503-1512), and Nilsson's son Sten Sture the younger (1512-1520), were successively, as regents, the leaders of the national party and the defenders of Sweden's liberty and independence; they were supported by the people, had several of the nobles on their side, and successfully opposed the attempts of the union kings to conquer Sweden.

The Stures, however, found their most dangerous opponents among their own countrymen—friends of the union who had entered into secret negotiations with the Danes. Sven Sture the younger quarrelled with the leader of the party, the malicious and vindictive Archbishop of Upsala, Gustav Trolle, who was convicted of high treason and by the orders of the regent dismissed from office and arrested. Thereupon Pope Leo X. excommunicated Sven Sture and his followers and commissioned

Nobles Massacred at Stockholm

Christian II. to execute the bull of excommunication by force. Christian gladly sent an army into Sweden in 1518.

At the second attack, in 1520, Sture's troops were beaten, and he was mortally wounded. Christian received homage as hereditary king, and was crowned on November 4th by Gustav Trolle in Stockholm. Christian believed that he would secure his supremacy by severity; he wished to destroy the spirit of independence among the people and also the defiance of the nobles; and therefore some days after his coronation a number of nobles, clergy, and citizens were beheaded in the market-place at Stockholm, a tragedy known as the Stockholm Massacre or Bloodbath. The corpse of Sture was burnt at the stake; the estates of those who had been beheaded were confiscated.

Christian however succeeded in accomplishing exactly the reverse of what he had hoped the massacre would effect, for, at the instigation of the youthful Gustavus Eriksson Vasa, a nobleman who had escaped from the massacre, the Dalkarlar, the inhabitants of the province of Dalarna, revolted in 1521. The Danes were driven out, and, on June 6th, 1523, the Swedes elected their deliverer, Gustavus, as their king.

HANS SCHJÖTH



GUSTAVUS VASA PROCLAIMED KING OF SWEDEN AT THE DIET OF STRENGNAS IN THE YEAR 1523
From the painting by Louis Hersent, in the Palais Royal



AN ASSAULT AT ARMS BETWEEN THE MEN OF LOUIS AND HIS BROTHER CHARLES, GRANDSONS OF CHARLEMAGNE



THE DEVELOPMENT the NATIONS

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

AND THE REIGNS OF THE GERMAN KINGS

THE treaty of Verdun in 843, between Lothair and his brothers, the sons of Louis the Pious and grandsons of Charlemagne, arranged that Lothair should retain the empire and a formal supremacy, together with the Italian dominions and a piece of territory extending from the Aar and the Rhine on one side, the Rhone, Saone and Scheldt on the other, to the North Sea, and including Friesland to the right of the Rhine. Charles the Bald secured the district to the west of this boundary, and Louis, whose separate kingdom had originally consisted of Bavaria, gained the territory on the east. He therefore was in charge of the main body of the future German nationality.

There was here no question of any nationalist idea, even though at the confirmation of the Strasburg Oaths, on February 11th and 14th, 842, the troops of Charles spoke Romance and those of Louis German. A man who had been educated under the general lay instruction initiated by Charles, and who was still inspired with this spirit, the historian Nithard, acted in a nationalist spirit, and transcribed the oaths in the dialects of each people; but no such thoughts or ideas inspired the general policy of those affected. The compact of Verdun was a purely geographical division of territory. Louis' share was not intended to include "Germans," but the Bavarians, Alamanni, Franks, Thuringians and Saxons who happened to be in

that district; other Alamanni—in Alsace—and other Franks—further away on the left bank of the Rhine—were, like the Frisians, assigned to the artificial Middle Kingdom. The word "Thiudisk," "German," was first intended to explain that a man spoke no Latin but only a vernacular dialect. For convenience of

Foundation of German Empire

distinction, Louis is styled by students the "German." The rights of the royal family as recognised in the compact of Verdun made their influence felt, both in the realm of Louis and in the East Frankish portion, and also in the share of Lothair. The compact of Verdun began to be imitated at every individual point, and its effects were multiplied in correspondence with the justice of the claims of the victorious communities; it seemed that the empire of Charles would be broken up more quickly by his own family than by the existing forces of disruption. In the imperial districts of East Francia the Bavarians were assigned to the share belonging to Carloman, the Alamanni to Charles the Fat, and Central and Lower Germany to Louis the Younger. Of the foundation of the German Empire by their father, Louis the German, there can be no question.

These events were largely conditioned by the fact that Lothair's family soon became extinct, and that the questions of imperial succession and title were therefore revived. As regards the latter, Louis the Pious and Lothair had given the

Pope the right of coronation at his desire ; the former had been recrowned at Rheims by Pope Stephen, as he thought the first coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle was inadequate, while Lothair had received the imperial crown at Rome itself. An understanding between Charles the Bald and the papacy secured to the former the

Struggle for Imperial Crown

imperial crown after the death of the Emperor Louis II., son of Lothair I., in 875, though it actually belonged by right of succession to Charles' elder brother Louis the German. The latter and his sons maintained their rights against Charles the Bald and his West Franks by energetic military and diplomatic measures. Hence they gained a considerable share in the plunder from the desolate and shattered central kingdom.

After 870 the convention of Mersen advanced the boundary of the East Frankish Empire to a line running from Geneva along the Upper Moselle, the Ourthe, and the Maas, while in 879 the brilliant victory of Andernach extended their powers beyond the Upper Maas to the Scheldt. The East Frankish Empire thus included not only almost all the unmixed "German" tribes, but also a number of Romance subjects, and even now it was not regarded as natural that the boundaries of nationalities should coincide with those of states. Metz and its immediate neighbourhood formed at all times an isolated centre of Romance language and civilisation. There were, moreover, Romance peoples in the Eastern Empire, further to the west of the upper Lotharingian district in modern Belgium, from the Central Scheldt to the Maas ; these were the Walloons, a Romance people, speaking a language of Keltic origin with many Frankish additions, and clearly distinguished from the later French. The Low Frankish

Charles the Fat on the Throne

Flemings, who were Germans, inhabited the coast beyond the Scheldt, in the West Frankish Empire, to Dunkirk. Eventually the imperial throne was recovered by the most successful son of Louis the German, Charles.

In the East Frankish Empire the Carolingian family disappeared, through death and misfortune, as rapidly as in the two other lines. After 882 the Emperor Charles III., known as the Fat, found himself master of the whole kingdom.

Even then, however, no uniform national German empire was developed. Before long, Charles merely became once again the chief of the whole Carolingian Empire, as in Western Francia German help was urgently required against the Northmen. The present incapacity of Charles made it impossible for this help to be rendered, and a final solution of the problem thus became inevitable. West Francia and the new kingdoms of Burgundia and Italy went their own way, while the leading tribes of East Francia combined to break away from the dishonourable government of Charles. It is through this somewhat negative enterprise and this military agreement that the German Empire and nationality was really founded. The German representatives united to elect a leader in place of the legitimate emperor, and chose from his family, as his nearest blood relation, Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Charles's deceased brother, Carloman, who had held a Bavarian office in Carinthia.

This change introduced the principle of royal election into German history—a principle which was better than the joint succession of the most nearly related families, though not so good as dynastic primogeniture. The elections were not conducted upon any revolutionary principle ; it was not demanded that the succession should remain undetermined until the death of the existing king, or that all other considerations should be disregarded. The traditional feeling that the succession ought to be vested in the reigning family continued to exercise a hardly diminished influence, and remained preponderant until the interregnum, and indeed for some time subsequently. The innovation, however, that the successor was subjected to general recognition by a process of election which might take place even during the lifetime of the reigning monarch, modified the dynastic idea, and led to a connection of the two theories.

In the case of Arnulf's son, Louis the Child, the anointing and coronation were carried out by the hand of the bishops for the first time in the history of the East Frankish kings ; in West Francia this transference of the ceremonies usual at an imperial coronation to the coronation of an emperor had been employed to confer greater distinction upon Charles the Bald.

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Arnulf (887-899) was distinguished for his brilliant victory of October 20th, 891, at Löwen on the Dyle. This prevented the Northmen from plundering or fortifying positions in Germany, which was then defenceless by sea. Henceforward North-west France and the British Isles remained the sole areas open to their enterprises and establishment. These raids, like the settlements of the Northmen in Russia, are to be regarded as a sequel of the general Teutonic migration, and point to a series of related causes and events in the same manner as the great migration proper. Arnulf's interference

act for themselves, were able to impose any permanent check upon these invaders.

The stage was now clear for the appearance of the tribal duchy; the election of Arnulf to the kingship had definitely established the elective theory and superseded the partitions of the kingdom among the royal families. Arnulf's illegitimate son Zwentibald, the namesake of the great Moravian despot Sviatopolk, while joint king of Lotharingia, had succeeded only in discrediting this form of partition and in driving his subjects from himself to Louis the Child. Tribal particularism as such was far from abolished.



THE REGALIA OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GERMAN NATION

in Italy and his assumption of the imperial crown have but a temporary importance. Immediately after his reign the crown became the object of petty papal intrigues with Burgundia or native rulers who were aiming at a dominant position in Italy, and had secured their independence as officials under the empire's vanishing power.

Under Arnulf's successor Germany was terribly ravaged from the south-east by the Magyars; neither the government, which ruled in the name of Louis the Child (899-911), nor the bold individual resistance of the tribal duchies, which now began to

In place of the partition kings—no longer members of the royal stock—native rulers attempted to make themselves supreme with the goodwill of the people; these traced their descent from families possessing hereditary estates and prestige; their importance was increased by the tenure of high offices. It was not immediately clear in every case which family was the most capable of rule, or would be able to maintain its ground if appointed. In Franconia, for instance, there was a keen rivalry between the Conradiner family, which was settled in the Lahn district,

and the eastern family of the Babenbergers, which held property on the Upper Main. The imperial government itself favoured Conrad and helped him to secure a definite victory over the Babenbergers, permitting him also to adopt the somewhat indefinite style of duke. Under Louis the Child, the title of duke became, in Saxony,

Church Leaders in Imperial Government

Francia, Alamannia and Bavaria, the ordinary method of denoting a popular leader. The same was the case in Lotharingia, where the original sense of Frankish relationship had been modified by historical events.

About 900 the imperial government consisted chiefly of the leading ecclesiastics of East Francia, Archbishop Hatto of Mainz and Bishop Salomo of Constance. Under Louis the Pious, the clergy had attempted to secure all possible political unity in order to preserve their ecclesiastical unity; so now, when the division of the empire into halves had proved definite and irrevocable, they attempted to pursue some policy of union within the East Francian division. There were at the same time more direct motives to influence their action. The results which the upper clergy might expect from the division of the empire among the leading princely families were also to be expected from the more obvious and tangible power that the dukes either claimed or exerted over the bishoprics which lay within their spheres of government.

Thus, in 911, when Louis died in childhood, leaving no heir, the episcopate immediately undertook the choice of an East Frankish king; the laity offered no opposition, as this seemed the surest means of breaking away from the hereditary claims of the West Frankish Carolingians and from the collective monarchy. Whether they would obey the new ruler of their choice was another question. The Frankish count or duke, Conrad, was elected. He was a suitable

Conrad Receives a Crown

character in the eyes of the leading ecclesiastical princes, and he was also related to the Carolingians, so that the breach with the old dynasty seemed less violent; and by the choice of Conrad the crown remained "among the Franks." Upon all these questions people thought as tribesmen; therefore the crown was regarded as the property of the Frankish tribe. A request was sent to the most powerful duke, the

Saxon Otto, of the house of the Ludolfings, which was declined; this was but one of the preliminary negotiations which preceded the election at Forchheim, on Frankish soil, on November 8th, 911.

Such was the indifference with which the revival of the monarchy was viewed; its existence was made conditional upon individual consent, and its power was yet further diminished. None the less it remained in existence, and, precarious as that existence was, it yet became a traditional and historical idea. If its practical power decreased, it secured an influence less easy to estimate, which eventually enabled it to surmount the considerable dangers which were yet to threaten its existence. Hence, we observe that the passage from Charles the Great onwards through German history is by no means direct, and is explicable solely by the partitions between 843 and 870. Of his immense, statesmanlike work, many achievements disappeared entirely and with unmerited rapidity. The permanent element in his work, which exercised an enduring and decisive influence upon

Charlemagne's Influence on Germany

Germany, is the fact that Charles united a large number of diverse Teutonic tribes on the right bank of the Rhine with his own empire; by administration, by civil and ecclesiastical government, he bound them so firmly together that they were unable to separate in spite of their mutual animosity. Their crown, however, their political union, their common institutions, and their future nationality were plants which either withered or grew with difficulty, and for a long time could be preserved from extinction only by the most careful attention.

These new growths would certainly have perished had not Conrad I., or whoever advised him, taken a step in the hour of death which produced a profound and salutary impression. The proud and powerful Saxons were extremely anxious that the crown and the leadership should fall to themselves, the youngest members of the imperial alliance. Expediency and generosity, on the other hand, urged the Franconians to give their consent. In this way they remained the supporters and preservers of the power of the crown, though this was a pleasure which they did not exaggerate. Thus, in the midst of general indifference, these two tribes at last elected a king, the son of the deceased

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Duke Otto. The most dangerous moment in the existence of the German crown had been passed, and henceforward all was progress.

The methods of Henry I. (the Fowler) consisted largely in a policy of humouring the particularist spirit as far as possible. He acted like the layman he was, granting neither the right of coronation nor any obvious influence to the imperialist section of the clergy; their influence would not have suited him personally, and his energies were expended chiefly in cases where others would have been glad of his help, entirely for the benefit of his Saxons, in whose duchy the Thuringians were incorporated. Thus it was only his own duchy that he liberated from the Magyars in 933 by means of a truce and a victory, acting as if this were the course of action generally approved. He proceeded very cautiously to secure the recognition of the supreme royal authority in Bavaria and Alamannia (Swabia); he even left the appointment of Bavarian bishops in the hands of the Bavarian duke. As soon, however, as the Swabian duchy fell vacant

The Saxon Policy of Henry I.

and a leader was required, he immediately chose a foreign duke for the country from among the Franconian supporters whom he wished to reward. Lotharingia alone, which with its duke, Gisbert, had given offence to all the other Germans, he proceeded to treat severely on the first favourable opportunity, which he also seized to secure his recognition as East Frankish king by the West Frankish government, though he was not himself a Carolingian. He carried on his former Saxon policy, with the military power of his well-trained Saxon troops, by making an advance into the Slavonic lands of Eastern Europe. He thus pointed out the road for the future, which was to be a German and not merely a Saxon line of advance; so soon as the tribes co-operated and the gain of the individual became that of the nation. The same remarks apply to his creation of a Saxon frontier against the Danes, the mark of Schleswig.

The succession of his son, Otto I., which he had personally secured, began in 936 with a kind of manifesto against Henry's careful policy of retirement. The new generation and the imperialist clergy were anxious to announce their theory of the constitution. Otto was crowned in

Aix-la-Chapelle with great solemnity and reaped the fruits of Henry's silent successes. The great dukes acted as his household officers during the coronation feast, thus admitting their position, not only as servants of the empire, but also as servants of the king. Otto further announced his general position as *primus inter pares* and a crowned tribal duke by immediately entrusting the Saxon government to the hand of a representative, Hermann Billung, who was specially commissioned to guard against the Danes and the Baltic pirates. With Hermann the great Margrave Gero administered the frontiers and directed the Saxon policy of expansion upon the Slavonic side.

Otto was anxious from the outset to appear as the universal king, equally supreme in every matter. The natural reaction took place; there were dissensions between Saxons and Franks; revolts were joined by two of Otto's own brothers, who had been unable to understand why Otto should be elevated rather than themselves, at this moment when the dynastic theory was only nascent; there were complications with several of the dukes and with the superior clergy in the course of these revolts. Otto had some difficulty in averting these dangers, and as among the Danes, Burgundians, and West Franks, or French, there was no lack of tribal or dynastic tendencies, a kind of protectorate over their kings was immediately offered him.

Otto's system of placing the duchies in the hands of personal friends or immediate and younger relations was not carried out in every case. His son, Ludolf of Swabia, was no exception. He, like his Bavarian uncle Henry, Otto's brother, was carrying on an independent foreign policy beyond the south frontier, exactly as the duchy had done during the weakest period of the German crown. Henry, however, having learned wisdom by many attempts at revolt and past favours, maintained friendly relations with Otto,

Ludolf's Challenge to his Father

whereas Ludolf was inclined to act out of jealousy with his uncle. Hence the Swabian duke was induced to challenge his father prematurely to a trial of strength. The latter's interference in Italy was urged upon him by the necessity of showing that the king himself was master of his foreign policy. The Saxons thus followed

the paths leading beyond the Alps which had been used by the old Merovingians and by their successors, the Carolingians, of whom Arnulf was the last.

At length the claims of East Francia to Italy and the imperial crown, which had long been allowed to lapse, were revived.

Otto acted like Charles the Great by proclaiming himself "Rex Francorum et Langobardorum" at Pavia, and by demanding the imperial crown at Rome

**Otto's Bid
for the
Italian Crown**

shortly afterwards. Between these two steps he married Adelheid, the sister of his protégé, Conrad of Burgundy, and the widow of Lothair, one of the kings who for some decades past had occupied Italian soil by usurpation. She was a pleasing and distinguished lady, though she did not bring with her the Italian crown—a gift which Otto, indeed, had never expected.

The imperial crown was refused him by the timorous Alberic, who had made himself governor of Rome and lord of the papacy; in Germany the old revolts were for a moment revived with the help of Ludolf. Otto therefore returned and agreed to a convention concerning Italy, which satisfied no one except Henry of Bavaria, who gained the old Friuli with Verona and Aquileia for his duchy. Among the dissatisfied parties was Berengar of Ivrea, who had regarded his own kingdom in Italy as secure upon the death of Lothair, and who had now received only a diminished feudal kingdom; dissatisfied also were Otto's son-in-law, the Frankish duke, Conrad of Lorraine, and Ludolf and his partisans.

A new and formidable revolt broke out, the danger of which was increased by a simultaneous invasion of the Magyars, but public opinion declared in favour of the king. After 954, Otto suppressed the revolt and initiated a new policy, entrusting to the bishops a certain share of the secular government in the duchies and counties, and securing that close personal connection with them which

**The Clever
Policy
of Otto**

he had desired to introduce in the case of the dukes. His capable brother Bruno, the Archbishop of Cologne, was given the supervision of Lotharingia, always a thorn in the side of the empire, and it was henceforward divided into two duchies. For the help of the Saxon policy against the Slavs, and the Germanisation of the country beyond the Elbe, he proposed to support

the power of the army and the margrave by making Magdeburg on the old frontier a metropolitan seat, and thus a centre of ecclesiastical activity. Upon the Magyars' return in 955, Otto inflicted upon them at the Lechfeld, near Augsburg, a heavy defeat which finally liberated Germany from these marauding raids, and was regarded throughout the empire as an exploit which had secured the salvation of the common monarchy.

The consequence and power of the energetic German king were now obviously in their maturity both at home and abroad; all his activity and all earlier events were turned to some account. The splendour of the age of Charles the Great either revived or was surpassed; Greeks and Saracens sent embassies with presents of honour from empire to empire, according to the forms of courtesy in use at the period. This fact was an invitation to consider the possibility of reviving the imperial power of Charles. It was a possibility further implied by the fact that the Saxon dynasty had attempted and failed to unite its interests with those

**A Policy
that Pointed
to Rome**

of the tribal dukes, had transferred its favour to the upper clergy of the empire, and was in close sympathy with the missionary and universal aims of the Church. The Church and its wide influence possessed a wholly unworthy head in Pope John XII.; and it was therefore all the more important to withdraw no longer from the Roman ecclesiastical centre of gravity the influence of an imperial power which could make ecclesiastical policy its own and become the ally and patron of the Church. Moreover, the revival of the empire would provide a definite solution of those Italian problems which had been raised by the behaviour of Berengar and of his son, Adalbert. Every recent development of Otto's later policy seemed to point the way to Rome. The foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg could most easily be arranged at Rome, since it was opposed by the Metropolitan of Mainz, who could, from Rome, be prohibited from further extending his great ecclesiastical province eastward.

It therefore appeared that the most tangible national object, the extension of the empire and of the nationality upon the Baltic and in the eastern interior, could best be furthered by measures undertaken in the distant country of Italy.



BISHOP BERNARD RECEIVING EMPEROR HENRY II. AT THE CATHEDRAL AT HILDESHEIM ON PALM SUNDAY, 1063

From the painting by Professor Hermann Proll, in the Town Hall at Hildesheim, by the artist's permission

The expedition to Italy was begun in 961; in the course of it Otto accepted the Lombard crown, and was finally crowned as emperor at Rome by the Pope on February 2nd, 962. Henceforward the imperial power was not thought to have been fully acquired until this form was carried through. Shortly afterwards the

Reform of the Papacy

papacy was reformed by a forcible change of Pope under the judicial supervision of the emperor himself. Northern and Central Italy immediately became new districts of the empire, as formerly under Charles the Great; the Pope became the chief imperial bishop, even as the Metropolitan of Mainz had been the chief bishop of the German kingdom. The latter was obliged to assent to the bestowal of archiepiscopal rank upon the new see of Magdeburg.

Like Charles, Otto proceeded to effect a composition with Byzantium, which was indignant at his rise to power. After much ill-feeling an understanding satisfactory to both sides was secured by the marriage of the emperor's niece, Theophania, with Otto's son and namesake, whom he had already, in 961, appointed to succeed him. Like Louis the Pious, this second Otto became emperor during his father's lifetime, in 967, for the purposes of the Greek marriage contract. The Saxon dynasty thus calmly established itself, both in its old and new positions, and it seemed that Otto the Great was about to resume the Carolingian traditions in their entirety, when he died on May 7th, 973.

The government of Otto II. (973-983) is remarkable in Germany rather for the continuance than the extension of his father's work. The centre of gravity for the empire shifted so far that it no longer remained in Germany. The existence of the imperial crown made the Lombard crown a superfluity, and this later theory of

How German Affairs Were Decided

the situation secured the complete uniformity of the whole empire. Imperial assemblies upon Italian soil decided the affairs of Germany. For the coronation, the emperor's successor, the child Otto III., who was designated at Verona the Archbishop of Ravenna, as well as the Archbishop of Mainz, travelled to Aix-la-Chapelle. The relations of this son of Adelheid and husband of Theophania with the Mediterranean thus differed widely

from those entertained by the successor of Henry I.

The conquest of Græco-Saracen Lower Italy — an enterprise threatened by Otto I. in order to put pressure on Byzantium — became for Otto II. the most important object of his reign. His carelessness brought down upon him the appalling defeat of July 15th, 982, at the modern Capo di Colone, south of Cotrone, which inflamed the slumbering hostility of the Lombards, Wends and Danes. The emperor died before he could repair these heavy losses. The difficult work of restoring the prestige of the empire devolved upon the regent Theophania. With the help of Archbishop Willgis of Mainz she defeated the intentions of the younger Henry of Bavaria, a grandson of Henry I. and a Ludolfing, who considered himself as much better qualified to rule than a queen-regent of alien nationality and dynasty, or even, in the last resort, than Otto III. himself, who, though crowned, was still a minor.

Otto III. suffered more than any other German ruler from the consciousness that he

Otto III. was nothing but a German.
"Nothing but a German" We learn from reliable evidence that Theophania was inclined to manifest her personal scorn and contempt for the Germans, and even for the German characteristics of her own husband. Otto III. complained of "the rudeness of his Saxon character," which had not been entirely overcome by his tutors, who were chiefly foreigners, or by the foreign friends with whom he surrounded himself. He changed his capital to Rome, and thus to the neighbourhood of his friend Gerbert, whom he made Pope Sylvester II. in 999. He fulfilled that theory of the empire which had already been manifest at the court of Otto II., by organising his court upon Byzantine models. He proclaimed himself upon his seal and otherwise as the first real restorer of the Roman Empire in the full sense of the term; for this reason he added "Romanorum" to the title "Imperator." He regarded the Germans merely as a nation subject to the empire, which had its capital in Rome. He assumed the secondary title "Saxonicus," by which he meant not "the Saxon," but "the Governor of the Saxons," after the pattern of the old triumphal titles of Africanus, Germanicus, etc. Believing that the prestige of this empire was but

THE REVIVAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

increased by powerful vassals, he bestowed ecclesiastical independence upon Poland by founding the archbishopric of Gnesen over the grave of his Czech friend, Woitech. This measure destroyed the usefulness of Magdeburg. In the same spirit he freed the Poles from their obligations to the German Empire and to the Saxons. He helped the Hungarians to secure a royal crown as a papal fief, and to found the archbishopric of Gran. By the latter measure he destroyed the position of the Bavarian Church among the mixed peoples of the Hungarian territory.

Otto was himself to feel the bitterness of beholding the collapse of the empire thus modelled upon antique forms. The Romans drove out the German who had renounced his nationality from his pampered "aurea Roma." He died in 1002, while he was attempting to make a forcible re-entry, and the transference of his corpse to Germany was completed amid the revolt of Italy.

King Henry II., a Ludolfing of the Bavarian line, whose election was not secured without the opposition of rivals, is, more than all others, the restorer of the royal power in Germany and the German sphere of interest. Although personally a South German, he resumed the policy of the Saxon rulers. He averted the danger of a great Slav Empire, under the energetic Duke Boleslav Chabry, maintained German supremacy over Poland and Bohemia, and founded the bishopric of Bamberg,

in order to secure the transformation of the Slavs on the Upper Main into true Germans. His interference in Italian affairs in 1004 was merely confined to preventing the foundation of a national supremacy by Arduin, or Hartwin, of Ivrea.

Instead of treating Germany and Italy as one kingdom, after the example of Otto II., he followed that of Otto I., and accepted the Lombard crown which Arduin had temporarily lost. In 1014 he made a rapid journey to receive the imperial crown. This restoration of the German monarchy as ruling separate kingdoms led to the acquisition of Burgundia for the German crown through a treaty which promised German protection to the childless king, Rudolf III.

The latter in return promised the royal succession to Henry in his territory. This acquisition, which could not be refused, and also Henry's close but entirely political relations with the Church, which were maintained not so much through the worldly-minded bishops as through the reformers, obliged him to enter the paths of imperial policy. In 1019 and 1020, at the request of the Pope and at the appeal of the faithful Lombard episcopate, he was begged to return to Italy. He undertook the journey in 1021 and 1022, and re-organised the affairs of the north and centre. In his case, however, all these resumptions of imperial policy had a prospect of permanence and success, as he had previously been careful to secure the predominance of Germany.



KUNIGUNDE AND HENRY II.
The Emperor Henry II. and his wife Kunigunde, from their tomb in the Cathedral at Bamberg.



"RESTORER OF THE EMPIRE"
The Emperor Otto III., who suffered from the consciousness of being "nothing but a German," changed his capital to Rome, and proclaimed himself as the first real restorer of the Roman empire.



THE POPE'S HUMILIATION OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR HENRY IV.

In the course of the bitter struggle between Pope Gregory VII. and King Henry IV., the former excommunicated the emperor and deposed him from the imperial dignity. Henry, unable to bear the social results of the papal ban, scrambled over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis, in the depth of an unusually severe winter, that he might make his peace with the angry Pope. Gregory retired to the castle of Canossa, and to that fortress high up in the Apennines he was followed by the humble emperor. For three days Henry, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered in the courtyard of Canossa, and absolution was at length granted to him only on humiliating terms of submission.



THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS AND THEIR LONG STRUGGLES WITH THE PAPACY

THE policy of the childless Henry II. was continued in many respects by Conrad II., a Rhineland Franconian of Salic extraction. His dexterity in crushing a Franconian rival of the same name secured his success in the royal election of September 24th, 1024. The empire had thus passed out of the hands of the Saxons, who had practically lost it in 1002; such, at any rate, was their own opinion when the Bavarian Duke Henry secured the crown, although he was a Ludolfing. The fact that it now returned to the Franconians was due not so much to a regular resumption of the old principle of succession as to the closer relations subsisting among the great Rhine ecclesiastical princes. Conrad, though not educated by court chaplains like most future emperors, but by laics, like Henry I., did not reject the imperial ideas which were forced upon his notice in the most varied directions. He attempted to

Imperial Crown Given to Conrad

combine them with an essentially German policy. Hence after the Italian bishops had visited him at Constance during his royal progress and had invited him to come to Italy, he accepted the invitation in 1026, received the imperial crown in 1027, and extended the power of the empire from Lombardy, where it was urgently required, to the south, including the position of the Normans, who were now settled in Lower Italy. As the legal successor of Henry he was able to renew the compact with the king of Burgundy and to resume the government of the country in 1033, after Rudolf's death, being formally elected and crowned in this case as in Italy. The Imperium of the Germans thus comprehended three separate kingdoms, with a guarantee for their permanent union.

The alliance of the Polish duke, Mesko II., with his uncle Canute of Denmark and England threatened danger to this government, which Conrad was able to

avert by immediately contracting a friendship of his own with the Danish king. This was consolidated in 1035 by the marriage of the emperor's son, Henry III., with Canute's daughter Gunhild, or Kunigunde, and by the surrender at that

Royal Houses Joined in Marriage

moment of the mark of Schleswig. The brave Saxons settled in this mark remained none the less Germans, and even advanced their nationality beyond the Schlei, further northward. This friendship made it possible to retain the imperial supremacy unimpaired in Poland and Bohemia, and in 1036 to bring to a triumphant conclusion certain complications with a people who had been useful as allies against Poland, the Slav Liutizes.

Polish and Burgundian affairs gave rise to certain difficulties, with which was connected the revolt of Conrad's stepson, Ernest, the heir of the Swabian duchy, and Count Conrad, who in 1024 had been over-reached in the royal election by the adroit management of Archbishop Aribo, who wished to secure the election to the elder Conrad. However, Conrad II. surmounted all these difficulties in 1030. In the constitutional and social development of the empire Conrad proved himself a practical and creative administrator. Both in Germany and in Italy he supported the vassals of the great feudal lords in their efforts to secure a hereditary title to their fiefs. By this action he united the interests of that class with those of the crown, and by this means also in Italy the allegiance to

Conrad's Successful Policy

the empire, which was recognised by most, if not by all the bishops, was laid upon broader foundations.

The success of this policy was most obvious in the powerful position which it gave to Conrad's heir, Henry III. He restored the balance between the conflicting powers of Bohemia and Poland—Bohemia in this case being the aggressor—

and secured the obedience of both to the empire; in Hungary the monarchy recently established by Stefan was involved in the fierce confusion of a struggle with old Magyar conservatism. Here the emperor was able to assert the feudal supremacy of the empire in 1044-1045, though it was a relationship which soon afterwards

was very loosely interpreted. **Henry's** On the ecclesiastical side **Ascetic** Henry's position was deter- **Character** mined by an education in spiritual principles and practices which had given an ascetic turn to his character; he was accustomed to lament the secular nature of his father's character and policy. After Gunhild's death he was confirmed in this point of view by his marriage with Agnes of Poitou; she was a zealous pupil of the strict reforming movement which originated at Cluny. The struggle had begun against simony—that is to say, against the purchase of offices, or the return of ecclesiastical revenues to the patron—and against other secular influences within the Church, which were the consequence of its enormous temporal possessions. Henry considered this business the empire's special task, and placed himself entirely at the service of the high aims which had been pointed out to the Church and the papacy. He checked the tendency of the German episcopate to form an independent national Church; and partly in the interests of the authority of the crown he repressed the simoniacal leanings of the bishops, who had become temporal princes of wide power, by emphasising the ascetic theory of the worthlessness of earthly possessions and by supporting the monasteries founded upon the principles of the Cluniac reforms in which Henry II. had already shown special interest.

Three Popes who were fighting simultaneously for precedence in Rome were deposed by Henry in 1046. His action aroused considerable surprise, but it was not a difficult task, and was anything but a victory over the Church. He thus made room for a papacy conducted in opposition to simoniacal principles and with a higher conception of the importance of its office. He chose, as occupants of the Holy See, Germans upon whose pure zeal he could rely, men unbiassed by the nepotism of Roman competitors. Although in every individual case he exercised the free and independent right

of the emperor to choose his own Popes, his object was rather to secure a proper occupant for the Apostolic Church than to fortify the interests of the crown. After Swidger of Bamberg, who died in 1047, and Poppo of Brixen, who died in 1048, the Alsatian Bruno of Egisheim, Bishop of Toul, was appointed Pope as Leo. IX. Henry then allowed his nominee to submit his election to the approval of the Romans, and thus to recover the right of confirmation or election for the "clergy and people of Rome." Leo then arranged that the papal election should be made by the college of cardinals; he also secured the help of the Norman conquerors of Southern Italy as the protectors of the papacy, and left to future Popes his scholar Hildebrand as their adviser and practical guide. In 1054 Leo was succeeded by another German Pope, Gebhard of Eichstätt, whose appointment was also confirmed by an election at Rome. Thereupon Roman interests proceeded to break away from all German influences, even from that which had most zealously striven to secure the elevation of the papacy through the agency of German Popes.

Germans Henry's imperial supremacy **on the Papal** was also expended in conflicts **Throne** with the German princes.

Until 1049 he had a severe struggle to wage with the capable Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, who, after the loss of his duchy, had gained a new position by his marriage with the widowed Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, the mother of the famous Countess Matilda. The wide possessions of this family in North Italy, the Italian home of which was the castle of Canossa, tended more than ever to alienate it from the imperial power, and to incline it to political co-operation with the papal struggles for independence—a tendency fostered by the ecclesiastical leanings of the two countesses. After 1055, when Henry III. was making a further stay in Italy, the existence of the empire was threatened by a great conspiracy of the South German princes, who had traitorously entered into alliance with the Hungarians. An open breach was averted rather by the death of important participants, such as Wolf of Carinthia and Conrad of Bavaria, than by the measures of the emperor; it was, however, a bad omen for the reign of the six-year-old boy, whose succession the emperor had acknowledged in 1053.

and whom he left to hold his crown in 1056.

Henry IV. had many weak qualities, which, however, being entirely human, were insufficient to extinguish his manly characteristics and his capacity, and made him not unworthy of his later popularity; he is, to an extent rarely so obvious as in this case, a product of the conditions under which he grew. In women so entirely estranged from worldly desires as was the Empress Agnes the feminine desire for support and friendship finds expression

The great struggle for regency and supremacy was then continued between Anno and Adalbert, the brilliant Archbishop of Bremen; he was anxious to be the founder of a Low German patriarchate and to become the temporal administrator of the empire. This he preferred to the papacy, which he might have attained at an earlier date. Between these two leaders, Anno and Adalbert, the factions of the remaining princes wavered as their inclinations varied. The reasonable nature of their policy gradually disappeared, as neither of the



KING VERSUS POPE: KING HENRY IV. AND THE CITIZENS OF WORMS

When the bitter antipathy existing between Pope Gregory VII. and King Henry IV. broke into open war in 1076, Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of the ecclesiastical law. To that Henry retorted by convoking a Synod at Worms at which the bishops who supported the emperor renounced their allegiance to Gregory, and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, calling upon him to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped. Henry's humiliation soon followed.

only in tenderer forms. The competing influences of ambitious bishops and energetic laymen, among whom the Burgundian Rudolf of Rheinfelden held an initial advantage, ended in a victory for the clergy. The stern, harsh Swabian Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, was by no means a man who could compete for the favour of a great lady with a Gunther of Bamberg or a Henry of Augsburg. In conjunction with some princes, he pushed the queen-mother aside and secured forcible possession of that valuable hostage for power, the young king.

two archbishops hesitated to use the royal prerogative for their own purposes, and many a powerful layman was seduced by the idea that he could himself be a better king. As regards the young king himself, his character was destroyed by Anno's unsympathetic training, which made the boy mistrustful, reserved, and suspicious. The ill-advised flattery and epicureanism of the cheerful and self-satisfied Adalbert were equally pernicious, since they only resulted in producing in Henry a precocity of the very worst kind.

Such being the state of affairs, Rome proceeded to aggression at an early date. Hildebrand was the real author of the election decree, issued in 1059 by Nicholas II., which placed the election of the Pope in the hands of the cardinals and left only an unimportant right of appeal to the people of Rome; in other words, the decree

A Pope who Elected Himself

deprived the great Roman families of that useful implement they had formerly enjoyed, an adaptable pontiff. For the crown was reserved only the show of responsibility; but the royal representatives, Agnes and her advisers, replied to this blow merely by an expression of discontent. Very different was the action of the Roman factions and the bishops of Upper Italy. But Hildebrand was ready for any attack. He secured the friendship of the Normans, to whom the papacy had granted investiture of their conquests, in virtue of the suzerainty conferred by the donation of Constantine; he encouraged the democratic and reforming party of the "Pataria" in its opposition to the Lombard bishops, and entirely disregarded the ordinary forms of election if they seemed likely to delay the immediate appointment of the Pope. When the time came, he himself, in open disregard of the decree, assumed the pontificate in 1073 as Gregory VII., without any formality whatever.

Meanwhile, it had become clear that, together with the Normans and the Pataria, a third resource was at his disposal in Germany—namely, the princes and the laity. The king had now attained his majority, and was proceeding to deal with the insubordination of his chief vassals; he took Bavaria from Otto of Northeim. Otto's Saxon friends and kinsmen revolted as a result of long-growing irritation with the Salian dynasty, which they could regard only as alien. Its imperial prerogatives, its demesnes and its Saxon palaces seemed the outward signs of a

What the Saxons did Not See

foreign despotism. Fortunately for Henry, the narrow particularism of the Saxons blinded their eyes to the alliance that was awaiting them among the malcontents of Southern Germany and in the Roman Curia. Their political wisdom had not increased since the time of their own wars with Charles the Great. On the other hand, the Swabian duke, Rudolf of Rheinfeld, and Welf, who had received through Rudolf's influence the Bavarian duchy for-

feited by Otto of Northeim, and Berthold of Zähringen—the greatest secular lord in Swabia and duke-elect of Carinthia, though he was unable to make head there against local revolts—all sought the friendship of Gregory VII. After a severe struggle, with varying success, Henry IV. finally conquered the humiliated Saxons in the autumn of 1075. His sole secure support was the citizen class, now rising to power and beginning in many quarters the struggle with the territorial lords, ecclesiastical and princely, in order to secure the autonomy of their own towns.

Hitherto Henry had based his opposition to the Curia upon no broad political principle. All his energies and resources were engrossed by the war in Germany; in view of this main object he considered that the task of explanations with the Pope might be deferred. To the Pope he sent a superfluous and extravagant expression of homage, without considering the political or constitutional dangers which this act might imply; in fact, to all complaints of Gregory he replied only in terms of the most extreme submission.

The Bold Stroke of the Pope

Gregory accepted these overtures quietly; and at a moment when Henry's attention was occupied entirely by domestic troubles, in February, 1075, he declared his policy by prohibiting lay investitures—that is to say, by forbidding the king to make appointments to bishoprics and abbeys within the empire, or invest their occupants with lands and revenues. This papal policy implied that the class which might be regarded as the most valuable support of the monarchy was entirely emancipated from its allegiance, and could henceforward be used upon the side of the opposition. Only at this moment did Henry recognise the full extent of the danger which was entailed by an understanding between the papacy and the revolted South German princes.

After his victory over the Saxons he proceeded to secure his position against Hildebrand. Upon this question he was supported by the German bishops, who were by no means anxious to surrender their previous connection with the empire for incorporation in the close hierarchical system with its powerful and aggressive Pope. Thus a violent and perhaps premature counter-stroke was delivered by the imperial diet of January, 1076. Only one duke was present, the younger Godfrey of

Lorraine; he was the son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, whose unhappy marriage with Gregory's friend, Matilda of Tuscany, had driven him to the king's support. On the other hand, twenty-six ecclesiastical princes were present, and were inspired by comparative unanimity. Gregory's papacy was declared to be illegitimately acquired and he himself was deposed, while his friendship with Matilda was also misrepresented.

Gregory relying upon the principles of the false decretals, replied by deposing the king, and releasing his subjects in the three realms from their fidelity and allegiance to Henry. Upon this occasion and in this situation the excommunication of the emperor, which had never before been attempted and had not therefore lost its power, produced full effect. The hostile secular princes carried the sentence of deposition to its logical conclusion, while several bishops recognised, though they had been present at the Diet of Worms, the stronger position of Gregory, and deserted to him. The old secular spirit of the Saxon peasantry could

**Emperor
Deposed by
the Pope**

not be induced to look beyond the special interests of Saxony alone, and was brought only with difficulty to take action upon the wider question. Concurrently with this determined action of the hierarchy, a parallel movement of Cluniac reform was proceeding throughout Germany. The central point of it was the Swabian monastery of Hirsau; clergy educated in this school and inspired with its spirit were gradually placed in the various bishoprics. The election of a new king in place of the Salian monarch who had been deposed by the Pope was deferred, for the most part owing to the selfishness and ambition of the leading parties. Moreover, Pope Gregory, though anxious to secure the subjection and humiliation of the actual monarch, who was at the point of ruin, was not desirous to set up a new king supported by some powerful faction, who might oblige him to begin his work again from the beginning. Against the strong opposition of the princes, he proceeded to discuss the question of Henry's absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and secured an armistice. In order to secure his control over details, which were greatly complicated by the opposition of the princes, he set forth to visit Germany in person.

The king hastened to meet him on his way at Canossa, the castle of Gregory's fellow-traveller, Matilda. Here Henry IV. secured his release from excommunication by a display of unwearied and extreme humility and by a readiness to make atonement which Gregory in vain strove to break by the severest measures. In

**Henry's
Humiliation
at Canossa**

this way the Pope was able to separate the chief penitent from the hierarchical politicians, who were anxious to use themselves masters of the whole situation in Germany. But this was not all. Gregory merely absolved the king in his private capacity, and expressly retained his right to influence the situation in Germany. The vexation and impatience of the princes now came to the support of King Henry and justified his expectations that in this way he would most speedily emerge from his difficulties.

Gregory again joined the opposition to Henry for the reason that the king was growing too strong in Germany. He excommunicated Henry a second time, but the latter upon this occasion was less disturbed at the sentence. On October 15th, 1080, Rudolf was mortally wounded at Grune, near Pegau—according to others, at Hohenmölsen. His death was due to the loss of that right hand with which he had once sworn fidelity to his king, though victory remained with him through the bravery of the Saxons, who remained faithful through all the increasing embarrassments of their favourite and leader, Otto of Northeim. The opposition thus became more confused and less effective, while the new opposition king, Count Hermann of Salm (1080-1088), proved of no importance. Henry was able to travel to Italy in 1084 and to receive the imperial crown at Rome in St. Peter's from the hand of the imperialist anti-Pope, Clement III.; the true Pope was so closely besieged in the neighbouring Castle of St. Angelo that he welcomed the relief brought by the Normans at his summons, under Robert Guiscard. Gregory retired to Lower Italy, and died at Salerno on May 25th, 1085, embittered by the thought that he had been defeated in a great and righteous cause. In Germany the Guelfs and Zähringers made peace with the emperor; the latter party for the second time renounced the ducal power in Swabia—which they had claimed after

**The King's
Indifference to
Papal Ban**

the extinction of the Rheinfeld family—though they received certain compensation and retained the ducal title in 1098. The duchy remained in the hands of the house of Hohenstauffen, to which it had been given by King Henry immediately after his journey to Canossa in 1079.

Meanwhile, in 1090, a new opponent to the emperor arose from the Zähringen family. This was Gebhard, formerly a monk of Hirsau and now Bishop of Constance, a man of unusual energy and tenacity. He was also the confidential adviser of Pope Urban II. (1088-1099), upon whose accession the papacy, despite the despondent words of Gregory upon his death bed, reaped the fruits of that great statesman's labours and resumed his aims. At an earlier date the revolt of Conrad, the emperor's eldest son, and his opposition kingdom (1093-1101) led to no great result; the rising of the future heir, Henry, who had already been crowned in 1099, began in 1104, as a result of disagreement and intrigue, and became important owing to the co-operation and conduct of Gebhard of Zähringen. He accompanied the young king to Saxony, where the bishop secured not merely full political agreement but also the accomplishment of Gregory's reforms. The result was a very confused campaign of father against son; eventually, in 1105, their quarrel was settled by more reliable measures of treachery and violence. The younger man proposed a meeting with the hope of reconciliation, and took his father prisoner by a breach of faith.

At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, the papal legates, Cardinal Richard of Albano and Gebhard of Constance, who were entrusted with full powers, successfully intimidated the numerous princes who supported the emperor and were indignant at the son's action by reiterating old personal charges and producing the former bull of excom-

munication. At the same moment the chief gaoler of the emperor—who was kept in the castle of Bökclheim—the former Abbot of Hirsau, then Bishop of Speier, succeeded by some means in securing his abdication. The son and his advisers, however, did not venture to bring this act of abdication before the imperial diet, an intention which they had originally pretended.

Henry IV. was forced to abdicate on

December 31st, at Ingelheim, amid a gathering of his deadly enemies and under threats of excommunication from the legates. Afterwards, relying upon the fidelity which he knew to exist in many quarters, he attempted to reverse this last of the many defeats he had suffered in his restless life, but died before the appeal to arms, at the early age of fifty-six, in Liège, on August 7th, 1106.

Henry V. was a ruler of ability in whom the deceitful and treacherous elements so alien to his father's nature reached their full development and were combined with stern determination. As soon as he became king—that is to say, when he had secured the recognition of both parties—he pushed aside his ecclesiastical teachers and guides, to whom he had been profuse in his promises of important concessions. He invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. In 1110 he marched to Italy with two formidable armies, himself going over the St. Bernard, through Burgundy, while the duke of Bohemia went over the Brenner Pass.

Paschal, who was a hot-tempered doctrinaire, when confronted with this inevitable difficulty, suddenly discovered the most remarkable of all solutions, the actual accomplishment of which was an almost inconceivable achievement, and to this Henry V. quietly agreed on February 4th, 1111. It was arranged that the



KING RUDOLF OF SWABIA
Elected as an opposition king by the German princes when Pope Gregory VII. and Henry IV. were fighting their protracted duels, Rudolf enjoyed but a brief reign, dying in 1080. This illustration is taken from a bronze plate in the cathedral at Merseburg.



AN EMPEROR ON HIS DEATH-BED : THE LAST MOMENTS OF HENRY IV. OF GERMANY

The life of Henry IV. was full of troubles. He had enemies on every hand, greatest among them being the Pope, who excommunicated the emperor on more than one occasion. At an imperial diet, summoned to Mainz at Christmas, 1105, Henry was forced to abdicate, but his old fighting spirit was by no means quenched, and, relying upon the fidelity of his friends, he determined to reverse this last of many defeats. But he did not live to make his appeal to arms, his restless life ending at Liège, on August 7th, 1106.

From the painting by Von Arnim, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

crown should resume all the imperial fiefs held by the ecclesiastical principalities, together with the remaining regalia, with the result that no form of property requiring lay investiture would remain to them. This was a measure of secularisation analogous to that completed to the horror of the Church in the Roman Catholic portions of Germany in 1803, though without inflicting any damage upon the spiritual power and inward strength of the Church. Had any attempt been made to accomplish this enormous transference of property and power in the year 1111, it would have been an event remarkable in

from the old Countess Mathilda a bequest of her property.

No permanent victories are ever secured by such violent measures as Henry had used; the forces of the opposition remained unimpaired. An archbishop, Guido of Vienna, made himself leader of the ecclesiastical resistance in the Burgundian principality, while the secular opposition centred round Lothair of Supplinburg, who had succeeded the Billungs as duke of Saxony. He was a capable administrator of the Low German duchy, and had successfully revived the policy of a political expansion to the Baltic and



MAKING THE POPE PRISONER: AN INCIDENT IN THE CAREER OF PASCHAL II.

In the long struggle for supremacy between the two potentates, Emperor and Pope, little quarter was shown on either side. When Henry V. ascended the throne he invested newly appointed ecclesiastical princes, and calmly informed the Pope, Paschal II., that the custom was traditional and that lay investitures were absolutely essential to the crown. It was arranged that the crown should resume all the imperial fiefs, and when this measure of secularisation led to an uproar, the crafty emperor laid all the blame at the door of Paschal and arrested him at Rome in 1111.

the history of the world; but the secular and ecclesiastical princes made a tremendous uproar at the immense loss with which they were threatened—the secular princes in so far as they occupied ecclesiastical fiefs, while the dominant position which the crown would acquire was no less a cause of dissension.

Henry made the Pope responsible for this indignation, and threw him into confinement. On April 11th he forcibly abolished the prohibition of the investitures and secured his coronation as emperor two days afterwards. On the homeward journey he was clever enough to secure

beyond the Elbe—a policy the more successful as it coincided with the economic interests of his subjects, the rising spirit of nationality, and the energetic character of the laity.

On February 11th, 1115, the opposition defeated Henry V. at the Welfesholz at Mansfield; a series of concessions and attempts to secure peace culminated on September 23rd, 1122, with the Concordat of Worms, which was concluded with Calixtus II. and with the secular and ecclesiastical princes. The episcopal elections throughout the empire were left to the cathedral chapters, in

imitation of the Pope's election by the cardinals. The enfeoffment of the nominees with the regalia was to take place, though only in Germany, before their consecrations, which were thus far made dependent upon the consent of the crown; this enfeoffment, as distinct from investiture, was to be carried out so as to exclude the theory that it implied appointment to ecclesiastical office. Henry V., who was personally an unattractive character, died on May 23rd, 1125, too early to secure the restoration of order, or to reconcentrate and revive the powers of the crown.

The Hohenstauffen Frederic of Swabia would have received the crown, for which he came forward as a candidate in August, 1125, had he not been the private heir and nominee of Henry V. The duke of Saxony was therefore preferred to the succession, notwithstanding his strong position and in spite of, or on account of, his indifference. Thus the kingdom returned to the Saxons, and Lothair in consequence undertook a burden of responsibility and a policy analogous to those of Otto I. At the same time his

How

**Lothair Won
the Guelfs**

consciousness that he was a servant of the Church proved even more inconvenient than before 1125, during his membership of the alliance. It was necessary for him to gain some support against the Hohenstauffen, who were continuing the struggle. They had elected the younger brother, Conrad, duke of a portion of Franconia, as opposition king, for the reason that Frederic of Swabia was suffering under a bodily infirmity. Lothair therefore won over the Guelfs by the marriage of his daughter and heiress, Gertrude, with Henry the Proud in 1127, while the Zähringers were bought with the concession of the imperial governorship in Burgundy. In this quarter they had secured considerable wealth as heirs of the Rheinfeld family and also by a second inheritance of a county in North Burgundy which Lothair assured to them; they were unable, however, to turn to the best account the important position of governor, which they held at the same time. The old single-headed eagle of the empire which these dukes had added to their coat of arms, in virtue of their office, was transferred, after their extinction in 1218, to their heirs of Fürstenberg, on whose shield it is still to be seen. It was under the rule of Lothair (1125-1137)

that the great families of the empire consolidated their power and became of importance owing to the extent and locality of their possessions. The nucleus of the old allodial estates of the Guelfs was situated on the north of Lake Constance; in the meantime they had entered upon the inheritance of the Billungs in Saxony, and were next in succession to the property of the family of Supplinburg, with which were closely connected the inheritances of Northheim and the Ludolfings.

**The Imperial
Crown Given
to Lothair**

Lothair opposed the enterprise of the Hohenstauffen in Italy, where he received the imperial crown in the Lateran on June 4th, 1133. He attempted to alienate the property of Matilda from her Salian heirs by acknowledging it as a possession of the Pope, who placed this interpretation upon previous promises of Matilda, and received it from the Pope as a fief. He evaded, however, the form of the oath of allegiance, and did not acknowledge himself the Pope's "vassal" (*homo*), as the Curia maintained at a later period. A reconciliation was effected in Germany, under which the Hohenstauffen renounced their claim to the crown in October, 1134, and in September, 1135. A second journey to Rome, in 1136-1137, emphasised by its splendour the unity of the empire and the freedom which the emperor had acquired. Pope Innocent II. regarded the change thus betokened by the emperor's action and his expedition as highly inconvenient. The old imperial rights were enforced throughout the country, and the feudal supremacy over the Normans of Lower Italy was reasserted.

On his homeward journey Lothair died, on December 4th, 1137, in the Alpine village of Breitenwang on the Lech. The empire was again at the height of its power; intellectually and materially a period of prosperity was beginning, to which a considerable impulse was given by the Crusading movement, and it was promoted with surprising rapidity by the laity, who were now awaking from their long torpor.

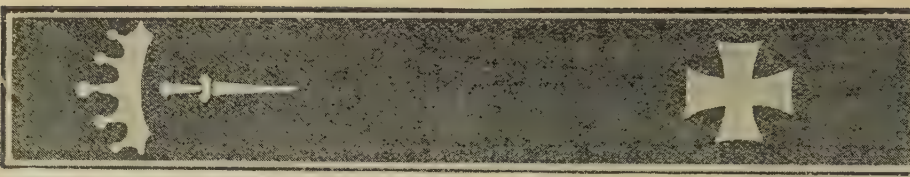
**The Dawn
of a
Great Day**

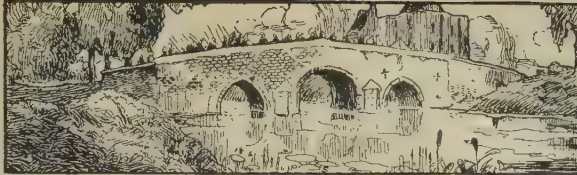
Western Europe as a whole outstripped Byzantium after this decade, and no longer stood in need of Byzantine civilisation when it had learnt the method of drawing inspiration from the sources of classical civilisation.



FINDING THE BODY OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR, FREDERIC BARBAROSSA

The first of the Hohenstauffen dynasty, Frederic I., Holy Roman Emperor, had an eventful career. He was one of the leaders of the Third Crusade, which was, perhaps, the most famous of the Holy Wars, and during that enterprise met his death by drowning in Pisidia, in the year 1190. From the painting by Bruckmann, in the Stuttgart State Gallery.





THE TRIUMPHS OF BARBAROSSA AND THE PASSING OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

IN view of the situation existing from 1137 to 1138, many have asserted that the Guelfs ought to have succeeded in securing the throne with the other inheritance of Lothair; in that case the German nation would have entered upon a period of straightforward North German rule instead of the Swabian government, which eventually lost its vigour in Italy. Conjectures of this kind are invariably to be mistrusted. Otto I. extended the imperial policy to Italy. Otto II. and III. forgot the claims of Lower Germany in view of their desire to advance to the Mediterranean and Italy. Though Lothair had grown old in the politics of Lower Germany, he had devoted the end of his life to warfare and organising work in Lower Italy. We shall find the Guelf Otto IV. pursuing the policy of the Hohenstauffen as soon as he is emperor. It was, in any case, no

Why Henry Lost a Throne mere imperial dream which induced the Hohenstauffen to attach such importance to the Italian possessions. It was, on the contrary, the imperative necessity of augmenting the resources of the crown, even more than the power of their own family, by means of Italian wealth.

The reason why Henry the Proud did not become king, after his step-father Lothair, is to be found in the apprehensions which the princes entertained of his growing power in Swabia, Bavaria and Saxony, and still more in the disappointment which the Church had suffered through Lothair's action. The elevation of Conrad III. was primarily due to the Church. Against a candidate and a wearer of the royal insignia who was so firmly established as Henry, all that could be done was to support the rival and his independent power; a third unimportant claimant would have been useless. We may, indeed, venture to say that the fact that the Guelfs did not then succeed to the crown preserved for them the fruits of those efforts which the

son of Henry the Proud carried to a successful conclusion in the north.

King Conrad considered that it was impossible to break up the power of the Guelfs, and to divide among his Babenberger and Ascanian friends the offices which

The Struggle that Split the Empire

they were holding. Thus the struggle began which divided the empire, and especially the Swabian territory, between the Guelfs and Ghibellines—that is, Waiblingen. In May, 1142, the question was temporarily settled—that is to say, deferred. Henry died on October 20th, 1139, before attaining the age of thirty-two. His son of the same name (the Lion) was allowed to inherit the Saxon duchy; but the margrave, Albert the Bear, became immediately dependent upon the empire, and was given the imperial post of chamberlain. This high office and Albert's exploits laid the foundation of that position which Brandenburg afterwards enjoyed as an imperial electorate; the old duchy of Saxony could thus be represented by two votes among the ruling nobility of the imperial principalities, while to the other hereditary duchies of Germany not even a single vote was accorded.

Between 1147 and 1149 Conrad, much against his will, undertook his fruitless crusade to Damascus. At the same time a crusade against the Wends was undertaken by the princes of Lower Germany, and those who were somewhat hostile to the king, after a loyal agreement had been concluded between the two parties. The

Crusades that Failed

results did not indeed correspond with the amount of energy displayed, though the position of the young Duke Henry in this district was thus confirmed from the first. The alliance between the Guelfs and Zähringers was renewed at the Lake of Schwerin in the course of this crusade; about the year 1147 Henry married the Zähringer Clementina.

The election of Frederic Barbarossa on March 4th, 1152, as the successor of Conrad III. was an attempt to heal the opposition between the Waiblingen and the Guelfs. So great importance was attached to this object that no difficulty was made in passing over Frederic of Rotenburg, the surviving son of Conrad III. Frederic Barbarossa, the Swabian nephew of the deceased king, was a son of a Guelf mother, and occupied in some respects a position midway between the two parties, though not entirely coincident with the position of Conrad III.

The hopes of both parties had been placed upon him during the last crisis, immediately after the Crusade. He had distinguished himself upon the Crusade no less than in a rapid series of exploits at home; he was ready to become king, and his desires were accomplished without difficulty and with the help of various agreements. His choice is a sign of the recognition given to bravery and of the effort for unity during this period, in which the spirit of chivalry was upon the increase.

These influences made Frederic's position firm and powerful from the outset, though he succeeded a transition government which had been marked by great irresolution. Hence his foreign policy was able to make the ideal of Imperial suzerainty effective. In the usual domestic struggle between Danish families for the succession in that kingdom, he was able to secure the success of one competitor, Sven, by accepting him as an imperial vassal. Between 1154 and 1155 he secured the imperial crown, after a rapid expedition with a few men—an achievement for which Conrad had

been 'too incompetent.' In 1154 Bavaria was given back to Henry the Lion, the result being that Austria became the special duchy of the Babenbergers, with certain exceptional rights, affecting its obligations to the empire, secured by the "Privilegium Minus" of September 17th, 1156. The result of this fifty-second election was thus to secure the equipoise of Guelf and Hohenstauffen, though for the moment under a reconciliation which guaranteed peace upon both sides.

Since the time of Charles the Great, no king had been inspired with so keen a desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country as Frederic showed in his measures of organisation and legislation. He proved that his electors had been perfectly correct in their choice of him as successor to the throne. The constitution of the empire was almost entirely remodelled by his action; but the transformation was effected without difficulty.



BARBAROSSA'S AMBASSADORS BEFORE THE POPE AND THE DOGE
Even under the revived "Holy Roman Empire" it was no uncommon occurrence for emperor and Pope to be in violent opposition to one another; and Frederic Barbarossa was not free from trouble with the Papacy, as the following pages and illustrations show. Here we see the ambassadors of the emperor being received by the Pope and the Doge.



THE ELECTION OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AS GERMAN KING

In choosing Frederic Barbarossa as the successor of Conrad III., in 1152, the electors selected a man well worthy of their confidence and support. His measures of organisation and legislation were proof of his great ability, and it was generally recognised that no man since the time of Charlemagne had been inspired with such a keen desire to secure peace and prosperity for his country. After settling the affairs of Germany, Frederick paid his first visit to Italy, received the Lombard crown at Pavia, and in 1155 was crowned emperor in Rome by Adrian IV.

He did not, like Charles, attempt to secure the immediate administrative powers of the monarch against the feudal system, but remodelled that system by introducing a series of military gradations. The spirit of patriotism which was then passing over the nation, the sense of nationality among the Germans which was arising to consciousness throughout all classes, enabled him to make the episcopacy the mainstay of his throne; such men as Archbishop Rainald of Cologne and Christian of Mainz proved themselves most reliable princes among the German nobility, and became Frederic's best advisers and generals. On the other side, he turned especially for support to the "ministeriales," both to those of the empire and of his own family, and to those of the German Church.

In continuation of the policy begun by Conrad II., he helped the class of the more important "ministeriales" to become free vassals and to incorporate themselves with the lower nobility. The chivalrous

spirit of the time, which made these social modifications possible, was marked by a high conception of the loyalty due to the position and person of the chief overlord. The secular princes might join this temporal hierarchy of feudal retainers as they pleased; loyalty was expressly demanded by Frederic only of individuals in close dependence upon him, or of those whom he used to counter-balance the great dukes. The chivalrous and national spirit of the age rapidly brought these temporal princes to the emperor's side, often in consequence of loss and irritation, as is shown, for instance, by the history of Berthold of Zähringen.

To the end of his reign, Frederic continued his policy of dividing the old duchies and of reducing the position of the imperial princes, with the result that only the spiritual lords, the diminished dukes, and the more important princes of the Wends were reckoned among the "principes," with the exception of certain

palatine counts and margraves, and the counts of Anhalt—these last as Ascanii. Hence this order was limited to those secular princes who were actually of supreme importance, while the remainder, the chief body of the counts, were reduced to the rank of free lords without sovereign jurisdiction. Thus, in addition to the old hereditary dukes, a generation of younger, more vigorous, and more loyal princes received a new accession of consequence; at the same time the preponderance of the spiritual lords in conjunction with the emperor was secured throughout the empire.

The new class of burghers remained undisturbed by the modifications and the new demands of this chivalrous empire.

Certain distinctions had been purposely created by legislation to separate the merchant and the knight, while the regulations of the public peace, which provided against speculation in corn and other possibilities of the kind, seemed to indicate some animus against the burgher class. On the other hand, other princely houses were, or became, careful to advance the prosperity of the burghers. Of these, the Zähringers were the most important, while the Guelfs also did much by their creation of new cities from Munich to Lübeck; their economic resources were based more or less upon the revenues which they received in their capacity of landlords from the towns and from commerce. This new social organisation of the



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC BARBAROSSA ENTERING MILAN

The old duel between emperor and Pope broke out once more during the reign of Frederic Barbarossa, whose quarrel with the occupant of St. Peter's chair began in 1157. In the following year Frederic crossed the Alps, and after compelling Milan to submit, held a triumphant diet at Roncaglia. Revolts succeeding, Milan was besieged, and more than three years elapsed before the opposition was overcome and the town finally captured and destroyed.



FREDERIC BARBAROSSA RECEIVING THE DELEGATES OF THE POPE AND THE DOGE

The Lombard League, which was an outcome of the enmity of the Italian cities to the emperor, took final shape in 1168 and in the battle of Legnano, in 1176, it defeated Frederic, who was compelled to make submission to Pope Alexander III. by the Peace of Venice. Frederic and the Pope became reconciled, and the bitter struggle with the Lombard League was brought to an end with the Peace of Constance in 1183.

From a painting in the Ducal Palace at Venice.

empire developed rapidly in every quarter. The terms "prince," "lord," "citizen" and "peasant" came into general use; the terms "free" and "unfree" had not entirely disappeared, but became antiquated, while their meaning was often inverted, though the conservatism of Lower Saxony preserved them for the longest period.

Notwithstanding all these regulations, the crown still needed some secure source of revenue, as the private and public revenues of the empire had fallen too largely into the hands of the princes. Such a source could be found in Italy. Even in that country the royal revenues

had largely been alienated from the crown. They had fallen into the hands of the towns, the individual prosperity of which had steadily increased their importance. In Italy national and feudal organisation had almost disappeared. The bishops and imperial officials of former times, together with their vassals, had seen their prerogatives undermined by the development of the town and had accommodated themselves to this development. The blow delivered by Frederic I. against this state of affairs, shortly after his first expedition to Italy, was no doubt an act of oppression and implied a sudden overthrow of what had grown by degrees. The

impoverished condition of the crown and of the empire in the midst of a general and growing prosperity was a bitter experience, while the impossibility of opening other sources of revenue increased the seriousness of the financial situation. The crown, moreover, was theoretically justified in vindicating its former rights.

To the famous imperial diet of Roncaglia in November, 1158, Frederic had summoned from Bologna a number of doctors learned in the civil law, which had lately been revived as a study in the Italian universities, and was still the basis of common law in the towns. These experts advised the emperor to adopt the decisive course of declaring all the royal dues payable to himself, and their actual recipients to be dependent upon him and obliged on their side to prove their rights individually. This assembly of civilians is also of importance in another direction. It marks the beginning of a classical renaissance which was to permeate mediæval thought and civilisation and modify the imperial theory; it is also a proclamation of the revival of Roman law, which was demanded by the imperial interests. The idea of using the antique imperial law for the advantage of the mediæval crown had long before occurred to the acute Henry V.; the diet of 1158 had merely put it into tangible shape.

The long war between the empire and the rich Lombard communes soon broke out, and was prosecuted with appalling animosity. After 1170 the towns were forced into close alliance with the papacy, which was also intimidated by the spectacle of an empire of wide influence conducted upon secular principles by a band of spiritual princes. However, the bishops and the secular princes of Germany continued their fidelity to the emperor. On the one side stood German feudalism and chivalry, and on the other the power of the Italian cities; these parties were in violent opposition, and had no point

whatever of common interest. However, the most powerful of the German princes, Henry the Lion, refused his help to the emperor when it was urgently required. Shortly afterwards Frederic lost the battle of Legnano on May 29th, 1176, though not for want of the duke's help; with a sudden change of plan, he attempted to secure an armistice and a settlement in Italy.

It was most important for him to come to an arrangement with the Guelfs ;

and at the cost of some sacrifices he secured a reconciliation with Pope Alexander III. in the Peace of Venice, in the summer of 1177. The royal revenues in the Church states and the inheritance of Matilda were guaranteed to him after a lapse of fifteen years, and Alexander was relieved of the presence of Calixtus III., the imperialist anti-Pope. An armistice was also concluded with the Lombard communes; a peace with them was finally arranged at Constance on June 25th, 1183. The emperor saved his territorial supremacy, his judicial rights, his influence upon the administration of independent communes, the *podrum*—the payment for the expense of maintaining the emperor and his armies—and a yearly sum as compensation for his fiscal rights in the territory of those communes which would not, or could not, prove their rights in accordance with the principles formulated at the diet of Roncaglia. Within their own walls the towns were in undisputed possession



HENRY THE LION

With his following of vassals this duke acted as an independent king. For disloyal action toward Frederic Barbarossa, the latter, in 1180, declared his lands forfeited.

of the revenues and the supreme power. Thus was removed all opposition on the emperor's side to the development of free and independent city states which was then taking place in Italy. At the same time, the influence of the crown in Italy was now far greater than in 1152; and after the conclusion of peace, the splendour of the empire as head and front of the knightly organisations, which Barbarossa's vigour in these struggles and negotiations had maintained, was further advanced.

THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

Among those violent adversaries the emperor himself secured a popularity and a distinction which the leading commune, Milan, soon strove to share as an honour of special importance.

The destruction of Henry the Lion falls between the peace of Venice and that of Constance. Since 1156 Germany had been practically divided into two empires, that of the west and south, extending towards Burgundy and Italy, and the Bavarian-Saxon Empire, with a Slavonic and northern policy. Henry the Lion had extended his conquests to Pomerania, and had founded Lübeck as a permanent Saxon harbour on the Baltic. This duke, with his independent vassals and his "domestic disturbances," acted as an independent king; more than once the abbots and bishops within his territory, who were possessed of territories or dioceses,

his town of Brunswick a ducal residence of unparalleled splendour. Upon the occasion of a breathing space from his domestic work, he made independent expeditions eastward, like a great king, in 1172. We must also mention the fact that about 1174 Frederic obtained the reversion of the estates of Henry's uncle, Welf VI., which consisted of the old Swabian Guelf lands to the north of Lake Constance.



VIEW OF BRUNSWICK

This must be added to the points of difference and division between the two great cousins, although it might eventually lead to the further consolidation of the two monarchies.

The crisis was initiated by the refusal of this uncrowned monarch in Lower Germany to place his army at the disposal of the Hohenstauffen in the hour of danger; his help had been requested as a favour and not as a matter of feudal right. The Emperor Frederic regarded himself as paralysed in the



THE RESTORED DUCAL PALACE AT BRUNSWICK

had joined the temporal lords of Saxony against Henry. The histories of the empire and of this ducal power run almost in parallel lines. A further-line of demarcation was secured when Henry exchanged certain Zähringer estates in the Breisgau, which he had gained by marriage, for certain royal estates in the Harz district. Side by side with Goslar, and surpassing that royal town, Henry made

freedom of his own policy by this growing Guelf kingdom in the other half of Germany. The refusal to render military substance implied something more than a policy of mutual avoidance, and an understanding on the point was imperatively demanded. It must always remain a matter for our admiration when we consider the means by which Frederic, though simultaneously opposed by the

towns, the Pope and the Guelfs, ex-
tricated himself from these difficulties,
came to an agreement with all three with
no loss of supremacy, obliged his opponents
to make peace and to grant concessions,
and then advanced with determination
upon the Guelfs. This was a daring
resolution, but the best he could make,

as in any other case his action
would be perpetually thwarted
from the side of Germany. Had
**Frederic's
Struggle for
His Rights** Frederic made concessions to

his adversary to secure the help which he
desired for reclaiming the utmost of his
rights beyond the Alps, we should have
every reason for blaming an empire which
neglected its domestic power to secure
supremacy in the south, and thereby
destroyed the unity of the nation. Frederic
made his plans for the decisive struggle with
the greatest caution, availed himself of the
weapons of formal right, and used them to
the utmost by dexterous policy.

As soon as the whole position was trans-
ferred from the level of political force to
the strict theory of constitutional and
feudal law, the ground was cut from under
the foundations of this second great state
within a state, the existence of which
had hardly been disputed. The emperor
appeared not as an opponent but as a
judge, and immediately sent the princes
who had a grudge against Henry to the
attack. The Guelf was thus handed over
to the judgment of feudal and common
law, was deprived of his ecclesiastical
and imperial fiefs, of his rights of local
justice, of his allodial domains, and was
outlawed.

In November, 1181, the struggle con-
cluded with some diminution in the
severity of the sentence; the annihilation
of this family would have been an un-
paralleled proceeding, and the effects of
such acts of extirpation are often disas-
trous to the triumphant party. The sen-
tence of outlawry was removed, and

Henry received his Saxon
allodial territory once more. He
was, however, obliged to go for
a time into exile in order that
the new arrangements might be carried out
without his personal interference, and
for this purpose he chose England, where
relatives of his family were settled.

The Saxon duchy was broken up; a
number of its subjects were made imme-
diately dependent upon the empire, while
a ducal power over the west was given

to the archbishopric of Cologne and the
remainder of the east was transferred to
an Ascanian line. In 1180, as a reward
of service, the Count Palatine of Bavaria,
Otto of Wittelsbach, was created a duke,
which implied a restoration of early his-
torical family connections. The duchy
was, however, further diminished by the
fact that certain provinces were made
independent or dependent upon the empire;
these were Styria, Tyrol and Istria.

The highest point of imperial power is
marked, after the comparatively favour-
able peace of Constance in 1183, by the
brilliant festival of Mainz at Whitsuntide,
1184, when Frederic's elder sons, Henry
and Frederic, were knighted. Equally
obvious on the occasion of this festival
is the enthusiasm of the nation and of the
contemporary court poets—Walther von
der Vogelweide and others—for the splen-
dour which surrounded this great em-
peror and leader. The emperor's position
was advanced even more by the general
current of events in Europe than by his
personal victories; and in the autumn of
the same year, William II. of Sicily, the

Norman ruler of Lower Italy,
though a sworn ally of the
Guelfs since the Crusade of
Conrad III., offered to the
Hohenstauffen prince, Henry, the hand of
his heiress, Constance, notwithstanding
the vigorous opposition of the Pope.

There was a strange and general move-
ment of lay feeling throughout the world,
which tended to compose the difference
between political opponents, between the
chivalrous and the trading, and which even
under the cassock of the distinguished pre-
late appeared in open or secret opposition
to the principles of secular or hierarchical
self-renunciation. As we have already
observed, Milan requested the honour that
within its walls, as a counterpart to the
festival of Mainz, should take place the
imperial celebrations of January 27th, 1186;
it was a marriage destined to strengthen
the hold of the Hohenstauffen upon Italy
in an unparalleled degree and to bring
Lombardy between two fires.

Henry was, then, crowned thus in Milan
with the iron crown of the Lombards.
It is remarkable that the emperor gave his
successor the title of Cæsar, which the
classical Augusti bestowed upon their
presumptive heirs; Augustus and his
imperial power had in point of time pre-
ceded Peter, the apostle of Christ. In 1165



CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD ON THE SONS OF FREDERIC BARBAROSSA AT MAINZ IN 1181

A great festival was held at Mainz, at Whitsuntide, 1184, on the occasion of the knighting of the emperor's elder sons, Henry and Frederic. The brilliancy of the event was matched by the enthusiasm of the nation, and the ceremony is described as marking "the highest point of imperial power," the Emperor's position being then at its zenith.

Frederic demanded the canonisation of Charles the Great from the then Pope, Paschal III. This was a matter of political expediency, and the translation of the Frankish emperor's remains was carried out with due solemnity. Frederic now surpassed the energies of his model, and united the foundations of national German supremacy with the traditions of the universality and magnificence of the old classical empire.

The Curia despaired of the laity, but not of itself or its ideal of the predominance of the Church. It placed its hopes, in spite of all, upon the possibility of recovering the ecclesiastical, military

and political power which had belonged to the episcopate. Its opposition to the fiscal rights of the crown was a clever move in the interests of the ecclesiastical princes. According to these rights, when an episcopal chair fell vacant, the personal property of the deceased and the enjoyment of his revenues reverted to the crown, until a successor had been appointed; and this was a source of income which had recently assumed a value unforeseen by the simplicity and poverty of the past.

The evil results of the overthrow of Henry the Lion, which had relieved the Low German ecclesiastical princes of a burden, were further announced in the

self-seeking policy of Philip of Heinsberg, Archbishop of Cologne. He forthwith grasped at the proffered friendship of Rome, and, abandoning his position as the high official and helper of the emperor, came forward as the representative of Rome and the hierarchical idea in Germany, and looked about him for political support. The

Destruction of Jerusalem

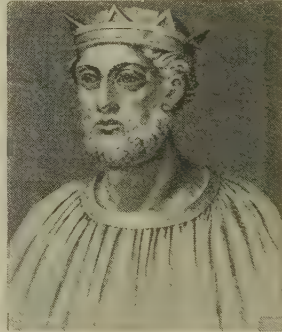
tension was then relieved by the destruction of the kingdom of Jerusalem by Saladin and the Crusade of the emperor; he was the supreme head of European chivalry, and in conjunction with France and England he drew his sword on behalf of the eastern policy of the Church, an action which tended further to consolidate the ecclesiastical position. With imperial conceptions which were greater than any previous German ruler had entertained, but which were almost forced upon his notice, he appeared in the Slav states to the north of the Balkans, and on the East Mediterranean; he held out a prospect to the Armenian Leo II. of the grant of a royal fief by the empire; but his career was closed by his sudden death. The account of the Crusade will be found in the later section devoted to the Crusades.

Henry VI. had accepted all these practical and ideal conceptions of universal wide supremacy; but both before and after his father's death, on the River Salef on June 10th, 1190, he was obliged to secure his position in Germany and in Italy. The old Duke Henry of Saxony had already appeared upon German soil in October, 1189, in a defiant and revengeful spirit, which was stimulated by the English king, Richard Cœur de Lion.

This monarch in the winter of 1190-1191 entered into relations with the Norman revolt in South Italy against the husband of Constance, and opposed those claims of supremacy to which Henry was legally entitled by the death of William II., on November 18th, 1189. It proved possible, however, to secure a favourable change of position. The friendship of France was certain, and Philip of Cologne, who was intimidated by the appearance of the Lion, became a temporary helper and intermediary. Afterwards, indeed,

while Henry VI. was on his road to Sicily, a menacing understanding was begun between the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz and the other princes; but, fortunately for Henry, the life and soul of the opposition at home and abroad, Richard Cœur de Lion, was trapped in Austria on imperial soil, on December 21st, 1192, by the Babenberger duke, Leopold, whom he had personally insulted before Acre. Leopold handed over his prisoner to the emperor, and the conspiracy was broken up.

On February 4th, 1194, the Emperor Henry, who had held that title since April 14th, 1191, surrendered the pledge which he possessed in the person of the adventurous Plantagenet for a ransom of 150,000 marks. In the spring of the same year, 1194, Henry the Lion abandoned his hopeless attitude of defiance and became reconciled, after his son, of the same name, had received, as the son-in-law of the Hohenstauffen Count Palatine Conrad, the promise of the succession in this Rhenish principality, which was formed of Franconian lands, and the official revenues of Lorraine. In 1194 Henry gained a complete victory and shattered the resistance of the Normans in Southern Italy. On Christmas Day he received the crown at Palermo and secured his possession by the severity of his measures. After these



KING PHILIP OF SWABIA

Unable to secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, then but one year old, the Hohenstauffen party was forced to elect Philip of Swabia; he was murdered in 1208.

events there appears in German history the imperial idea of amalgamating in one whole the German, Italian, and Burgundian kingdoms with the independent Sicilian monarchy, which was not subject to election, provided that the house of Hohenstauffen should be secured against the uncertainties of an election, or, in other

Henry's

Proposals for the Empire

words, if the empire could be guaranteed to that family by right of hereditary succession.

In return for this concession, Henry proposed to abandon the "Jus Spoliorum" in favour of the ecclesiastical princes, and to permit the secular princes to extend the rights of succession to include their female relatives. These arrangements are intelligible only upon the supposition that Henry, instead of abandoning his independence in the Norman kingdom,

proposed to subject the whole empire to a centralised administration of officials, for which purpose he had successfully employed the German Order of Knights in Italy. He must also have proposed to transform the German princely families into a class of high territorial nobles—an attempt which the French crown afterwards carried out successfully.

This tremendous innovation would have transferred the centre of gravity of the empire beyond question to the shores of the Mediterranean; and therefore the opposition beyond the Alps, in Lower Germany and in the territory of Cologne, with its relations with England and the North Sea, was especially keen.

The plan was repeatedly discussed in December, 1195, but was finally abandoned at the end of 1196.

There was one achievement visible to all the world, and standing as evidence of the universal and imperial, no less than the monarchical, tendency of this strong government; this was Henry's enterprise in the East—one of the successful Crusades, notwithstanding the fact that it was prematurely abandoned owing to the sudden death of the emperor on September 28th, 1197. Since the emperor took no personal share in the undertaking, his Arch-Chancellor, Conrad of Wittelsbach, the Archbishop of Mainz, acted as his representative. This crown

official led a number of high secular princes, and crowned Amalric king of Cyprus and Leo II. king of Armenia, accepting both as vassals of the emperor. The dangers of the electoral rights of the princes, which Henry had proposed to abolish, were never revealed with more appalling clearness than on the death of Henry VI.—one of the most decisive events, if not in German history, yet in that of the mediæval empire.

The Hohenstauffen party could not secure the succession of Henry's son, Frederic, the child of Constance, who had been chosen in 1196 and was then but one year old; they were forced to appoint Philip of Swabia on March 8th, 1198, at Mühlhausen in Thuringia, an election preferable under the circumstances, though not unanimous, and were obliged to leave Italy to itself. The opposition were at first in favour of Berthold V. of Zähringen; when, however, he declined, they chose, on June 9th, at Cologne, Otto, the second son of the deceased Henry the Lion. In the last reign the empire had reached an unexampled pitch of splendour and had



ANCESTRAL CASTLE OF THE HOHENSTAUFFEN, BUILT IN 1080

reduced even Byzantium to the position of a vassal state; now two rival-kings had suddenly reappeared, who would be likely to fritter the power of the crown away, in order to increase their own following. Pope Innocent III., who held the balance between the two parties, claimed the right of arbitration, which Otto at last conceded to him in the hope of securing his support. Philip, however, who championed the rights of the secular power, gradually asserted his position, but only to be murdered in consequence of a private quarrel immediately after his success, on June 21st, 1208.

Otto IV. immediately proceeded to effect a reconciliation with the party of the Hohenstauffen, and to reassert the royal and imperial rights wherever possible, and even in Italy. Upon this sudden change in 1210 the Church again proceeded to play off the Hohenstauffen against the Guelfs, as it had done in 1138, the Guelf candidate being Frederic II., king and heir of the two Sicilies. The Hohenstauffen proved victorious, supported as they were by Otto's enemies and by the opposition of France to the Anglo-Guelf alliance on the Lower Rhine.

Frederic, who had been present since the midsummer of 1212, remained completely master of Germany after the Emperor Otto had been defeated by Philip Augustus at Bouvines on July 27th, 1214. For more than three decades he was able to use this position to overcome all difficulties by the surrender of the German crown rights, while working to secure the expansion of the monarchy in Italy and its close connection with the fully centralised official power of the Norman kingdom; he also added the crown of Jerusalem to that of Sicily on March 18th, 1229.

As early as July 12th, 1213, he had renounced in writing at Eger the crown rights resigned by the Concordat of Worms, and had also surrendered the "Jus Spoliorum," the property of Matilda and the possessions in the Church states claimed by the Curia. The importance of the document was increased by the addition of letters of consent from the princes, a further constitutional development. On March 22nd, 1209, Otto IV. had made the same concessions at Speier to secure his election as emperor, but had afterwards cunningly explained that the consent of

the princes had not been secured. For this reason more careful measures were taken for the future. In May, 1216, Frederic surrendered the regalian rights; in 1220 he was anxious to exchange positions with his son Henry, who had been originally intended for the kingdom of Sicily.

Frederic now proposed to administer Sicily himself, while bringing his son as regent to Germany; for this purpose, at Frankfort-on-Main, on April 26th, he guaranteed the territorial rights of the ecclesiastical princes, limited the sphere of the royal jurisdiction, and renounced all fiscal claims upon towns, castles and customs houses. The regency of his crowned son gradually developed into a kind of opposition kingdom, and in order to deprive Henry of his friends, Frederic threw the German towns entirely into the power of the princes by the Privilege of Worms of May 1st, 1231, removing their powers of self-administration and of concluding alliances with one another; at the same time he recognised the territorial power of the secular princes. The empire

thus became a loosely connected congeries of ruling princes under a royal or imperial head.

In 1233 he also threw Germany open to the persecution of heretics by the Church, which proceeded to torment the alienated laity with inquisitions and martyrdoms. The Dominican inquisitor, Master Conrad of Marburg, and his satellites, were given full power of jurisdiction until the indignation of the people and of the secular princes put an end to the persecution after a few years of terror.

After the youthful policy of King Henry had clashed with that of his father in July, a certain return to the centralising policy was implied by the measures of August 15th, 1235. These were a great ordinance for the public peace, by which the Teutonic right of prosecuting private war was considerably limited, and the foundation of a permanent high court of justice. At that time the allodial possessions of the Guelfs were made immediately dependent upon the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

While this period is almost void of imperial exploits of successes, German independence, as such, was beginning to develop. Otto IV. in his necessity, and also Frederic, to gain support against Otto, had surrendered Holstein and the German Baltic districts to the Danes in

Two
Rival
Kings

Cruelties
Of the
Church

The Cunning
Policy
of Otto IV.



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES, IN WHICH PHILIP AUGUSTUS DEFEATED THE EMPEROR OTTO ON JULY 27TH, 1214
From the painting by Vernet at Versailles.

1201 and at the end of 1214; the courageous blow delivered by Count Henry of Schwerin in May, 1223, and the bravery of the allied Low German estates in the brilliant fight of Bornhövede, recovered these territories from their foreign ruler on July 22nd, 1227.

In the distant country of the Prussians the Teutonic Order of Knights, founded before Acre on March 5th, 1198, began in 1228 a series of conquests under the leadership of the great Hermann of Salza, who was a faithful counsellor and a kind of German conscience to Frederic II. On the battlefield of Liegnitz the Mongols were repelled on April 9th, 1241, by the bravery and heroic death of Duke Henry II. of Lower Silesia. From Silesia to Prussia and Jutland, industry and culture, accompanied by a full consciousness of German nationality, proved invariably triumphant, and transformed the native dynasties of the Slavs into German princely houses. Hungary, which had been severely ravaged by the Mongols, recovered her prosperity through the efforts of the new German colonists, who were summoned to the country. It seemed that Bohemia

and even Poland would be peacefully overcome by the powerful growth of the German nationality; the Bohemian court, like the Silesian, was already German.

Frederic proceeded to wage his wars against the Lombards in Italy. He relied upon his Sicilian troops rather than on German support. He asserted the rights of the empire, not through the German knights whom his father had employed, but through the support of great civic families on whom he counted to end the period of self-government. His successes threatened to become a danger to the States of the Church in 1241, but resistance in that quarter was encouraged by the determination and the statesmanship of Sinibaldi Fieschi of Genoa, Innocent IV. (1243-1254).

At the Council of Lyons, on July 17th, 1245, this Pope excommunicated the emperor and deposed him from all his kingdoms. He then offered the Norman kingdom to some new vassal and secured the election of an opposition king even in Germany. On May 22nd, 1246, Henry Raspe, the landgrave of Thuringia, was elected, and upon



AFTER THE BATTLE OF BENEVENTO: CAPTURE OF THE FAMILY OF MANFRED
The illustration represents an incident that followed the battle of Benevento in 1266, in which the German King Manfred was defeated by Charles of Anjou. Manfred was slain, and his family fell into the hands of the conqueror.
From the painting by Eduard von Engerth in the Art Museum at Vienna

THE HOHENSTAUFFEN DYNASTY

his death before Ulm in February, 1247, Count William of Holland was appointed in September.

The transference of the imperial power to the princes is clearly expressed in the fact that their tool, the counter king, was not necessarily possessed of princely rank or power of his own. On December 13th, 1250, during the preparations called forth by the defeat of Vittoria on February 18th, 1248, a misfortune due to carelessness, Frederic II. died—where we do not know. He carried with him to his grave the empire of Charles the Great, Otto I., Barbarossa and Henry VI.

For the revival of that empire he had never made the smallest effort. He had little or no personal sympathy with the German nationality. He was a product of Italian and Saracen education, a poet in the Italian language, the independent monarch of a centralised government, the champion of a closely organised monarchy upon modern lines in his own hereditary kingdom; and in Upper Italy he was "the first of the moderns," standing on the threshold of the future Italian renaissance.

Death of

Conrad IV.

German feudalism and chivalry had no attractions for him; he was equally out of sympathy with the rich and joyous development of Central European culture as exemplified in Germanic civilisation, with the home of the Nibelungen, of Wolfram, of Walther, and of mediæval romanticism.

Conrad IV., son of Frederic II., had been already crowned in 1237, and attempted to maintain his kingdom by securing his possessions in Sicily. There he died at Lavello on May 21st, 1254. His half-brother, Manfred, in opposition to Conrad's son, Conradin, to whom he was opposed, as Philip of Swabia had been opposed to Frederic II. in 1198, sought to preserve the Sicilian monarchy by making himself its representative, after 1258, but was defeated at Benevento on February 26th, 1266, by Charles of Anjou, who was in allegiance with the Curia. Charles, the capable but ruthless brother of Louis IX. of France, continued the traditions and the work of the Emperor Frederic II. among that motley collection of peoples which formed the Norman state.

In Germany a change of circumstance was marked by the continued rise of the

citizen class. Privileges had been hastily granted to this class by Frederic II. after 1242, when he began to feel the pressure of the princes, especially of the ecclesiastical party. The great town federation which began in 1254 with Mainz and Worms, and speedily reached Regensburg and Lübeck, included numerous members

and relatives of the princely class. King William was satisfied to remain the patron of the alliance and to increase his prestige by this position; it was, indeed, rather fostered than diminished by the early decay and the growth of disunion within the federation.

In January, 1256, William died in the course of a local Frisian quarrel, and a year afterwards a more restricted body of the princes, who had preserved this right against the rising power of the third estate and wished to turn it to pecuniary account, chose two masters who were able to pay for the distinction. Of these, Richard of Cornwall and Poitou, brother of the English king, Henry III., was a man of straw; on the other hand, the bold Alfonzo X. of Castile pursued the Italian and Mediterranean policy of the Spaniards, which materially influenced the Apennine peninsula in the course of following centuries, and seized the opportunity of basing his plans upon the inheritance of the Hohenstauffen.

Side by side with these mock governments proceeded the enterprise of Conradin. He had been educated by his uncle, Duke Lewis of Bavaria, and though not elected to the German crown, he was duke of Swabia, with a hereditary claim to the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. He hoped to reconquer the latter state, and then possibly to change the course of events in Germany. The downfall of this courageous

youth, on October 29th, 1268, conjoined with the permanent imprisonment of Enzo by the people of Bologna, from May 26th, 1249, to March 14th, 1272, caused the extinction of the male line of the Hohenstauffen and the dissolution of the duchy of Swabia. The last Hohenstauffen were avenged upon the house of Anjou by the instrumentality of Manfred's son-in-law, Peter of Aragon, and the Sicilian Vespers of March 30th, 1282.

The Sad End of Conradin

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS V

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

AND

THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PAPAL POWER

ABOUT the middle of the thirteenth century all continuous influence on the part of the crown had practically ceased. The idea of national unity and of common authority was again overshadowed by the old invincible Teutonic tendencies to separatism and to the formation of small independent federations. Thus, when these broken forces found themselves inadequate to secure their own purposes, help was sought in temporary alliances and in unstable connections. The primitive characteristics of Teutonic constitutional life—individualism on the one hand, completed or voluntarily extinguished by a process of federation upon the other—reasserted themselves in the face of the later or foreign conception of uniformity, though they reappeared in changed form and in different stages. There is no doubt that the manner in which the monarchy had been finally administered contributed largely to the triumph of these tendencies. We enter upon a period of alliances and peace unions, of town leagues and Hansas, of noble and chivalrous societies, of princely alliances and electoral diets.

Among these movements appears a remnant of the royal power which is not absolutely extinguished, but is used now for this purpose and now for that. The kingdom has revived, but its means of subsistence are refused whenever it threatens to become a real force. With the exception of the leading civic offices, which continually call for a change of occupancy, all else had become hereditary. The restricted class of the high nobility, though not predominant, was able to retain within its limits the power to confer the crown; and this it exercised in different directions, taking full care that the remnants of monarchical influence should never put forth new roots.

The German history of this period consists of territorial aims and events, of capacity and effort applied to local enterprises. It was not the imperial government but the rivalry of individual forces in the most varied localities that secured the great increase of material prosperity and culture with which a detailed history of the nation must deal, and the evidence of which is still to be seen in the north and south of Germany, in her Gothic churches and warehouses, her sumptuous palaces and lordly castles, or in the collections which illustrate the progress of artistic taste in manufacture and the development of civilisation.

Meanwhile the crown was utterly impoverished as compared with those who should have been its subjects. In this position it was retained by the repeated elections of monarchs who possessed no means at all, or only so much as would prevent a more important personality from grasping the monarchy. Under such circumstances the various emperors naturally attempted to find support for themselves and for their houses; in other words, they regarded their immediate object as the task of making themselves distinguished and prosperous princes, like their electors. On occasion they attempted to divert the wealth of the towns to their own coffers, but a more successful method was the

What the Emperors Aimed at seeking or the using of favourable opportunities to make themselves strong territorial lords. But all attempts to exalt the conception of the monarchy proved fruitless. Moreover, their efforts were marked by a general individualism. Among other points we observe that the interests of an individual emperor were practically confined to the geographical boundaries of the district which he had inherited or might acquire. During

the period of rivalry between the Saxons and Hohenstauffen this had not been the case to the same extent. The Sicilian Frederic II. is an exception; he was no more a German than Alfonso of Castile. Upon the whole, however, rulers like Lothair of Saxony or Otto IV. had raised the crown above the sphere of mere territorial politics and given it a more imperial significance.

After the interregnum, it was the house of Capet which chiefly aimed at that imperial and universal position vacated by the fall of the Hohenstauffen. This family was established by Charles of Anjou in Provence, in Lower Italy, and in the Arelate province of the kingdom of Burgundy, which belonged historically to the Germans. It embraced Italy upon two sides, and afterwards, when established in Hungary, upon three. It began to resume the policy of Frederic I. and Frederic II. in Lombardy. It then surrounded the papacy, whose power the French strove to use as an instrument of their imperial designs, in a mean spirit of aggrandisement which is wholly alien to that of the former

**Shattered
German
Empire**

German emperors, with their devotion to ecclesiastical ideals. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the Capets began to cast glances upon the shattered body of the German Empire, to consider the possibility of acquiring and incorporating it in their own world power. Nor, after the elections of 1257, can we feel any surprise when we find enthusiastic Frenchmen proclaiming the advantage offered by this prospect to the peace of the world and to civilisation in general.

The man who averted these comprehensive foreign ambitions and recalled the Germans to their own course of development was not one of themselves, but a foreigner, Pope Gregory X. The entire change of political circumstances had forced upon his notice the necessity for a German monarchy worthy of the name, which he could use as a counterpoise to the imperialism of the Capets. He therefore threatened the princes with a choice of his own making if they did not elect a king of their own after Richard's death on April 2nd, 1272.

Since Frederic I. had proposed to limit the number of the princes, and therefore of the electors, certain events which were taken as precedents, certain

theoretical and literary formulæ, including the precedent of the cardinal bishops, had tended to produce an isolation of the electoral body and had secured a certain recognition for the theory that seven princes were the special electors to the empire. However, the rise of the electoral college is by no means a simple process, and it was

only the Golden Bull of 1356 which defined the existence of this new element in the constitution. Among the princes who belonged to this corporation the wish for a native king had been gaining ground since 1272. The most powerful of the lay princes in the empire was King Ottokar of Bohemia. After the extinction of the Babenbergers, in 1246, Ottokar had emerged triumphant in 1251, notwithstanding the tortuous intrigues of the Emperor Frederic II. and of other princes to secure this inheritance. He had ruled over Austria and Styria with Carinthia and Carniola since 1269. It was his earnest desire to open Bohemia and Moravia to German immigrants, to found towns and to introduce civilisation of the German type, and so to raise the level of their civilisation. In the east a great and uniform power was in process of formation under the Premyslids. He also extended his influence to the north-east, where he was in close connection with the pioneers of German expansion; the young town of Königsberg in Prussia adopted his name in his honour and in memory of his co-operation with the Teutonic Order. Hence in every respect it was intelligible that he should not be the king the electors desired and that they attempted to exclude him from all influence upon their choice.

On September 28th, 1273, they elected a man who was not a prince, but a Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, the candidate of Archbishop Werner of Mainz. Rudolf's hereditary lands lay in the Sundgau and

Aargau; his family had inherited a considerable portion of the large territories of the Zähringers, who became extinct

**Rudolf
Called to
the Throne**

in 1218, through the house of Kyburg and in conjunction with their property; this important Swabian and Burgundian territory had been further increased by the cleverness and foresight of Rudolf. Thus it was not an entirely unimportant personage who was brought forward from the south-west to confront the new Henry

the Lion in the east. Moreover, from the outset Rudolf was resolved to assert his position as king. The relation between himself and Ottokar was analogous to that which had formerly existed between King Conrad I. and Duke Otto the Illustrious of Saxony; there are many points of similarity in their respective relations to the electoral princes.

Rudolf's Bold Measures

Conrad, however, had avoided the stronger territorial lord, who did not care to be king, as his candidature was not seriously considered, and had finally offered the empire to his son. Rudolf, on the other hand, formed the bold resolve of overthrowing Ottokar and securing his territorial power for himself. Here, again, we see points of resemblance with the destruction of the rival Guelf by Frederic I. Rudolf utilised the legal pretext of unfulfilled feudal obligations, and summoned the Bohemian in due form before his court. Ottocar, like Henry, had to deal with risings at home and with the opposition of the Bohemian superior clergy, whom Rudolf again turned to his own account. He was also helped by the Bohemian particularist movement against the Germanising territorial lords and the opposition to the Hungarian king, Ladislaus. With their help Rudolf secured the upper hand in the fierce decisive struggle on the Marchfeld at Dürnkrut, in which Ottokar lost not only the battle but also his life at the hand of his subjects on August 26th, 1278. It was not the princes of the empire who helped Rudolf to this success; on the contrary, Ottokar found valuable allies among them wherever the king revealed his purpose. These purposes, however, were attained by calmness and dexterity. The Premyslids were restricted to Bohemia and Moravia, to the satisfaction of other rulers; at the same time the policy of German immigration, which had been fostered by the native rulers, was now brought to an end. The

Rise of the House of Hapsburg

process of Germanisation and immigration came to a standstill, and the policy of the succeeding Premyslids was now turned from its former paths to Poland and Hungary—that is, to paths which did not affect Germany. In Austria and Styria, which were at first governed by an imperial vicar, the house of Hapsburg quietly seized the territorial supremacy. Carinthia and Carniola were transferred to Rudolf's

supporter, Duke Meinhard of Görz and Tyrol, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was married in 1276 to Rudolf's eldest son, Albert.

Austria being thus secured, Rudolf then attempted to lay his hands upon Hungary. In the west, within the hereditary property of the Hapsburgs, he was anxious to restore the duchy of Swabia and the royal prerogative in Burgundy for the benefit of his house. These efforts, however, proved fruitless. The achievements which he had secured by bravery and care conferred too great a distinction upon his son, Albert of Austria, to secure the latter the favour of the electors. His third son, Rudolf, might have been a possible candidate, as the old view of the hereditary rights of a chosen and reigning family was not altogether dead, and as Rudolf was to inherit only the old Hapsburg possessions; he, however, died in 1290 before his father. Moreover, Albert was rejected by the adoption of a new theory, to which the force of precedent was given; as Rudolf I. had not been emperor, it was asserted that no king of the Romans or successor could be elected during his lifetime. As regards the imperial rights in Italy, Rudolf had renounced

The King's Concessions to the Papacy

Lower Italy and Sicily and also the "recuperations" of the Patrimony in favour of the papacy, in 1275 and 1279, but had renewed the contracts of Otto IV. and Frederic II., made during their time of alliance with the papacy, and had secured the recognition of his title by Gregory. In Upper Italy, therefore, the possibility of restoration remained open to the German imperial power, and homage was there offered to Rudolf through his ambassadors.

Upon the death of Rudolf I., on July 15th, 1291, an even less important personality than Rudolf had been in 1273 was elected on May 5th, 1292; this was Count Adolf of Nassau, who had to buy his election by heavy sacrifices from the remnants of the imperial demesnes. The new king could see no other way of asserting his position than that which Rudolf had followed—to secure control of some principalities. For this purpose he thought he might turn to account the violent family quarrels of the Wettins. This family, which belonged to Meissen, had secured Thuringia after the death of Henry Raspe, in 1247. The Hessian portion of the province had gone as a special

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

landgraviate to an heiress of Brabant, belonging to the family of the landgraves of Thuringia, which had become extinct in the male line in 1263. Adolf now interfered in the family quarrel of the Wettins by purchasing the lordship of Meissen and Thuringia, which were the property of the aggrieved party; this he was enabled to do by using the subsidies which England had been sending since 1294 in return for

Austria. Three of his six married sisters brought him into connection with the princes of Bohemia, Wittenberg in Saxony, and Brandenburg; these relationships offered more or less tangible prospects to his relatives, calmed their opposition, and induced them to take sides against the king. The electors of Adolf had grown dissatisfied with their choice, and Albert was therefore chosen king on June 23rd, 1298, at the instance of Wenzel II. and Archbishop Gerhard of Mainz, while Adolf was simultaneously threatened with the sentence of deposition from the electoral body. The matter was decided by Adolf's overthrow at the battle of Göllheim, not far from the Donnersberg, on July 2nd.

It was naturally only to be expected that the powers which had created the opposition king should quarrel with him as soon as he was sole ruler. It proved impossible permanently to satisfy all his helpers, though Albert had hoped to secure this end by renouncing his duchies, which he placed in the hands of his sons as his vassals. In other directions he showed that the Hapsburg lust of territory was by no means appeased. He took upon himself the claims to Meissen, which Adolf had bought, and attempted also to appropriate Holland, Zeeland, and Frisia upon the death of the local ruler, John I., in 1299; here, however, he was obliged to retire in favour of the Hainauter,

John II. of Avesnes, who derived a hereditary right from the female line of succession.

Rudolf I. had originally and unsuccessfully attempted to burden the towns with heavy direct taxation to supply the royal privy purse, but had afterwards courted the friendship of these mercantile republics. This latter policy was continued by Adolf, and followed by Albert, who



RUDOLF OF HAPSBURG ACCEPTS A CROWN

When the Swabian count, Rudolf of Hapsburg, was elected Emperor of Germany, in 1273, the country was the scene of many disorders, and these he at once proceeded to suppress. By defeating and killing Ottokar, the powerful Bohemian king who held Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the famous house of Hapsburg. Rudolf died in 1291.

the promised co-operation of himself and the German chivalry against France. This proceeding was highly questionable, and was also an enterprise beyond his powers, as he was wanting in that calm, clear strength of calculation which had distinguished Rudolf I.

Meanwhile, Adolf was opposed, not only by the Wettins, whom he was attempting to oppress, but also by Albert of

abolished, in favour of the towns, in 1298, all the territorial customs-houses which had been illegally erected since 1245. In his relations with the lower nobility and the knightly classes he followed in the steps of Adolf, whom he had overthrown. Thus the jealousy entertained by the electors towards the crown, which, with the help of the other orders, seemed likely to recover its position, became steadily accentuated, until the decision could no longer be postponed.

Archbishops Fall Before the King

As usual, the three Rhine Archbishops of Treves, Mainz, and Cologne, together with the Wittelsbach Count Palatine, Rudolf the Stammerer, asserted the electoral power against the crown and the Hapsburgs. Brandenburg, Saxony and Bohemia clung to that side which they considered most important for their territorial position; during the various elections their votes were simply placed at the disposal of one or another of the electoral archbishops. These four archbishops now met on October 14th, 1300, at Heimbach, near Bingen, and deposed Albert, but in the following years he rapidly overthrew them one after another.

The king's relations with France and the Pope were dictated solely by the desire to avoid interference with his German policy. The papal biretta had lately been changed by Boniface VIII. to the double tiara, denoting the supremacy of the world. This ambitious successor of Gregory and Innocent opposed the imperialism of France by advancing those pontifical claims which had already raised the papacy above the empire. The struggle between the supreme powers in Church and State now lay between Rome and France, as a result of the change in the political situation. In reference to Germany, the papacy needed only to complete the acquisitions already made. For this purpose Albert, after the end of 1302,

The Great Triumph of the Pope

steadily offered every opportunity. On April 30th, 1303, he received the papal confirmation of his title, which, much to his disgust, had hitherto been withheld; he made no difficulty in declaring that both the electoral rights of the prince and the military power of the chosen king or emperor were subject to the supremacy of the Pope as overlord. These direct concessions were the greatest triumph which the hierarchical theory ever gained over

a generally recognised German government. At the same time they implied very little in actual practice, and affected the independence claimed by the electors; in greater measure than the power of the king. Immediately afterwards the French monarchy pronounced its theories upon the subject, and the papal sentence of excommunication was followed by the imprisonment of the Pope in his own territory on September 7th, 1303. From the time of Boniface's successor, Benedict XI., the papacy long continued to be a tool in the hands of the French monarchy, and was resident, not in Rome, but at Avignon.

Albert had in 1306 secured the succession of his son Rudolf to Bohemia upon the extinction of the Premyslids. Rudolf, however, died on July 4th, 1307, and the Bohemian crown fell, against the will of the German king, to Henry of Carinthia. On March 31st, 1307, his general, Henry of Nortenbergh, was defeated at Lucka by the Wettins, Frederic and Diezmann. It must, however, be allowed that the position of Albert was solid and powerful. He might

King Who was Murdered by His Nephew

have been able to transform the electoral crown into a monarchy had he not been murdered, on May 1st, 1308, by his nephew John, son of the above-mentioned Rudolf, who had demanded his old Hapsburg inheritance, and interpreted the king's reluctance as an intention to withhold it entirely. As upon the death of Henry V., the premature death of this stern and ruthless man must be regarded as a severe loss to the cause of the German monarchy.

Upon the death of Albert the work of the practical Hapsburg politician, the strengthening of the monarchy, was handed over to the political idealism of his successor, Henry VII. This petty count of Luxemburg, born between 1274 and 1276, was brought forward as a candidate by his brother Baldwin, who was but twenty-two years of age, and had just been appointed Archbishop and Elector of Treves, and by the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter of Aspelt, who was of a Luxemburg family. Henry was successfully elected on November 27th, 1308. The opposition candidate was Charles of Valois, brother of the French king, Philip IV. Thus the ambition of France, which was now determined to lay hands upon the German crown, was frustrated by this means, and the turbulence

of the Rhineland princes was abated. Meanwhile, however, though Henry's land was entirely Frankish, early residence, education, and connections made him half a Frenchman.

A true product of Romance civilisation, Henry now proceeded to revive the splendour of the Romano-German Empire to the full extent of its historical theory, as if there had existed no obstacles or overwhelming difficulties in Germany or Italy. He viewed the position with the eyes of a Capet rather than an electoral prince. His enterprise was favoured at the outset by many facts. Though he was half a foreigner and possessed but little territory, he had no great or united opposition against him in Germany. Neither Pope Clement V., who was dependent upon France, nor the French king was disinclined to leave him unfettered within certain limits; it was possible that he might be useful for their purposes, and he might also be able to organise for the Pope that great final crusade upon which the Curia, untaught by two centuries of experience, continued to rely for the fulfilment of its old hopes of universalism. If successful, he might break the bonds in which France had confined the papacy.

Italy found that after her liberation from Hohenstauffen despotism, far from securing peace, she had been involved in the local feuds of the Guelfs and Ghibellines; these animosities had increased so rapidly that a mediator from beyond the Alps would be welcome to the Ghibellines, as the realisation of hopes which were either far-reaching or selfish. Every German who could see beyond his own immediate convenience was at once attracted by this return to the traditions of the Hohenstauffen, which still survived among the nation, though these feelings were now manifested rather as a form of enthusiasm

than as an effective determination. In Bohemia, where Peter of Aspelt possessed long-standing connections, the Carinthian had not been able to establish himself, and in the summer of 1310 the crown of the Premyslids was offered to Henry's son John, born in 1296, together with the king's daughter Elizabeth; the offer was accepted, and a compromise with the house of Hapsburg was then facilitated.

Such were the prospects with which the Luxemburger crossed the Mont Cenis and appeared in Lombardy at the end of

October, 1310, accompanied by 3,000 troops. There, however, the same theory of imperial supremacy which gave its character to the whole enterprise and provided it with both moral and intellectual strength, eventually hampered and destroyed a success which had at first seemed easy. Henry refused to accept the support of the group which stood ready to help him. He would not purchase their homage at the price of his help. He wished to be not a partisan king, but an all-powerful mediator, the one and only emperor of peace. He thus seized the opportunities which he found here and there, chiefly among the Ghibellines, to attract even his most distant opponents and to secure their adherence, as opportunity offered, by friendly overtures and concessions. In this way the

general body were thrown into confusion. He was soon obliged to abandon festivals and tournaments for siege operations and punitive courts.

The king was also obliged, whether he would or not, to avail himself of the partisan help offered in the country. The calculating Angevins of Naples had never found it so easy to secure the allegiance of their inheritance in most important towns in Upper Italy and Rome. Henry's coronation as king of Lombardy, on January 6th, 1311, was easily



THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAINZ

This illustration, reproduced from the tomb of Peter of Aspelt, Archbishop of Mainz, in the cathedral of that city, represents him with the three kings whom he crowned—Henry VII., Lewis the Bavarian, and John of Bohemia.

and rapidly secured. His imperial coronation by three cardinals in the Lateran on June 29th, 1312, was a less brilliant affair, as he could not secure entrance into St. Peter's. Meanwhile he had now recognised Naples as his most formidable opponent, and had begun a war in alliance with the Aragonese king, Frederic of Sicily. At this point Pope Clement V. interpreted his action, not as securing his position in Upper Italy, but as an attempt to revive the policy of Manfred and Conradin, and as an open breach of the guarantees which Henry had given. Possibly Clement was correct in thinking that this emperor would have become a second Frederic II. in the event of success, and would have eventually left Germany unsecured. King Philip of France was naturally no less excited than the Pope. The Pope and the emperor fought by means of legal experts and publicists, discussing the correctness of their respective theories. The imperial theory, which Henry was bound to define by the exigencies of his position, undoubtedly shook the justice of French and papal imperialism and its recent achievements. A powerful fleet started from Italy and began the appeal to arms, with much promise of success. The emperor himself, who had formed an armed camp in opposition to Florence, which was ruled by the Guelfs and Angevins, and constituted the central point of hostilities in Upper Italy, started southward from the faithful town of Pisa. While this state of tension was continuing, he succumbed to an illness on August 24th, 1313, midway between his friends and foes, after triumphs and disappointments.

In Germany the Austrian party and that of Luxemburg and Mainz now made their preparations for the elections. These parties were too comprehensive to leave room for the existence of a third. As the youth of John made a Bohemian candidature impossible, for this and other reasons the Bohemian party supported the candidature of the Wittelsbach against the Hapsburg. Before the gates of the election town of Frankfort in Sachsenhausen, on October 10th, 1314, Frederic III. the Fair, of Austria, son of Albert I., was elected by the exiled Henry of Carinthia, representing the Bohemian court, and by Saxony, Wittenberg and Cologne ;

Theories of King and Pope

but on the following day, on the right bank of the Rhine, Lewis IV., of Upper Bavaria, was elected by Mainz, Treves, Brandenburg, Saxony-Lauenburg, and by John of Bohemia. The Hapsburg side was joined against Lewis by his brother Rudolf (the Stammeier) of the Palatinate, with whom he had quarrelled.

Lewis was forthwith opposed by the resistance which had thwarted the Swabian ambitions of the Hapsburgs since the middle of the thirteenth century—a resistance offered by the federal communities of the Forest Cantons. This opposition became a local war, in which Leopold, Frederic's brother and best champion, suffered the heavy defeat of Morgarten at the hands of the Swiss and the peasants of Uri, on November 15th, 1315. Modern Switzerland rightly considers this federal alliance, the earliest attested by documents, between Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, on August 1st, 1291, as the initial date, or, better, the jubilee date of its origin. It must be remembered that neither upon this nor upon other occasions of the kind was there any proposal to break away from the empire. On the contrary, the question at issue was the maintenance of that immediate dependence upon the empire which, in the case of Uri, was indisputable; in other words, it was resistance or revolt against the Hapsburg supremacy. In this struggle the Forest Cantons saw, on March 29th, 1316, the confirmation of Henry VII's promises of June 3rd, 1309, which Lewis of Bavaria now considered as equally important to himself.

His war against Frederic, which became a struggle of skirmishes and attempts to secure allies, was considerably advanced, on September 28th, 1322, by the battle of Mühldorf, in which Frederic was beaten and taken prisoner before Leopold's arrival with fresh forces. It was not a decisive battle, as neither party was overthrown. Frederic himself, who was released from the fortress of Trausnitz to secure the retirement of Leopold, returned home without accomplishing anything. After a personal interview Lewis granted him the rights of co-regency by the treaty of Munich on September 5th, 1325. The situation was not clear until Leopold's death, on February 28th, 1326; thenceforward Frederic remained in peace, as the master of his hereditary territory, with the title of King of the Romans, which

Resistance to Hapsburg Supremacy

Electing a King at Frankfort

and by Saxony, Wittenberg and Cologne ;

THE EMPERORS OF GERMANY

was very little more than personal. He died on January 13th, 1330.

With the battle of Mühldorf begins the supremacy of Lewis in Germany, although he entirely lost the Luxemburg and Bohemian friendship by his friendship with Hapsburg. He had already greatly offended John. After the extinction of the Ascanians in Brandenburg in July, 1320, he had invested the Bohemians

Pope John XXII. in Avignon. The object at stake was to secure the same submission to the papacy of the Wittelsbach, which had been gained from Frederic's father, King Albert I., though John did not feel himself bound to the Hapsburgs. On October 8th, 1323, this Pope proceeded to complain that though Lewis did not possess the papal recognition, he had yet assumed the kingdom of Italy,



LEWIS THE BAVARIAN CROWNED EMPEROR AT ROME

Elected Emperor of Germany in 1314, Lewis the Bavarian proceeded to Rome, where he was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitan of the city. Lewis quarrelled with Pope Benedict XII., and was excommunicated for denying papal authority in Germany. His stormy career ended in 1347.

with the fiefs of Bautzen, Löbau, and Kamenz, but in the spring of 1323 he had placed his own son Lewis in possession of that electorate.

For Brandenburg itself the Wittelsbach government was an interim with no particular influence upon the prosperity of the country or the people, but rather tending to impoverishment and internal disruption. The more Lewis strengthened his position, the stronger became the opposition of

and invited him to answer personally for his conduct at Avignon on July 11th, 1324. The king and his legal advisers were supported in the struggle thus forced upon them by a valuable body of helpers, the Minorites. The special development of the Franciscan Order and their vigorous teaching of apostolic poverty had proved so distasteful to the financial policy of the Curia, which drew its wealth from the west, that the papacy persecuted them for

heresy (decretal of November 22nd, 1323). The order proceeded to offer a bold and clever literary defence, criticising the foundations of the papal position and claims. It now made the cause of Lewis its own; and as it was widely spread and popular in the towns, it easily persuaded the people to feel no apprehension of excommunication or papal interdict. Lewis, who had no cause for fear respecting the attitude of Germany, appeared in Italy and advanced to Rome. He was anointed by a bishop who was not a cardinal—a strange innovation—and crowned by the capitano of the city of Rome, a Colonna, on January 17th. He then pronounced the deposition of the Pope as a heretic in April, 1328. No other important consequences resulted from this Roman journey, which ended disastrously in December, 1329, apart from the new impulse given to Roman animosity by imperial claims and demands.

The action of John, who died in 1334, and of his successor, Benedict XII., in Germany, eventually led to the famous electoral conference of Rhens on July 16th, 1338. At this meeting the electors laid down the principle that their choice conferred the title and power of king upon the successful candidate, as well as a claim to the empire; that empire and kingdom were therefore independent of the papal power, and were rather derived immediately from the grace of God. These resolutions were accepted by a diet which met at Frankfort in August of the same year. It was then proposed to make war on France in alliance with England, since the king of France was the protector of the papacy. King Edward III. appeared at Coblenz on August 31st and seated himself on the steps of the throne, upon which the emperor appeared in full imperial splendour. Thus a further impulse was given to a wider conception of German imperial power, and the papal claims to control the German crown were eventually shared in common by every order in the empire.

Lewis might have had an opportunity of refounding the power of the crown at this moment, had not the efforts of the crown been rather directed to territorial acquisition. Its subsequent attitude was that of feeble conciliation towards France in 1342, and the Curia in 1343, followed by illegal infringement upon their privileges.

John of Bohemia had married his son John Henry to Margaret Maultasch, the daughter and heiress of Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol; she was older than her husband and therefore preferred the emperor's eldest son, Lewis of Brandenburg. The Pope, however, who was an enemy of the Wittelsbachs, would not do them the favour of dissolving the earlier marriage or of providing the dispensation necessitated by the near relationship of the contracting parties; these acts were therefore performed by the emperor himself, who thus simply superseded the rights undoubtedly belonging to the spiritual authorities.

The further extension of territory at which the Hapsburgs had long been aiming was secured by the Emperor Lewis, upon the death, in 1345, of William, Count of Hainault, the ruler of Holland and Zeeland. Lewis had married the sister of Count William, by name Margaret, as a second wife, and to her as his heiress he transferred the government of the vacant imperial fiefs, which were then held in trust for her son William. The Wittelsbach territory thus extended from Hainault and Brandenburg to Tyrol, and the succession of a son of Lewis to the empire was therefore inconceivable;

attempts to turn the electors in his favour proved hopeless. The new Pope, Clement, resumed the struggle from Avignon, after 1346, with considerable vigour. Charles of Moravia and Bohemia had been ruling in place of his father, who had gone blind in 1340; he was the Pope's personal friend, and to do him a favour Prague had been made an archbishopric in 1344, and the metropolitan influence of Mainz thus withdrawn from Bohemia and Moravia. On April 13th, 1346, Clement solemnly cursed the Bavarian. Charles came to Avignon in person, renounced the electoral decrees of Rhens, admitted all papal demands for supremacy, promised that the emperor should spend no further time in Rome than the single day of coronation, and that the Pope should decide all complications with France, etc. Besides his great-uncle Baldwin of Treves the electoral votes of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony-Wittenberg were secured for Charles, while the votes of the Palatinate and Brandenburg were refused, as these electors were under an interdict; thus Charles was proclaimed king on July 11th, 1346, at Rhens.

EDUARD HEYCK



THE GERMANIC EMPIRE

RIVALRIES OF THE EMPERORS AND THE POPES

CHARLES IV. had not been long recognised as emperor when, in the winter of 1347-1348, he made a triumphant progress through South Germany and received homage in Regensburg, Nürnberg, and even in Ulm, and was favourably met by a number of princes. The powerful Wittelsbachs, headed by Lewis of Brandenburg and Tyrol, were still bitterly hostile to him. At their instigation King Edward III. of England was, in January, 1348, elected emperor by four electoral votes. But Charles induced Edward by skilful diplomacy to renounce his election, and he made at the same time great advances in North Germany, in the immediate neighbourhood of Brandenburg, a Wittelsbach possession.

Not unconnected with this was the appearance of a man who gave himself out as the Waldemar who had been dead for nearly thirty years, and, supported by the enemies of Lewis, was universally acknowledged in the march to be the old lord. Charles, who certainly had nothing personally to do with the imposture, naturally took the matter, so favourable to him, in a serious light, ordered the stranger to be solemnly proclaimed as the real Waldemar by people who had known the latter, and gave him the fief of the march in return for the concession of Niederlausitz. The prospect, at the same time, was held out to the dukes of Saxony and the counts of Anhalt that they would succeed to Waldemar's land in the event of his dying without issue.

In any case Lewis had lost his support in the north; he could hold his own only in Frankfort-on-Oder. He did not wish to enter into negotiations with Charles. Indeed, he set up a rival candidate, the energetic Count Günther von Schwarzburg, a petty lord, known as a valiant warrior. On January 30th, 1349, Günther was chosen emperor on the plain before Frankfort by the votes of the

electors of Mainz, the Palatinate, Brandenburg and Saxony; a few days afterward the town allowed him to make his entry. But his following did not increase, and Charles made great advances in the empire, especially when in March he

The Fate of a Rival Emperor married the daughter of the palsgrave, and thus not only drew the latter over to his side, but at the same time broke up

the hostile alliance of the Wittelsbachs. Since Günther refused negotiations with Charles, a short struggle for Castel and Eltville ensued, from which Charles derived considerable advantage.

Before matters came to a decision, however, Lewis of Brandenburg himself sued for peace. Günther was abandoned by his party, and very soon died at Frankfort, after he had formally relinquished his claim to the empire. Charles now gained the recognition of the princes by making concessions to them. The electors of Mainz, the Palatinate and Brandenburg declared publicly that they had elected Charles emperor after Günther's death, and he was solemnly crowned, together with his consort, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Baldwin of Treves.

In Brandenburg, meantime, fortune had favoured the side of Lewis. In a diet at Bautzen the princes declared that they could not consider the claimant as the genuine Waldemar if they were called on to swear to it. Charles, therefore, enfeoffed Lewis the elder once more with the march as well as with Carinthia and Tyrol, and promised to take steps toward releasing

Peace and Order in the Empire him from the ban. Lewis delivered up the insignia of the empire. The renewed ban did him little harm. He reconciled himself with his neighbours by concessions of territory and payments of money, and, finally, in 1355, with the counts of Anhalt. But he transferred the march as a whole to his younger brother, Lewis the "Roman," in 1351. Tranquillity and

order again reigned in the empire. Charles was the only and universally admitted king.

Charles was doubtless aided by an event which bore on politics only through the feelings with which it inspired princes and statesmen. Toward the end of 1347 there first appeared on the shores of the Mediterranean an epidemic which had never yet been known in Germany. It spread with inconceivable rapidity over all Western Europe and spared very few districts. The pestilence was called the "Black Death," and men thought to explain it by accusing the Jews of having poisoned the wells. Although Pope Clement, as well as the Emperor Charles, gave no credence to the report, a universal sanguinary persecution of the Jews followed, accompanied by hideous acts of cruelty.

The loss of life caused by the plague cannot now be even approximately stated. Goswin, a monk of the Convent of Marienberg in Tyrol, considers that hardly a sixth part of the whole population of the country survived. Of his convent brethren only two lived through it, himself and another. Similar results may have been found in other districts. For years afterward the deficiency in population was noticeable.

The event made a marked impression on contemporaries. Since many people saw a divine punishment in this terrible pestilence, a course of life acceptable to God seemed to be the best means of propitiating the wrath of heaven. Brotherhoods were formed, especially in the Netherlands, and set before themselves the duty of mortifying the body and of doing penance by lacerating their flesh with scourges in the presence of the whole population.

The "Flagellants" obtained everywhere so many followers that this new mental disease caused for some time as much excitement in Germany as the physical disease of the Black Death. In the strain of this terrible time the new

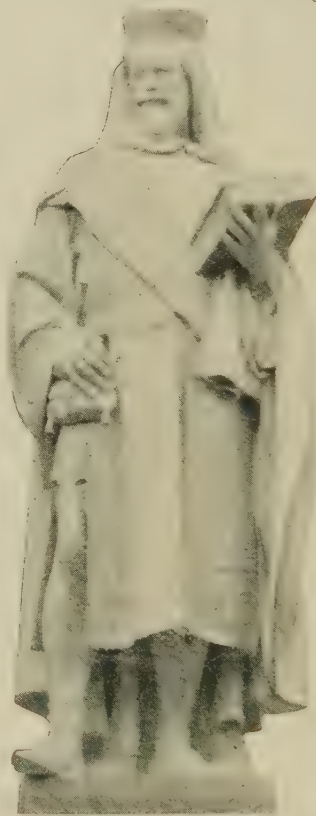
emperor had little to contend against: men's minds were fixed on supernatural issues. Charles now wished to be duly crowned and consecrated; but Clement, who had been bitterly deceived in his protégé, refused his request. It was only after Charles, in 1353, had taken for his third wife Anne, daughter of Duke Bolko of Schweidnitz-Jauer, and after Innocent VI. had mounted the papal throne, that the journey to Rome took place in 1355.

In Rome great hopes were entertained of the grandson of Henry VII. Rienzi hoped to revive his power by help of the new emperor; but Charles gave no encouragement. The title of emperor satisfied him. He marched over the mountains with a small retinue, received the crown of Lombardy, and was crowned emperor at Rome. He left the Eternal City the same day in order to return soon to Germany, laden with large sums of money. By the beginning of July he was once more at Augsburg, proud of the imperial title.

A few months later, he entered Bohemia, and summoned an imperial assembly at Nuremberg, at which the first part of the new state charter, afterwards called the Golden Bull, was discussed and solemnly published on January 10th, 1356. The second and shorter part was made law in the diet of Metz on December 25th, 1356. The Golden Bull in all essential points ratified the existing condition of affairs, and only in isolated sections

decided for one of two antagonistic parties. It was the foundation-stone of the German constitution up to the peace of Westphalia and still later, and was of great importance in the development of constitutional ideas.

With Poland and Hungary Charles made political arrangements, but with France and with Pope Innocent his relations became troubled, as he made promises to both which he could not possibly fulfil.



THE EMPEROR CHARLES IV. Charles IV. was not well received as Emperor of Germany by all parties; and a rival emperor in the person of Edward III. of England was elected. Charles, however, induced him to withdraw.

So, too, the question of the castle and lordship of Donaustauf, which Charles had acquired from the Bishop of Regensburg, soon led to a bitter struggle with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs. But the glory of the Wittelsbachs was passed, and the Hapsburgs in Austria had become the leading southern power of Germany, under Duke Albert, who died in 1358. His son Rudolf, son-in-law of the emperor, managed by forgeries of imperial grants to secure to himself and his house the rights which the Golden Bull had conceded to the electors. Charles was obliged finally to make some concessions, although he was very little disposed to acknowledge the claims of Rudolf or to agree to his acquisition of Tyrol, which Margaret Maultasch handed over to him in 1363 as a gift.

To settle political dissensions he chose Elizabeth, the daughter of the duke of Pomerania, for his fourth wife. The marriage took place at Cracow in May, 1363. At the beginning of the next year a full peace was concluded with Lewis of Hungary and Rudolf of Austria, and a little later followed the important agreement as to the succession between the houses of Luxemburg and Hapsburg.

When Innocent VI. died, in 1362, without having accomplished any great results as far as his Italian policy was concerned, and without having advanced the reform of the Church, Urban V. was raised to the papal chair in order to continue the efforts of his predecessor in Italy. It now seemed to the Emperor Charles a favourable opportunity to enforce the return of the Pope to Rome. The close connection of the papacy with France implied a danger for the whole of Western Europe. In the eyes of contemporaries, who, without exception, attached great weight to externals, the imperial dignity itself was bound to be impaired if merely a legate and not the

Pope himself performed the ceremony of crowning.

Urban was not opposed to the proposal of leaving Avignon, but could only point out to Charles the quite incalculable obstacles in his way. Charles therefore resolved to go himself to Avignon in order to remove the difficulties and to guide the whole policy of Western Europe into another channel. He entered Avignon at the end of May, 1365, and was

crowned as king of Burgundy, thus proclaiming his insistence on his right and title. He then began negotiations with the Pope and the brother of the French king about a crusade which was intended especially to clear the country from the roving mercenaries who lived in France.

When Charles left Avignon he had made every sort of arrangement with Urban about the removal to Rome. In the diet of Frankfort he obtained the consent of the princes to an expedition to Rome, and Urban promised to start in the spring of 1367, and in the first instance to live at Viterbo. He sailed, in fact, from Marseilles on April 30th in an Italian ship, took up his residence at Viterbo, and entered Rome on October 16th.

But the preparations for war in Germany met with obstacles. Sickness and famine delayed the assembling of the army so that the emperor did not appear in Italy before May, 1368. The war with Bernabo de

Visconti of Milan was unsuccessful, so that a peace was concluded by the end of August. Charles, however, marched on with only a few followers, had a meeting with Urban in Viterbo, and both made their entry into Rome. The emperor stayed this time two months in the city. During this period his consort Elizabeth was crowned empress. He found many fresh complications on his way back, especially with the Milanese, who had broken the peace. He had also forfeited



A RIVAL EMPEROR

Count Günther von Schwarzburg was set up as a rival emperor to Charles IV. in 1349; but he was soon deserted, and his death at Frankfort quickly followed. Engraved from the tomb in Frankfort Cathedral

the friendship of Urban long before he reappeared in Germany in August, 1369. For the Pope did not find in Rome what he wished, and in 1370 returned once more to Avignon, where he died in December of that year. His successor was Gregory XI., nephew of Clement VI., a learned man, who was regarded as an especial friend of Charles. The good understanding between Charles and the princes had terminated even before the expedition to Rome. His matrimonial policy made it only too clear how he hoped to enrich his family. In any case the rival princely families saw their hopes deceived. There could be no doubt now that Charles's fervent wish would be to secure the royal crown for his son Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, who was betrothed to the Hungarian princess Elizabeth—a splendid prospect, which would have raised the Luxemburghs high above all other princely houses.

Charles, on his return home from Italy, saw himself confronted by a confederacy to which the Count Palatine Rupert, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, Poland, and Hungary belonged. From this a danger threatened him in the east of his dominions, especially because the march of Brandenburg, which was pawned to him, no longer afforded any real support. Fortunately for him, Casimir of Poland, whose realm was now united with Hungary, died at this time; so, too, did Gerlach of Mainz, and the emperor succeeded through papal favour in elevating to the important episcopal throne one of his relations, the bishop of Strassburg, a man of no independence of character.

Now, however, a new quarrel about the march of Brandenburg broke out. At the beginning of the year 1371 Otto declared his nephew Frederic to be his heir in the march, and thus prejudiced Charles's claims to inherit. War, therefore, began. On the side of the Wittelsbachs Pilgrim of Salzburg and Lewis of Hungary fought together against their inconvenient neighbour. But nothing came of it except plundering and devastation. An armistice was concluded in October, 1371, at Pirna; and shortly afterwards the king of Hungary, engrossed with the coming war against Venice, withdrew from the alliance. At the same time Charles's second son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Lewis's daughter. The Wittelsbachs now stood

alone. Soon after the expiry of the armistice, in the summer of 1373, an agreement was entered into at Fürstenwalde, by which Otto and Frederic renounced all claim to the march, and received from Charles in all the very considerable sum of 500,000 golden florins. The imperial cities must, indeed, have made gigantic efforts in order to raise this money.

Although Charles had not yet reached his sixtieth year, he now thought earnestly of the future of his empire and his dynasty. His fondest wish, that of seeing his eldest son Wenzel elected German emperor, was still to be realised, but could be so only if the adroit father took the appropriate steps during his own lifetime. Moreover, the opportunity was now presented, when for the first time an election could be carried out strictly according to the provisions of the Golden Bull. It was, indeed, a costly task to win over the three spiritual electors. But by October, 1374, the vote of Rupert, the count palatine, was secured, and at the beginning of the year 1375 Charles had all the votes for himself, for this time the election of the emperor was to be unanimous. The actual elective proceedings had to be postponed until Wenzel had completed his fifteenth year, and thus attained his majority.

The Vain Threats of the Pope

When Pope Gregory heard of the intended election, he was astounded, but could not by all his threats produce any alteration in the adopted proposal. Without the papal sanction the election of Wenzel was settled on June 1st, 1376, and was solemnly confirmed on June 10th, in the sacristy of St. Bartholomew's, at Frankfort. The coronation followed on July 6th, at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope Gregory refused his consent, but was finally satisfied when the emperor, in a document dated back before the election, asked for his approval.

Wenzel was now lawful emperor, together with his father. But the imperial cities of the south had a dread of new mortgages—naturally enough after their experiences so far—for Wenzel's election cost much money. Fourteen imperial cities of Swabia formed a league even before the coronation against "all who oppressed them with taxation or mortgage." The town of Ulm took the lead. Charles advanced with an army up to its walls, but could effect nothing,

Kings Fight for Territory

Salzburg and Lewis of Hungary fought together against their inconvenient neighbour. But nothing came of it except plundering and devastation. An armistice was concluded in October, 1371, at Pirna; and shortly afterwards the king of Hungary, engrossed with the coming war against Venice, withdrew from the alliance. At the same time Charles's second son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Lewis's daughter. The Wittelsbachs now stood

and marched back again. Other towns joined in the league. Count Ulrich of Württemberg was killed at Reutlingen in 1373. Soon afterwards Wenzel, who meanwhile had become vice-regent of the empire, was compelled to promise the cities, in the Peace of Rotenburg, that he would not pawn them.

The emperor had meanwhile journeyed to the court of King Charles V. at Paris, and had prevented the threatening alliance of the king's second son, Louis of Orleans, with Mary of Hungary, but was forced in return to confer on the dauphin the vicariate of the empire over Burgundy,

devastations this fault had many compensations.

The policy of the young Emperor Wenzel showed itself in his first public act when he declared himself a supporter of Pope Urban VI. The princes supported him; so did Lewis of Hungary. Only Adolphus of Nassau, who was still at enmity with Lewis of Meissen about the archbishopric of Mainz, declared himself the friend of the Pope of Avignon, Clement VII. The unity of Germany was thus destroyed, and Clement soon found other friends as well. But the other electors on the Rhine, namely, Cologne,



THE BROTHERS OF THE CROSS DOING PENANCE FOR THE BLACK DEATH

The Brothers of the Cross, or Flagellants, appeared towards the end of the summer of 1349 in the Netherland towns, especially Doornik, and in the market-place did penance by scourging their bodies in order to free the world from the plague of the Black Death, or pestilence. As shown in the illustration, the Brothers marched barefoot; their bared backs were covered merely by a short cloak, while they held in their hands the scourges, the marks of which were to be seen on their backs. Their headgear was the hat with the cross, and thus they got their name, Brothers of the Cross.

From the Chronicle of Ægidius Li Musis in the Library at Brussels

and thus to renounce the imperial sovereignty in this district. Soon after his return, Charles fell a victim to fever at Prague, on November 29th, 1378. His reign marks a turning point in German history. He was the founder of the Luxemburg dynasty, and through skilful diplomacy left the empire in a more dignified constitutional position than he had found it. His reputation among his German contemporaries, and in later times, has suffered chiefly from the fact that he regarded every political step as a financial operation, and in an unknighly fashion avoided the fierce contest of the battlefield. But in the age of wars and

Treves, and the Palatinate, could not countenance the dissension about Mainz, and at the beginning of 1380 concluded a league at Oberwesel against all adherents of Pope Clement. By this, of course, Adolphus was primarily intended. The latter, when the archbishopric of Mainz was assured him, while Lewis was compensated with Magdeburg, returned to Urban. The electors had attained their object without the help of the emperor, and they suspected his policy, since he appeared so little in the empire, and always stayed in his hereditary dominions. Indeed, the chief efforts of Wenzel were directed toward the maintenance of

friendly relations with Hungary and Austria. He therefore abandoned any idea of armed conflict with Leopold of Austria, who openly sided with the Avignon Pope, although his partisanship caused a miniature schism in the bishoprics of Strassburg, Basle, and Constance. The espousal of Urban's cause by

**English King
Weds German
Princess**

Germany was mainly based on the opposition to France, although Wenzel had maintained with the French royal house the good relations which his father had promoted. In devotion to the Roman Pope, Germany agreed with England, which hoped by means of papal support to gain advantages in France. Wenzel cemented the friendship with England by giving his sister Anne in marriage to King Richard II., and at the same time he skilfully avoided any breach with France.

The favourable relations of the German king to Urban had from the first made a journey to Rome, in order to obtain the imperial crown, appear as a desirable object. There were, indeed, no difficulties in the way, and both Pope and Emperor would have derived from it an unmistakable accession of power. The journey over the Alps had been planned for the spring of 1383, when dynastic policy put obstacles in the way. There was a prospect of gaining Luxemburg.

Lewis of Hungary had died in 1382. In the last year of his life he had won Naples, and thus enlarged the extent of his authority. No one of his daughters was yet married; but Sigismund, as prospective son-in-law, was already living in Poland, a country unaccustomed to the Hungarian rule, in order to gain friends for himself there. Mary, Sigismund's betrothed wife, was elected Queen of Hungary; but in Poland the people did not wish for her—at any rate, they wanted another daughter of Lewis. In October, 1384, Hedwig, a girl of thirteen years of

**The Girl
Queen
of Poland**

age, was actually crowned at Cracow, and the still pagan Grand Duke Jagiello of Lithuania became her husband. But Sigismund succeeded, through his stubbornness and skill, in procuring for himself the crown of Hungary by the end of March, 1387.

Up to this, Wenzel had been variously occupied, but his natural disposition to inactivity became more and more evident. His continued absence caused

dissatisfaction in the empire. His nearest relatives, especially Jobst of Moravia, intrigued against him in every way, and in Bohemia, his own home, the lords rose against his rule. The victim of the supposed conspiracy was the Archbishop of Prague, with his official and his vicar-general, Nepomuk. The Bohemian nobility now found a leader in Jobst, who had quarrelled with his brother Prokop.

Jobst, in conjunction with Sigismund, Albert of Austria, and the Margrave William of Meissen, pursued a policy of hostility against the king, and finally, in May, 1394, brought Wenzel prisoner to Prague. Since a movement was made in the empire to liberate the king, he was set free in August. Jobst, in his turn, was made prisoner, but he also was released. War raged in Bohemia, and Albert of Austria, during the confusion, aspired to the vicariate of the empire, in fact to the crown itself. Fortunately, he died soon.

Wenzel and Sigismund concluded, in March, 1396, a compact as to the succession. Sigismund became vicar of the empire, and now aimed at the German

**Sigismund's
Ambitions
in Germany**

crown. His position was not indeed favourable at the moment. An army collected from all Europe under his command was defeated at Nicopolis by the Sultan Bajazet II. Hungary also threatened to be lost to him after Mary's death. Jobst made peace with Wenzel in 1397, and received from Sigismund's former domains a compensation in the march of Brandenburg.

Wenzel still longed for formal investiture as emperor, and Boniface IX., Urban's successor, would gladly have welcomed him to Rome. But his position in Germany at the same time became more and more precarious. He had never been in the empire since 1387, and alliances of the knights and the towns continually disquieted the land. The cities especially had cause to feel the evils entailed by the absence of the sovereign, and, notwithstanding all the appeals of the electors, Wenzel kept away from the empire.

Fresh disorders had broken out owing to the vacancy in the archdiocese of Mainz, from which finally John of Nassau emerged as archbishop. Before this the palsgrave and the two other spiritual electors had convened a diet at Frankfort for May 13th, 1397. This was an unprecedented step; but the indifference

of the emperor to his duty made such a proceeding seem necessary. Wenzel had, it is true, summoned an imperial assembly at Nuremberg; but when he heard of the electoral diet he unwisely abandoned his own. At Frankfort, with the assent of numerous princes and towns, a vicar of the empire was demanded from Wenzel, and a regency of princes was proposed in the event of his absence. The question of the schism was also discussed. Complaints as to the government were sent to Wenzel. Great excitement was caused at Prague by the tidings of the proceedings in Frankfort; but nothing happened at the moment.

Wenzel did not appear in Nuremberg before September, and by issuing a "Public Peace" showed that he was in a position to conduct the affairs of government himself. During the course of proceedings at Frankfort the electors laid before the emperor, at his own wish, further complaints. The question of the Church stood in the foreground, and, closely connected with that, the policy towards France. The opinion was growing that the

**Popes who
Would Not
Abdicate**

settlement of the papal dispute would be most easily effected by a "cession"—that is to say, by the resignation of both Popes. Benedict XIII. was elected at Avignon, in 1394, on the express condition that he would resign his title to secure unity. The object of the French policy was now to persuade the followers of the Roman Pope, Boniface, to make him resign in turn. In March, 1398, Wenzel met Charles VI. at Rheims. The outcome of the meeting was only an exhortation to both Popes to abdicate, naturally without result. Wenzel stood by Boniface. France itself opposed Benedict; even the cardinals rebelled against him, and a long siege of the papal fortress at Avignon began.

Wenzel, on his return from Rheims, found the old disorders in Bohemia; the quarrel in the royal family still lasted. This time he did not omit the appointment of an imperial administrator. But the empire was not benefited at all by this step. The electors of Mainz and the Palatinate, who found the position of affairs obviously most irksome, looked for some remedy, and bound themselves with the elector of Cologne at Boppard in April, 1339, to a common policy in all matters of Church and empire, with the one exception of electing the king. On the

occasion of a meeting of the princes in May, when a compact against the towns was concluded, John, Archbishop of Mainz, attached new members to the Rhenish Confederation, which was clearly formed against the sovereign.

Everywhere, then, similar dissatisfaction with Wenzel prevailed. The charges brought against him were neglect of the realm, especially through his long absence—he himself by the nomination of Sigismund to the vicariate of the empire had admitted his dereliction of duty—and waste of the crown lands, with special reference to the loss of Milan. In this latter case, it was a question of sacrificing a possession which could no longer be held, just as formerly under Charles IV. in the case of the surrender of Arles. The alleged reasons were very weak in so far that the real feeling of all, namely, that the royal power was being used exclusively for the aggrandisement of the Luxemburg dominions, remained actually unexpressed. Interest in the empire may have influenced many; others certainly thought of obtaining the crown for themselves. But all the princes considered that in any case no great loss could be sustained by an alteration.

Wenzel naturally heard of these proceedings, and wished to come into the empire and hold a diet; but the electors no longer assented to his proposal. On the contrary, the thought was already expressed in September, 1399, by many princes, that a new king should be elected; clearly, however, no one wished an elector to be king. Not until 1400 were the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate received at Frankfort among the candidates. When Pope Boniface had been informed of the proposed new election, a meeting of the princes and towns was summoned for the end of May at Frank-

**Emperor
Called to
Account**

fort, and many visitors put in an appearance. An agreement had already been made as to the person of the new king, Rupert of the Palatinate, when on June 4th, Wenzel, who on his part had forbidden any resolutions as to empire and Church to be passed during his absence, was earnestly requested to appear at Oberlahnstein on August 11th; otherwise the electors would consider themselves released from the oath which

they had taken to him. Wenzel did not come. On the day fixed the four Rhenish electors appeared at Oberlahnstein; Rupert's election was settled, and he swore to serve the empire loyally. His election was publicly announced on August 20th, 1400, and was ratified next day on the Königsstuhl in Rhens.

Wenzel Loses His Throne

The deposition of Wenzel, although a benefit for the empire, was not constitutionally justified. The most weighty of the accusations brought against him was that he had alienated parts of the imperial dominions, and had done so for base lucre when he elevated Galeazzo de Visconti to be Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia. The new emperor had a wide field of operations before him. Without doubt, great expectations were entertained of him, and at any rate he had the point in his favour that he had not begun by buying the votes of the electors by a shameful traffic in crown lands.

Wenzel was infuriated at his deposition, but did not venture on any action or any defence of his rights by the sword. On October 25th Rupert of the Palatinate made his state entry into Frankfort as German king. Other towns had already joined his cause. Since Aix-la-Chapelle did not open its gates, the coronation took place at Cologne on Epiphany, 1401.

The crown was now acquired, but the difficulty was to keep it. The war against Bohemia had begun before France, Italy, and the Pope were won over. In France Rupert found a friend in Philip of Burgundy, while Louis of Orleans supported Wenzel, as did his German ally, the brave William of Guelders. Henry IV. of England hoped to secure the friendship of Rupert through ties of kinship, and therefore promoted the marriage of Rupert's son with his daughter Blanche. Rupert had also to obtain the recognition of the Pope; in fact, he hoped soon to gain the imperial crown. Boniface, far too engrossed to be able to interfere in German affairs, did not refuse to recognise the new emperor, and tried only to make sure of his help in the Italian policy. The conditions were: opposition to the counter-papacy, an immediate expedition to Rome for coronation, and political severance from France.

The New Emperor & His Friends

The emperor improved his position by making a progress through the empire. The important city of Nuremberg opened

its gates to him, and in May, 1401, the first diet met there. Rapid preparations for the expedition to Rome seemed desirable, as Florence offered 200,000 florins in gold if he would come that very year and begin the war for the recovery of Milan. The details of the imperial coronation were to have been discussed in Nuremberg; but since the attendance was too small, the matter was put off to a new diet at Mainz.

Rupert could now have shunned Germany. There were no further hostilities to be feared from Wenzel, Sigismund had been made prisoner by the Hungarian nobility, and in Hungary the election of a new king was contemplated. Jobst again believed that under these circumstances he had a favourable opportunity to gain the crown of Bohemia and renewed the agreement, which had never been entirely dissolved, with the Bohemian nobles.

A truce was arranged in July between Wenzel and Rupert at Amberg, when the new king formulated his demands, but without producing any effect upon the old sovereign. At the beginning of

Germany's Rival Emperors

July the expedition to Rome for the coronation was discussed at Mainz. The Austrians, in return for a large sum—100,000 ducats—allowed a passage through their country and over the Brenner, and the departure of the army from Augsburg was planned for September 8th, 1401. There was, however, a want of money, and Florence did not wish to pay until the sovereign was in Italy. Wenzel, also, now returned an answer, but not such as Rupert had hoped. He consented to abandon his claim to the kingdom in favour of Rupert, but wished to become emperor himself. Besides this, his daughter Elizabeth was to marry Rupert's son, Hans, and in return for some support in holding Bohemia, a small cession of territory was planned. Rupert wanted a complete resignation of all claims by his rival, whose position soon became very favourable.

Notwithstanding the distress in the empire, of which his son Lewis was to be regent, Rupert prepared to start from Augsburg with an army of some 15,000 horsemen. But since no money was forthcoming, 5,000 horsemen had to be at once disbanded. An advance was slowly made to Trient, the proposed starting-point of the campaign against

Galeazzo of Milan. Small reinforcements came from Italy; the money difficulties increased, since Florence had for the moment sent only 55,000 ducats, to which another sum of 55,000 ducats—and only a small part in cash—was added in the middle of October. The war took an unfavourable turn, since they failed to take Brescia between October 21st and October 25th. Most of the German princes—Archbishop Frederic of Cologne, Count Frédéric of Mörs, Duke Leopold IV. of Austria—now returned home. Rupert, under stress of circumstances, dismissed the greater part of his army, but himself waited on, and, on November 18th, appeared with 400 horsemen in Padua, still, of course, without money.

There was little inclination in Florence to pay the rest of the 90,000 ducats when the advance against Galeazzo had been entirely unsuccessful. Negotiations were still pending with the Pope as to the terms and the form of the recognition. Florence finally paid at the end of 1401, or the beginning of 1402, 65,000 ducats more—44,000 in specie, 21,000 in pay for mercenaries.

**Rupert's
Calamitous
Expedition**

of loyal followers round the king daily diminished. And so he remained after December 11th in Venice without any prospect of seeing Rome, for Boniface declared emphatically that the coronation could take place only if the war against Galeazzo was vigorously prosecuted, whether by the help of Venice or through royal mercenaries. This result was unattainable, for money was wanting. The king and his followers borrowed what they could, but that was soon spent. After a second stay in Padua, from January 29th to the middle of April, he went back to Germany through Friuli. On May 1st, 1402, Rupert was again in Munich, and one of the most calamitous expeditions to Rome that had ever been attempted, was thus terminated.

The state of affairs in Germany was equally gloomy. There was a want of money, and nothing was less likely than a general acknowledgment of the king. The Luxemburgs, above all, persisted in their refusal, although Sigismund, released from captivity, took his brother Wenzel prisoner and conveyed him to Vienna. The latter escaped towards the end of 1403, and his sovereignty in Bohemia was again established, while in all parts of the empire feuds raged, and the negotiations

with other countries about the Church question had not yet borne any fruit.

A change in the international relations was introduced by the death of Giovanni Galeazzo of Milan. He had, after the murder of Bernabo Visconti in 1385, become the head of the seigniories, and had bought from Wenzel the title of duke and a position as prince of the empire in return for a large sum paid down. In 1399 he had extended his power over Pisa and Sienna, and had become a formidable opponent of the town of Florence, which for its part supported the electors in their action against Wenzel, in order to shake Galeazzo's position by the fall of his patron. This plan miscarried; for Galeazzo was too shrewd a diplomatist, and so his death on September 3rd, 1402, was all the more welcome to the republic.

The Pope at once entered into relations with Florence, and began war against the infant children of the Duke of Milan. He would, indeed, at this moment have been glad to see Rupert in Italy even with the reward of the imperial crown, and therefore held out to him, in the event of his marching immediately to Rome, the prospect of acknowledgment and coronation as King of Italy by a cardinal at Padua.

In return, of course, the king was to promise to take part with Florence in the struggle against Milan, and to represent the interests of Rome against Avignon and France. When Rupert answered in the spring, 1403, he demanded an immediate acknowledgment; the new expedition to Italy was, he said, impossible for the time being. Boniface, who now supported Ladislaus as rival king to Sigismund in Hungary, became anxious, since just then Benedict XIII. had again been acknowledged by France as lawful Pope. He was bound at all hazards to secure Rupert for his side, and therefore on October 1st, 1403, formally proclaimed his approval

Poverty of the Emperor of Rupert, together with a ratification of Wenzel's position. For the coming expedition to Rome he granted the king two tithe of the German Church. Rupert did indeed seriously meditate the journey to Italy both in 1404 and again in March, 1405, but it was not carried out. His want of money did not allow him to put such desires into action; it rather drove him to oppress his previous supporters, the towns, whose hostility he thus

incurred. John of Mainz, who had formerly supported the king, joined the ranks of the discontented in the empire. The result was a confederation for five years between seventeen Swabian imperial towns, Baden, Württemberg, and the bishops of Strassburg and Mainz. A league was formed at Marbach in 1405, which was

League Against the King

nominally aimed at all who should injure them in their liberties and rights. The point of it was really opposition to the king, although he was informed of the proceedings, and asked for his protection. He himself was clear on the matter, and wished in consciousness of his innocence to defend himself against the implied reproach to a diet; but the confederates did not allow that. The Archbishop of Cologne, formerly Rupert's friend, was still desirous of mediating, and at last gained his object in 1407. The confederation indeed remained undissolved, but without any special importance.

The king learned a lesson from what had happened, and was cautious in the future not to ask the states for pecuniary support. Without any assistance, he at last achieved some small successes. The town of Rotenburg, which had formed a secret alliance with Wenzel under its energetic burgomaster, Heinrich Toppler, was punished. The Duke of Guelders joined Rupert, and the town of Aix-la-Chapelle abandoned its resistance, paid 8,000 florins, and prepared a stately reception for the king toward the end of 1407. Lübeck also fell to him.

Shortly before this, Brabant had been lost to the empire. Anton of Burgundy, second son of Duke Philip, had become heir after the death of the Duchess Joanna. He took possession of his country, in spite of Rupert's protests, and in so doing enjoyed the favour of Wenzel, who gave him his niece Elizabeth to wife. Anton thus acquired the prospect of the hereditary lands of Luxemburg, and on the death of Jobst, in 1411, at once took possession of Luxemburg. Rupert's struggle against Wenzel was dormant, and little attention in the empire was paid to either. But in the momentous question of the council, which now excited Christendom, both once more came into opposition.

The crying distress of Christianity, the unhappy dispute about the pontificate, had already had a marked influence on the

politics of Western Europe. But as long as Rupert wore the German crown with little honour, the controversies had become more and more acute. The idea of a general council, which the University of Paris even in the lifetime of Clement VII. had quite timidly ventured to entertain, now seemed the only practicable solution.

With the overthrow of the German kingly power, which, illuminated by the splendour of the Roman imperial crown, had once represented the central point of civilisation in Western Europe, the universal character of the Church had also been entirely destroyed. The national Churches of Germany, Italy, England, and Spain were opposed to each, and the French Church outstripped all others in importance. We know how it succeeded in removing the seat of the papacy from Rome to Avignon, and what efforts the French crown made, with the support of French cardinals, to assert their power over the head of Christendom after the return of Urban VI. to Italy. Benedict XIII. in Avignon, as well as Innocent VII., the successor of Boniface IX., who died in

The Fruits of Papal Rivalries

1404, in Rome, were forced to promise the electing cardinals that under certain circumstances they would abdicate in the cause of unity. But neither acted according to his promise, although the healing of the schism was their most sincere wish. How, indeed, could the one have yielded without the other? The French policy, in fact, which for five years refused obedience to Benedict, proved itself quite mistaken, so that after May, 1403, he had again to be acknowledged.

The dispute had now lasted twenty years without any end to it being visible, and sowed discord in all sections of the population. As in Mainz, so in many other bishoprics, a bishop had been appointed by both sides; even in the vicarages the same spectacle was visible. Each of the two Popes tried to bring over the adherents of the other party by gracious concessions of every sort. The result was a degrading traffic, with which punitive measures, bans and interdicts, alternated in appropriate cases. Germany, Italy and England as a whole were in favour of the Roman Pope; France, Spain and Scotland of the French Pope. A college of cardinals supported each of them. The struggle between the two

representatives of the universal spiritual power was to a large extent only the result of the miserable position of the Church in general. In particular the Curia, since its migration to Avignon, appeared as an international financial body for the impoverishment of the countries, since the sale of preferments and the accumulation of benefices for the profit of the papal treasury were daily occurrences.

The ordinary revenues of the papacy were no longer sufficient for the enormous demands of the Avignon court establishment, to which were added the claims of the French king. It was necessary to procure fresh means. In theory, all ecclesiastical property had for centuries been claimed as the property of the Pope, who in the fourteenth century put the theory into practice, and began to grant all benefices as coming from him, and naturally expected some return. At the same time the doctrine of Indulgences was developed, and after the end of the fourteenth century the virtues of these compositions in discharge of penitence, which became a never-failing

**The Opposition
Between Pope
and Church**

At the same time the practice began of conferring several benefices on one person, so that his income was greatly increased, while the parsonages themselves were filled by vicars. It was the usual rule that canons belonged to several chapters; they naturally resided only at one place, and simply drew the income from the others, in order, often, to live on it in a very ostentatious and even luxurious way.

Just as the electors in the empire still entertained the idea of setting up the king in opposition to the empire, so the more advanced part of the clergy felt more or less clearly the opposition between Pope and Church. The former claimed to represent the Church; the clergy thought they ought to contest this claim, for they knew another real representation of the Church—namely, a general assembly of the Churches. In this lies the fundamental significance of the movement, which ends with the concordat of Vienna in 1448, that the idea of the Church, as it appears embodied in the council, was realised by each individual member of Christianity. The question throughout was not about the faith, but about the constitution of the Church; not about the refutation of false doctrines—the discussion of the

doctrines of a Wycliffe and a Huss was only an incident of small importance—but about the moral regeneration of the clergy. The fifteenth century was not able to reach this goal. It was only the mighty shock which the universal Church experienced in the sixteenth century, when the discussions of questions of faith estranged great masses

Rival Popes of the nations from its
Fail bosom, which led to its moral
to Agree revival at Trent. Benedict XIII., at Avignon, a Spaniard by birth, was an able and learned man, of strictly moral life, inflexible in his resolution, and the keenest champion of the view that the Church was embodied in the Pope. At Rome, Innocent VII. had died in 1406, after only a two years' pontificate; and the cardinals chose for his successor a grey-haired Venetian, who took the name of Gregory XII.

He was a shifty man, and in spite of his declarations to the contrary, did not seriously trouble himself to settle the dispute. He showed himself apparently favourable to an offer of Benedict, that the two Popes should meet to arrange the dispute. When the Avignon Pope really came to Sarona, he raised all kinds of difficulties. He removed to Lucca at the beginning of 1408, but by so doing was not really nearer Benedict. Everyone now saw that nothing was to be expected from the two Popes; only a council could help.

Fortunately, the two colleges of cardinals, who were earnestly striving for unity, separated from their Popes. Gregory, in order to be rid of the insistence of his cardinals, nominated a number of new ones, whereupon the old ones broke off with him and went to Pisa. Not long afterward a French provincial synod declared Benedict an obstinate schismatic and heretic. Thereupon the French cardinals also went to Pisa. Both colleges

Claims now jointly issued the invita-
of the Two tions to a general council. It
Popes was important to win at once the consent of the temporal

powers. France was inclined to begin, and England's consent was finally won; but the German king, Rupert, who was invited as defender of the Church, did not answer, and thus favoured his rival, Wenzel, who immediately acquiesced in the welcome notion, and towards the end of 1408 demanded that his envoys

should be regarded as those of the lawful king. Rupert and his learned councillors were distinct opponents of the council. In their eyes Gregory was the legitimate Pope, and the action of the cardinals seemed to them rebellion against the spiritual head; the archbishops of Cologne and Mainz thought otherwise.

The Great Council at Pisa

Yet their plan did not succeed in the Frankfort diet of January, 1409, although the envoy of the cardinals was sympathetically greeted, especially in the towns; while the plenipotentiary of Gregory, who also issued invitations to a council, found full support from Rupert. The king finally appointed three envoys, who in combination with Gregory were to raise protests against all decrees of the council, and they were thus employed when punctually, on March 25th, 1409, the council at Pisa was opened.

The assembly, contrary to all expectation, was largely attended. More than 200 bishops stood by the side of the representatives of fully 100 cathedral chapters, and more than 300 doctors of theology and of the canon law represented, together with the deputies of fifteen universities, the authority of Western learning. At the head of a small body of temporal princes from Germany stood Wenzel, who gave the inconsiderate promise that he would help the newly-elected Pope to his rights by force of arms. The negotiations proceeded quickly.

By the beginning of June, both the Popes, Gregory and Benedict, were declared deposed as heretics, and toward the end of the month a new Pope was chosen in the person of Alexander V. Neither of the deposed Popes, it is true, contemplated any resignation. Three Popes, each with a considerable following, now reigned over Christendom. At the beginning of July, Alexander V. dismissed the council, and a new one was proposed

Three Popes at the Same Time

for 1412, when the suggested ecclesiastical reforms were to be discussed. In Germany, Rupert still supported Gregory. On the other hand, Wenzel, most of the princes, and the towns, stood by Alexander. But in Prague itself there was a large party under the direction of the archbishop and the cathedral chapter opposed to any separation from Gregory, while within the university the opposite view was held. A violent dispute broke out

between the Bohemian and the three other nations, who had long had a feud with each other, as only the first, in accordance with the king's wish for the neutrality of the university, expressed its views on the question before the council, while the Saxon, Bavarian, and Polish nations wished, considering the importance of the matter, to take sides, and support the Pope chosen by the council. In order to gag the Germans, Wenzel, by imperial dispensation, changed the conditions of voting in the senate of the university so that the Bohemians should have three votes, and the combined Germans only one vote. The majority of the body of German students, indignant at this insult, left the town, together with their teachers, and went to the recently founded university of Leipsic, which received its charter from Pope Alexander V.

Open war was now threatening in the empire on account of the Pope. The archbishops, John of Mainz and Frederick of Cologne, united for the common defence of Alexander's rights, while Gregory handed over to the king,

Death of the Emperor Rupert

as his loyal supporter, the revenues of the dioceses whose bishops supported Alexander.

The towns, it is true, still stood by Rupert, but showed no wish to espouse the cause of Gregory with him. Rupert had already allied himself with the lords of Hesse and Brunswick for war against John, when death cut his plans short on May 18th, 1410.

However unimportant and unsuccessful Rupert may have been in his policy, his death was an important event. The declared enemy of the council, from which alone, as matters then stood, a solution of the difficult problems could be expected, had now disappeared. The last representative of the papal-absolutist constitution of the Church was in the grave. The regular council could now come into life as a Church institution, as a representation of Christendom, supported by the German sovereign, the born defender of the Church. In comparison with the councils or synods of the early Middle Ages, the field of operations as well as the composition of the council was enlarged. The world, therefore, could hopefully look forward to the intended assembly, which, as the successor to the Council of Pisa, should undertake the reform of the Church in head and members.



REIGN OF THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

THE COUNCILS OF CONSTANCE AND BASLE

AFTER the death of Rupert it was necessary to elect afresh an emperor for Germany. Wenzel, it is true, still claimed to be the lawful sovereign, but he took no serious steps to secure this position for himself. The vote of the Bohemian electorate was for him, Rudolf of Saxony was his friend, and Jobst of Moravia, as holder of Brandenburg, stood by him too.

These three, however, agreed only on the advancement of a Luxemburger. Of the remaining electors, those of Cologne and Mainz wished in any case for a supporter of the Pope chosen by the council, while those of Treves and the Palatinate would choose only a friend of Gregory's papacy. Sigismund of Hungary had hitherto taken very little part in the papal question. He could be reckoned as much an adherent of Gregory as of Alexander, and he was a Luxemburger by descent, although at present no friend of Wenzel.

**Germany's
New
Emperor**

His election would help the cause of all three parties. Sigismund was still vicar of the empire and acted in this capacity. He was desirous that Wenzel should be crowned emperor, and did not directly trouble himself to become kaiser. But he forfeited the electoral votes of the Palatinate and Treves by supporting the successor of Alexander, John XXIII., the Pope elected by the council. However, he had a claim on the electoral vote of Brandenburg in place of Jobst, and he commissioned Frederic VI. of Nuremberg, the burgrave of the Hohenzollern house, to vote in his stead.

Though the other electors did not agree to this, the burgrave was admitted as representative of Sigismund to the election in Frankfort at the beginning of September, after he had induced the electors of the Palatinate and Treves by his declarations on the papal question to favour his principal. The electors of Cologne and Mainz wished to wait for the

envoys of the three other electors before the election should be made. But Frederic, with the electors of the Palatinate and Treves, insisted on the election and held it in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's Church, for the building

Jobst

**Refuses a
Crown**

itself was closed in consequence of the interdict. The three chose Sigismund, and soon afterward left the city.

The electors of Mainz and Cologne, however, applied to Jobst and offered him the crown, although he had declined the invitation to vote on the ground that there was a sovereign already.

On October 1st, the electors of Mainz, Cologne, and Saxony, in the interior of St. Bartholomew's, finally chose Jobst as emperor. But he took no steps at all to secure the possession of the kingdom, and died in January, 1411. Sigismund now proclaimed that he accepted the choice which had fallen on him in September and entered into negotiations with Wenzel. The latter was conceded the title of King of the Romans, with the prospect of the imperial dignity, to which Sigismund was to help him, and Sigismund was tacitly acknowledged as emperor by the electors.

This was Sigismund's first appearance in the empire, the conditions of which had become strange to him, and soon after his recognition he went back to Hungary. Before doing so he carried out another arrangement which, insignificant as it seemed, became of the greatest importance for the history of Germany. In

**Frederic of
Nuremberg
Rewarded**

return for the support which had been given him in Hungary and at the first election, he conferred on the burgrave, Frederic of Nuremberg, as representative of the sovereign, the disordered march of Brandenburg, where a wide field was open to him for uninterrupted activity. His heirs were destined to remain in possession of this lordship, and the empire

could buy it back only at a high price. In the year 1417 the Hohenzollern was formally invested at Constance with the march and the electoral vote thereto appertaining. Brandenburg now had a family dynasty, and from that time the empire was no longer disturbed by the disputes about that country which had lasted almost a century.

Alexander, the Pope elected at the Council of Pisa, died before he could enter Rome. His successor, John XXIII., had been legate of Bologna, and was a man of small intellectual capabilities, but a shrewd politician. His first object was to fight King Ladislaus of Naples, who continued to support Gregory XII. But the campaign against him was attended with little success, for Rome and the states of the Church fell into the hands of the Neapolitans. Sigismund took advantage of the Pope's plight at a time when prudent and quiet conduct would have won for him the gratitude of the whole Christian world. At the end of October he announced to the world that the council planned at Pisa was to meet on November 1st, 1414, at Constance, a place which lay beyond the jurisdiction of one of the three Popes. John, who on his part also issued a Bull

of summons in December, was asked to appear, and so was Gregory, and Spain, like France, even if unwillingly, had to obey the summons of the German sovereign.

Sigismund was all this time in Italy, and was engaged in a war with Milan, which he

wished to recover for the empire; but before the opening of the council he had to receive the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, and therefore marched in the spring of 1414 to Germany. After the death of Frederic of Cologne a dispute arose about the succession to the archbishopric between Dietrich of Mörs and William of Berg.

Sigismund favoured Dietrich and allowed himself to be crowned by him at Aix-la-Chapelle. Pope John also favoured him. But an episcopal dispute threatened, since William's succession was ratified by Gregory XII. This added another complication.

Pope John entered Constance about the end of October, 1414; Sigismund appeared at Christmas. An immense crowd was now collected in the city on the lake of Constance. In addition to the high spiritual dignitaries and doctors of theology there appeared princes and knights, jugglers and loose women. The laity, who found amusement and profit there, far



THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND

Sigismund, king of Hungary, was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1410, and was the author and protector of the Council of Constance, called together for the purpose of ending the Hussite and other schisms.

outnumbered the body of real members of the council. Sigismund was everywhere regarded as the chief personage. He honestly exerted himself to perform his duties, and, above all, to restore the unity of the Church; and he had already come to an understanding with England and France that John must surrender his papacy. The numerous Italians would have easily been able to turn the scale. But the system of voting by nations, which was then usual, prevented this. The German nation and the newly recognised English nation acted together; by them stood the French, Italian, and Spanish

immediate consequence that the assembly in a resolution of immense importance, declared on April 6th that their official authority was derived immediately from Christ, and that even the Pope was obliged to submit to it. By these decrees the council took upon itself great duties, especially since it had been expressly declared that the assembly could not break up before the schism in the Church was healed and the reform of the Church completed. Frederic of Austria, owing to his action, fell under the ban of the empire, and Sigismund intended to crush him completely. However, as Benedict's



THE REWARD OF FREDERIC OF NUREMBERG

As a reward for the services which Frederic of Nuremberg had been able to render to Sigismund in Hungary, the emperor conferred on him the march of Brandenburg; and, insignificant as this arrangement might seem, it became of the greatest importance in the history of Germany. Frederic's heirs remained in possession of their lordship, and the empire could buy it back only at a high price.

nations, each with one vote only. John could not fail to see that he had no support in the assembly. To secure unity, the two other Popes must be won, and negotiation would have implied the admission that he was not the only lawful Pope. He promised on March 1st, 1415, to resign his office, but recalled his declaration, and with the help of Frederic of Austria secretly escaped from Constance.

Gregory XIII. voluntarily abdicated, John was pronounced by the council to be deposed, and only Benedict XIII. was now left. The departure of John had the

claims were too great, Sigismund broke off communications with him and arranged with his former supporters, the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, that they should attend the council and there agree to his deposition. This was duly carried out on July 26th, 1417.

Meanwhile, at Constance, other questions had come forward for discussion, at the express wish of Sigismund. Measures were taken against heresies which were disturbing the land, and especially against Wycliffe and his Bohemian followers, at whose head stood John Huss. He and his sect had caused much discontent in Bohemia.

At Prague, ever since 1403, it had been clearly seen what dangers lay hidden in the doctrines of Wycliffe, and the University resolved to forbid forty-five articles out of his writings to be taught. The examination of his writings in 1410 showed distinct heresy in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Hitherto no stronger measures had been taken against Huss than against any other follower of Wycliffe. Not until 1409 was he summoned to answer for some alleged utterances. The occasion for further steps was given by the appeal of some students, certainly at the instigation of Huss, to Gregory XII. against the decrees of the Archbishop of Prague, by

which every supporter of Wycliffe's teaching on the Lord's Supper was threatened with penalties as a heretic. Gregory summoned the parties before him, but the archbishop had Alexander V. on his side, and he authorised him, at the end of 1409, to act in the spirit of his former decrees, and expressly charged him not to countenance an appeal of the parties concerned. When Huss and his companions, nevertheless, appealed to John XXIII. against the archbishop's measures, John excommunicated him for disobedience on July 18th, 1410. But the question came before the papal court, and an inquiry was made into the breach of church discipline by Huss, without entering into the charge of heresy which was raised at Prague. Wycliffe himself had not yet been declared a heretic.

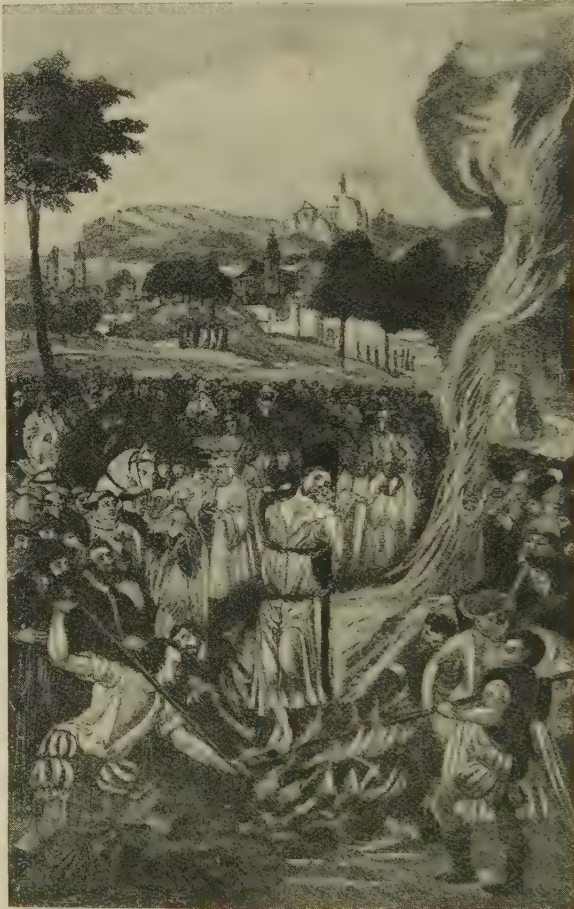
Huss was now summoned before the Curia; but in the summer of 1411 efforts were still being made to end the proceedings by an agreement between the archbishop and Huss, a proof that until then the charge of heresy had not been raised against Huss. On the complaint of the opponents of Huss at Prague his trial was put into other hands, and the judgment of the archbishop which declared Wycliffe a heretic and Huss his follower was confirmed. Nothing was actually done, but the ban for disobedience was strictly enforced, and in October, 1412, an interdict was suspended over all

places where Huss might remain: Nevertheless, he preached in Prague as well as in the country. Up to 1413 neither there nor at Rome had any official sentence been issued against him on matters of faith.

The events in Bohemia were probably well known in the empire. Sigismund, who hardly had any intimate knowledge of them, zealously tried to quiet all disturbances in his own country. He hoped that he would attain this result if he summoned Huss before the council at Constance, in order to put him on his defence. Sigismund, in so doing, did not propose an ordinary trial for heresy, in which the punishment in event of condemnation always amounted to death at the stake, but a declaration of faith before the whole council, when anyone might put questions, and Huss might answer them. With this understanding he promised the defendant his support, and although Huss had already started from Prague on September 28th, drew up for him, on October 18th, 1414, a safe-conduct—that is to

say, a simple passport allowing him an undisturbed and fair journey there, as well as a safe return journey.

Huss imprudently entered Constance long before Sigismund on November 3rd. The Pope remitted the ban under which he lay, and also removed the interdict and granted him complete liberty until the cardinals, at the instigation of Michael de



THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS, THE REFORMER
John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, summoned to attend the great Church council at Constance [see page 3167], travelled thither under the security of a free imperial pass. In spite of this, however, he was arrested, and, on refusing to recant doctrines which the council pronounced heretical, he was burned at the stake on July 6th, 1415.

From a sixteenth century MS. in the Bohemian Museum at Prague



REPRESENTATIVES OF BERLIN AND COLOGNE SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO FREDERIC IV. AS KING OF THE GERMANS IN THE YEAR 1415
From the painting by I. Schrader in the National Gallery, Berlin

Causis, the old opponent of Huss, treacherously arrested him without the Pope's knowledge. This took place contrary to the express command of Sigismund and the pledge of the Pope; but the cardinals had gained their point. Then for the first time Huss was charged as a heretic, though the council of John had condemned the

Arrest of Huss, the Reformer

writings of Wycliffe in January, 1413, and had even proposed to institute proceedings against his dead person. Sigismund, mindful of his pledge, took instant steps for the liberation of Huss. But he failed, as the council was jealous of his intermeddling, which threatened to bring the members under the emperor's control.

So, at the beginning of 1415, the council, entirely convinced that it had to deal with a heretic, tried to represent the earlier trial of Huss as a consequence of his heresy. All that Sigismund could effect was to insist that the proceedings should be conducted publicly. He gained his point by the end of May, and on June 5th, 7th, and 8th the hearings of Huss did take place in public before the whole council, which gave him the opportunity to declare his beliefs, but otherwise the publicity was wholly unavailing.

Sigismund, however, declared that his promise had thus been kept. He took no further steps for the liberation of Huss, and, without interfering, allowed him to be burnt as a heretic on July 6th, 1415. It had certainly become clear to him, on closer examination, that Huss from the first had been a heretic, and implied a permanent danger to Bohemia. But the rising, in which Czech national feeling was combined with religious fanaticism, when once it broke out, was not suppressed so soon as Sigismund might have hoped. After Jerome had followed his friend to the stake on May 30th, 1416, the Bohemians, sword in hand, began to advocate the more liberal doctrines of Wycliffe. For

The Hussite Wars in Germany

twenty years the "Hussite wars" raged through Germany. In the summer of 1415 war between England and France had once more been kindled. These events threatened to be momentous for the council, and the representatives of both countries ought indeed to have been working in common at the solution of the great problems. Sigismund had the best intentions of establishing peace, and with this object went in

person to Paris, and then to England to the court of Henry V. Since he did not succeed there in effecting a union between the two hostile powers, he concluded, in August, 1416, a defensive and offensive alliance against France. The French members of the council now went over to the Romance nations, and Sigismund was compelled on his part to declare war against France in the spring of 1417. But the realm was not in a position to lend weight to his words by any armed force.

The proceedings of the council in the important question of reform had come to a standstill during Sigismund's absence; its time was taken up with trifles. The opposition between Germanic and Romance nations made itself more and more felt, and the latter had certainly the predominance. They yielded so far to the Germans as to agree to the resolution that at least the reform of the papacy and curia should be taken in hand before the election of a new Pope. Sigismund and the Germans generally wished for a decision on the whole question of church reform before a Pope was elected; but this was impracticable. Resolutions were

Germans Deserted by the English

hastily adopted in October as to the procedure at a papal election, and some other points. The English, at the command of their king, deserted the Germans, and Sigismund saw his work lost, and left Constance.

On November 11th, 1417, an Italian, a member of the family of the Colonnas, and of anti-French sympathies, was chosen by twenty-three cardinals and six prelates of each of the five nations to be Pope under the title of Martin V. (1417-1431). He was a man well trained in the science of the time, and he had been a loyal follower of John XXIII. His personality was hardly welcome to the cardinals, but the members of the council were the more pleased to see him. Sigismund was again in Constance on the day when the election was announced. The existence of a Pope whom he escorted to enthronement and coronation meant much to Sigismund, since such a Pope could not refuse to give his approbation, and place the imperial crown on his head.

The unity of the Church was now restored once more. But there was no Church reform. Martin, indeed, set about discussing with a committee of reform in January, 1418, the programme proposed shortly before his election. But it was

here seen how divergent the wishes and demands of the nations were, and the discussions resulted in concordats which the Pope concluded with each separate nation only for a definite time. The important resolution as to the regular summoning of councils was, however, confirmed. The final sitting was on April 22nd, 1418. The members left Constance, but the world did not see fulfilled the great hopes with which the opening of the proceedings had been regarded. Sigismund's ideal wishes in particular were far from realised. He had wished to obtain peace for the whole of Christendom, and then to lead its united strength into the field against the Turks, but all such plans had to be abandoned.

Sigismund appeared to his contemporaries as the lawful ruler, and great things were expected of him. It is for this reason that the programme of social reform which was formulated in the last days of his reign was called the "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund." He was himself fully conscious of his great duties. He knew only too well how powerless the empire was, but he endeavoured to create imperial cities, and not merely to strengthen the possessions of the house of Luxemburg. He did, perhaps, too little for his own dynasty. He gave away Brandenburg, and granted Lausitz, by way of mortgage, as a prefecture to a knight in 1429. Moravia came into the power of Albert of Austria, the subsequent king, who married Sigismund's only daughter, Elizabeth, in 1422, and so brought the whole inheritance of Luxemburg to the House of Hapsburg.

In Bohemia, where Wenzel was still lord, the Hussite insurrection, of which we have seen the beginnings, spread widely and caused the greatest distress in the country. The burning of the teacher roused bitter passions in his home, and the fury of the people was directed mainly against the clergy. The nobility united to protect the liberty of preaching, the university was declared the highest authority in the Church, and all Catholics formed themselves into a counter-league. The religious teaching of Huss had met with response even in the royal family, from the wife of Wenzel; and when social distress as well as fanaticism drove the peasants to war, it was too late to suppress the disorders. In

the summer of 1419, a few days before Wenzel's death, public disturbances and street fighting occurred for the first time at Prague.

Sigismund was, indeed, the natural heir to the Bohemian crown, but nevertheless he appointed the widow of Wenzel regent. Under her regency renewed uproar and bloodshed prevailed, clearly in connection with the question of the succession, for the multitude loathed Sigismund, who seemed to be the murderer of Huss. The king ordered a large number of Hussites to be executed at Breslau, and thus gave a new proof of his sympathies in matters of faith. Martin V., at the king's desire, issued a Bull ordering a crusade against the heretics, and Sigismund was prepared to conduct a merciless war against the Hussites.

Within the movement itself there were two opposite parties—the moderate Utraquists—also called Calixtins, who differed from the universal Church only in the observance of the Lord's Supper, demanding the Cup for the laity, "Communion in both kinds," *in utraque specie*, whence their name of Utraquists—and the radical Taborites, who repudiated every cult, and were also the champions of communistic ideas. The latter had the upper hand by 1420, committed great excesses in the country, and intimidated the Utraquists, who were represented chiefly in Prague.

Towards the end of July, Sigismund appeared with an army reputed eighty thousand strong, and began the siege of Prague. But the fight was attended by little good fortune. After a reverse received on July 14th, the army was broken up without effecting any results. Sigismund, however, was crowned King of Bohemia by the Archbishop of Prague.

When the new king left Bohemia in the spring of 1421, the Hussites soon gained the whole country and overran Moravia. The Archbishop of Prague himself recognised the "Four Articles of Prague," which comprised the Hussite doctrine, but the cathedral chapter remained loyal to the Church. A Bohemian diet thereupon deposed Sigismund, and there was an idea of appointing Wladislaus, King of Poland, in his stead. Sigismund could not submit to this, and in a diet at Nuremberg demanded help from the

**Evil Times
for the
Hussites**

**Sigismund's
Successes
and Failures**

**Bohemia's
Rejection of
Sigismund**

empire, in 1421. Since Bohemia possessed an electoral vote, the empire, as such, was interested in these events. The four Rhenish electors shared the same view. They appeared in Nuremberg on the right day, but were compelled to begin the debates without the king. They were afraid chiefly lest the heretical teaching

Crusade Against the Heretics

should spread to the rest of Germany, and they tried to guard against this eventuality by a careful search for all heretics. Further measures were settled in May in a diet at Wesel, where a papal legate held out the prospect of a remission of sins to all who took part in the crusade. The king was not present. But the electors for their part announced an imperial campaign, and actually collected a splendid army, which marched into Bohemia from Eger, and lay in September before the town of Saaz.

In October, John Zisca of Trocnaw advanced with his forces. The army of the crusaders turned to flight, and Sigismund, who now marched forward from Moravia, was completely defeated on January 8th, 1422, at Deutsch-Brod. This misfortune was increased by the suggestions of his contemporaries that he favoured heretics, while Bohemia was completely lost to him, and the Polish prince, Sigismund Corybut, was chosen regent of that kingdom.

The position of the king was one of extraordinary difficulty. His presence was clamoured for in the empire, and yet it was necessary in Hungary and Moravia. He made an unwilling appearance in a diet at Nuremberg in 1422, when it was decided to support the Teutonic Order against Poland, and to continue the war in Bohemia. It was intended to equip two armies—one for the relief of Carlstein, the other to be stationed for a year in Bohemia. Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg, was to be commander-in-chief. To cover the cost the Jews were compelled to pay a tax which

The Jews Under Heavy Taxation

amounted to a third of their property. Before Sigismund again left the empire, he nominated Archbishop Conrad of Mainz to the vicariate of the empire, with unusually full authority, but the palsgrave, Lewis, disputed this position with him. Conrad thereupon resigned the office, but the want of a supreme head was much felt, as neither money nor men were collected. The Margrave Frederic advanced into Bohemia in October with

an inadequate force, since he still hoped to be joined by Frederic of Meissen. The war was again temporarily interrupted, as the Poles made peace with the Teutonic Order as well as with Sigismund, and recalled Prince Corybut from Bohemia. The heresy, however, in Bohemia, grew worse and worse, and the different parties began to fight fiercely among themselves.

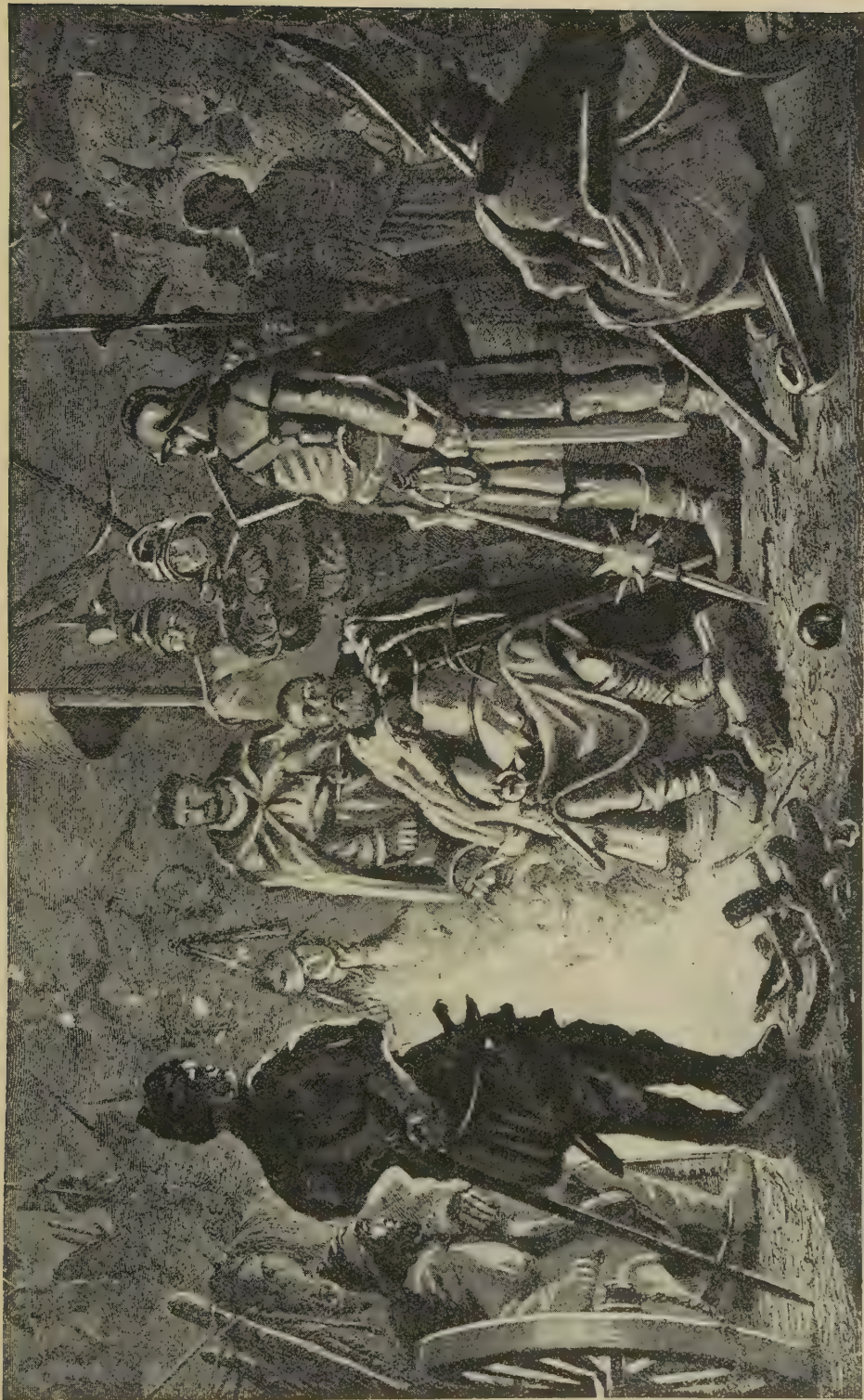
Since the palsgrave, Lewis, would not tolerate an actual viceregent of the empire, for he thought the office belonged to him alone, the four Rhenish electors, together with Brandenburg and Saxony, began to govern the empire as an electoral corporation, and formed at Bingen, on January 17th, 1424, an "Electoral Union," in order to restore order in the empire, but, above all, to suppress heresy. The "Electoral Union" was undeniably a measure directed against the king, and some provisions of the agreement showed this more clearly, so that Sigismund was justly incensed when the message of the electors reached him. According to the position of things, he could not fail to see in it a conspiracy organised by the

Enemies of the Emperor

Margrave Frederic of Brandenburg, and therefore invited the electors to come to Vienna and to effect a reconciliation between him and the margrave. Although they at first assented, they did not come, and professed only readiness to treat with Sigismund's envoys at Nuremberg.

When the king appeared in Vienna at the beginning of 1425, there were only the deputies of a few towns present. A rupture between king and electors seemed inevitable, but the Rhenish princes were not disposed to let matters go so far. Frederic of Saxony, who had just been invested with this electoral dominion, was on the best terms with Sigismund. The margrave of Brandenburg, whose relations to Poland, the origin of the quarrel, had altered, was obliged to come to terms with the king. A diet at Nuremberg in May, 1426, effected a complete reconciliation.

In the interval Prince Corybut had again entered Bohemia. But his prospects did not seem favourable. The elector of Saxony and margrave of Meissen, the powerful neighbour of Bohemia, had already promised to help Albert of Austria, the king's son-in-law, to the Bohemian crown, and to give him his electoral vote. After the death of the leader of the Taborites, Zisca, on October 11th, 1424,



THE HUSSITES AND THEIR GREAT GENERAL, ZISKA, UNDER WHOM THEY DEFEATED THE GERMANS

When John Huss, the Bohemian reformer, was burned at the stake, his enemies may have thought they had overcome the movement which he represented, but they soon discovered that persecution was powerless to quench the great protest. In July, 1419, the great general, Ziska, headed a popular movement in Prague against the Roman Catholics, two years later, in 1421, the Emperor Sigismund was driven from Bohemia, a German army that came against the Hussites was put to flight, and in 1422 Sigismund was routed at Kuttenberg.

the struggle continued between the Radicals and the Utraquists in Prague, at whose head Corybut placed himself. But, at the end of 1425, both parties came to an understanding. It was not, indeed, completely successful, although the new leader of the Taborites, Procop (the Great), was ready to negotiate with the Catholics, the

**Knights
at War with
Heretics**

king, and the Utraquists, if only the substance of faith was not thereby injured. While new war preparations were being discussed in the diet of Nuremberg, an army of Frederic the Warlike was completely defeated at Aussig on June 16th, 1426. Sigismund, now fully occupied with his other duties, entrusted the Bohemian war to his son-in-law. At the beginning of 1427 the Franconian knights dedicated themselves to the war against the heretics, and the electors renewed at Frankfort the Electoral Union of Bingen, while they attempted once more to take the conduct of the empire into their hands, though without any opposition to the king. Archbishop Otto of Treves was appointed commander-in-chief for the Bohemian war, and the troops assembled in sufficient numbers; but the campaign once more ended with a defeat on August 2nd, at Tachau.

The year 1427, after the defeat of

Corybut, saw the invasion of the neighbouring countries by the Hussites. They were impelled by the ravaging of their homes, and above all by love of plunder. The universal dislike of the clergy felt by the people, which then showed itself in every rising of the urban and country proletariat, had been much intensified by the appearance of the Hussites.

A terrible war of annihilation now began to devastate the countries adjacent to Bohemia for miles around. The Utraquists were not quieted until the Council of Basle in 1433, in the "Compacts of Prague," conceded to the laity the chalice at the Lord's Supper, and the sermon in the vulgar tongue. The Taborites, after the death of the two Procop, on May 30th, 1434, at Lapan, from the effects of this defeat, surrendered on the same terms, and finally, in 1436, recognised Sigismund as king.

The war difficulty was not relieved by imperial armies. But under stress of circumstances a resolution of great significance was passed, through the efforts of Cardinal Beaufort, half-brother of Henry IV. of England, on the occasion of the diet at Frankfort summoned by him in 1427. It had been seen that the constitution of the army, hitherto customary, no longer corresponded to the demands of the time,



A TYPICAL FAIR IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



THE HUSSITES AND THE COUNCIL: ARRIVAL OF HUSSITE DEPUTATION AT BASLE
 The Hussite wars were followed by an attempt on the part of council, emperor and Pope to reform the Church, and the Hussite leader, Procop, accepted the invitation of the council to discuss the question. The illustration represents the arrival of the Hussite deputation at Basle, in October, 1433. Although no distinct result attended this conference, a deputation of the council subsequently went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there terms of peace were arranged.

and that nothing could be effected without a paid army which remained permanently in the field. But to obtain soldiers for the empire, money was essential, and this was to be raised according to a dexterous scheme of the cardinal's, by a universal imperial tax, called "common or general pence." Although the whole notions of the age were thus turned upside down, the tax, which was at once income tax, property tax, poll tax, and class tax, was nevertheless decreed. A commission was appointed to administer the funds, and the electors, with three representatives of the towns, were to decide on their application. Hardly anything, indeed, was realised, and the idea was not carried out. Nevertheless the proposal and the shrewdly designed system were of great importance as a suggestion for imperial financial reform in later times.

Sigismund allowed the electors full scope in the empire, for the Turks and the Poles occupied him sufficiently. But for the complete execution of his plans against the Hussites, of whom he never lost sight, he required the help of a greater power, and hoped for the support of Pope Martin V. The latter, according to the resolutions of

Constance, had convoked a council in 1423 at Pavia, whence on account of the plague it was transferred to Siena. But the assembly, which was very thinly attended, was dissolved in the spring of 1424, before any results had been achieved, and Basle was fixed as the place for the next meeting in seven years' time. Martin had not realised the hopes placed on him; on the contrary, he tried to develop the papal omni-

How to Reform the Church

potence once more, and was personally by no means friendly to the council. Sigismund, notwithstanding, looked for a solution of the Hussite question in the first place by a general council, where the reform of the Church should be treated. England and France also urged that a council should be summoned before 1433. Even in Prague the idea of a council became less repugnant.

After the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, together with the representatives of some towns, had conferred with the emperor at Pressburg in 1429, about the pacification of the empire, the latter came into the empire in the summer of 1430, and held a diet at Straubing. The Hussite question was discussed, but the thoughts of Sigismund were clearly fixed on a march over

the Alps, for the Pope still took no steps to summon the much-desired council. At last, yielding to universal pressure, he nominated Cardinal Cesarini, at the beginning of 1431, president, with full jurisdiction. He died soon afterwards. Steps were quickly taken to hold a new election, resulting in the choice of Eugene IV. (1431-1447), who

Hussite was forced, however, on his
Victory in election to swear to compre-
Battle hensive conditions in favour of the college of cardinals.

Sigismund learned of these events at Nuremberg, where a very crowded diet was just debating the vigorous suppression of the Bohemian heretics. When he heard from Cesarini that the council was actually to assemble soon, he wished only to settle the defence of the frontiers, and then to wait for the proceedings of the council.

But the electors were in favour of war; the emperor gave way, and the preparations continued, though slowly, supported by the crusade sermons of Cesarini. On August 14th, 1431, the imperial army met the Hussites at Taus, but, although superior in numbers, it was broken up, and thus all the preparations had been futile.

Without any special opening the council at Basle had actually begun its sittings in the spring. After the failure of the Hussite campaign it seemed to the cardinal himself that the religious troubles of the Bohemians could be solved only by encouraging the council, especially since some princes were already attempting to effect a union with the heretics by private treaties. Sigismund's old wish to start the reform of the Church drove him to an interview with Pope Eugene, in order to treat with him about his coronation as emperor. He thought it indeed prudent to clear up every point before his appearance in Basle. After the Duke of Milan had promised money payments during the period of the stay in Italy, and an escort to Rome, Sigismund started in the autumn

Sigismund
Crowned
at Milan

with a small following, and was crowned on November 25th, at Milan. The duke now made difficulties, and wished the king to return, especially since there was no prospect of an agreement with the Pope.

The latter was emphatically an opponent of the council, and wished that it should sit in an Italian town. When he learned that the council had, on its own responsibility, invited the Bohemians to discuss matters, he hastily decided to dissolve the

assembly, and summoned it to Bologna for 1433. But the assembled fathers paid little attention, and remained together, mindful of the resolutions at Constance.

Sigismund strongly supported this action; he would rather have renounced the imperial crown, although his position in Italy, without money and without a sufficient following, was very unenviable. The council now sent an urgent summons to the Pope himself to appear in Basle, or to send authorised representatives; but he did not come. Sigismund, meanwhile, was hard pressed by Florence and by papal troops, and could not in any case return to Germany, for there he would have been obliged to surrender himself submissively to the council, and his independent policy would have thus been destroyed.

Eugene was forced to yield in January, 1433, for the whole of Christendom was for the council and against him. He feared that he would lose the papal states, and tried to prevent this by the Bull of February 14th, which permitted the holding of the council at Basle, and contemplated the appointment of delegates.

The Pope's Eugene, moreover, met the wish
Compulsory of Sigismund to see himself
Submission crowned. On May 31st the coronation as emperor took place, after the ordinary oath had been administered. But the displeasure of the council was excited because the newly-crowned emperor was now attached by his oath to the person of the Pope.

Sigismund left Rome in August, 1433, after he had induced Pope Eugene to recognise the council from the very beginning, on condition that it would repeal all the resolutions passed against the Pope. When the emperor entered Basle, important duties awaited him, for the assembly was seriously threatening the suspension of the Pope. The extremity to which the Pope had been brought by the events of the war in Italy, finally compelled him to abandon his opposition to the council. He declared the dissolution of it, which he had previously proclaimed, to be null and void, and marked out the duties of the assembly exactly as it had itself comprehended them to be.

In April, 1434, the arrangement was completed. Council, emperor, and Pope now worked in common for the reform of the Church; but no progress was made in this direction, and Sigismund left the assembly dissatisfied.

He had, however, done a great work in obtaining a settlement of the Bohemian question. The Hussite leader Procop accepted the invitation of the council to enter into negotiations, and the first conference took place in May, 1432, at Eger.

Widely extended legal protection was granted to Hussites of all denominations, and the permission to introduce motions was also conceded. The deputation finally appeared at Basle in October, 1433, Procop also being a member. Discussions of immense length were now started, naturally without result. At last a deputation of the council went with the Bohemians to Prague, and there drew up the terms of peace—the Compacts of Prague—which were accepted by the council and then ratified by the Bohemian diet on November 30th, 1433. Contests, indeed, were still threatening, for the different Hussite factions began hostilities among themselves, and took warlike measures against the town of Pilsen, which had remained true to the Catholic faith. But in this struggle the moderate nobles won the day, while the Taborites disappeared.

**Bohemia's
Unsettled
Condition**

The position in the East was considerably changed by the death of King Wladislaus of Poland, toward the end of May, 1434. There was no longer any fear of a political alliance of the Bohemians with the Poles, even if Sigismund still regarded with distrust the growth of the Polish power and instigated the Teutonic Order to war with it. In the autumn of 1434, the emperor left the empire; in the summer of 1435 there were interminable negotiations over the administration of the Compacts of Prague, and the terms on which Sigismund was to be acknowledged king in Bohemia. Without having come to any real result, Sigismund entered Prague on August 23rd, 1436, after the compacts had been solemnly published and the king had promised not to allow anyone to be forced to receive the communion in both kinds. The disturbances, however, still continued for a long time, but did not any longer affect the empire, being restricted to Bohemia.

Sigismund, did not experience much happiness either there or in the empire; the proceedings in the council, events in the empire, and the threatened war against Burgundy, exhausted him, while gout tormented him. An imperial diet at Eger, in the autumn of 1436, resulted in nothing,

and the emperor's hope of seeing his son-in-law Albert chosen king of the Romans was not realised. Sigismund died on December 9th, 1437, at Znaim, leaving no male issue.

At Basle, meantime, an earnest effort was being made to reform the Church and the papacy. But the wielder of the papal power, Eugene IV., was not present to take part in the work; and this led to a bitter feeling among the clergy against the papal absolutism, which could no longer be repressed by pacific means. The resolution of the council, which abolished all the papal revenues derived from the holders of offices, was due merely to this fact, and Eugene naturally refused to acknowledge it. But matters did not come to an open breach until the Greek Church, threatened by the Turkish danger, made proposals in order to effect once more a union with the Roman Church.

The Pope wished to discuss this point only in an Italian synod, and thus hoped to be quit of the assembly at Basle. But the majority of the council decided to retain Basle, and when Eugene for the second time dissolved the council and convoked a new one at Ferrara for the beginning of 1438, the proceedings against him were opened at Basle. When, however, it was generally known that a large number of attendants at the council were actually in Ferrara, and after February, 1439, in Florence, the best men left the old meeting-place of the council and espoused the papal party. On July 6th, 1439, the union between the Romans and the Greeks was sworn to in the Cathedral of Florence.

Soon no one troubled himself further about the proceedings at Basle, least of all Pope Eugene, who had been deposed there. In the spring of 1443 the rest of the assembly moved from Basle in order to continue their session at Lausanne. There the assembly was dissolved in 1449, after it had been forced to recognise

Nicholas V. the successor of Eugene. The German princes, after 1438, kept, on the whole, in the background; they did not wish again to interfere directly in ecclesiastical questions. The "Concordat of Vienna" was promulgated in 1448 under Frederic III. By this the relations of the Curia to Germany were carefully fixed, but at the same time all the results were clearly annulled which the councils had accomplished for Germany.

**Council of
Basle and
The Pope**

**End of
the Council
of Basle**



THE GREAT PRUSSIAN WARRIOR ALBERT ACHILLES IN BATTLE AGAINST THE NÜREMBERGERS

From the painting by C. Steffek, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Company, London



FORTUNES OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA AND THE NEW TURKISH DANGER

THE German throne, which Sigismund left vacant by his death, seemed to the princes so little desirable that this time no one sought it. The electors finally chose at Frankfort, in March, 1438, according to the usual ceremony, Sigismund's son-in-law, Albert of Austria, an excellent man, who at first hesitated to accept their choice. The diet of Nuremberg in 1438 established, as the fruit of the efforts for reform which Albert favoured, a public peace, which formed the foundation-stone of reform in the empire, and only through the early death of Albert failed to have further results for the empire. It provided for a division of the empire into six circles, which were to represent independent constitutional bodies, and for a general improvement in the administration of justice and the total suppression of feuds. Beyond this,

Death of Albert of Austria

Albert did not interpose in the government of the empire, for the internal disturbances in his hereditary dominions, Bohemia and Hungary, and the growing Turkish danger, claimed his entire powers. On the way home, after a somewhat unsuccessful campaign against the infidels, he died at the end of October, 1439, before any reform worthy of mention in the empire can be recorded.

The throne was once more vacant, and no one aspired to it. The electors this time—contrary to the advice of his private secretary, Johann Gert—agreed upon Frederic, who, in common with his brother, possessed Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. He was with difficulty induced to accept the duties of sovereign. His character was little adapted to these duties; indecision was joined to dislike of military undertakings. It was therefore an easy task for a man of powerful intellect like Æneas Sylvius, subsequently Pope Pius II., to guide the policy of the emperor according to his views, and this

he did above all in the Church question, which, owing to the council at Basle, still violently agitated men's minds. It was due chiefly to his influence that the results of the council's proceedings were completely lost in Germany; for all that

Germany's Unwilling Emperor

had been gained was ultimately abandoned in the Concordat of Vienna. Since Frederic belonged to the poorer princes, the rank of German king was of peculiar importance to him; he could increase his family possessions by it. An opportunity for doing so was presented him at the very beginning of his reign, when he was appointed guardian both of Albert's posthumous son Ladislaus, the heir of Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and also of the infant Sigismund of Tyrol. In Hungary, after long party disputes, John Hunyadi was chosen governor in 1446 during the minority of the king; but Frederic kept his ward to himself, together with the royal crown.

The Bohemians wished to have Frederic himself as king, but he declined the crown, and, in fact, did not wish to undertake the regency for Ladislaus. Two administrators, one a Catholic and the other a Utraquist, were now appointed; but Frederic refused to give up the king even to them. The internal disputes led finally to the result that George of Podiebrad and Cunstatt, with the consent of Frederic, became sole administrator after 1452. And when Ladislaus died prematurely in 1457, George Podiebrad was chosen king of

New Kings in Bohemia and Hungary

Bohemia on March 2nd, 1458. In Hungary in the same year Hunyadi's son, Matthias Corvinus, was elected king. In Austria, the third of Ladislaus's hereditary dominions, where for a long time, in consequence of an open insurrection of the nobility of the country against Frederic, Ulrich von Eitzing, a powerful noble, had held the government, Frederic's

brother Albert now governed, while Sigismund himself had ruled in Tyrol since 1446.

Before these unfortunate events in his own house the new king had been crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in June, 1442. Pope Eugene, before the resolution of the Concordat of Vienna, had promised the king that he would crown him emperor, and would provide funds for the expedition to Rome in the event of his showing himself amenable to his views. But the journey to Italy took place only in 1452, just when the Austrians had risen against the royal guardian, and on March 19, 1452, the last solemn imperial coronation of a German king was celebrated at Rome.

Frederic did not appear personally in the imperial diets, but willingly let himself be represented by Æneas Sylvius, and the princes appeared there in correspondingly small numbers. Meanwhile, bitter feuds involving unspeakable devastation of the country raged in the Wettin territories between the brothers Frederic and William, and in Franconia between Albert Achilles and the imperial city of Nuremberg and the strong body of supporters on both sides as well as between the Rhenish princes. Frederic did not once make the feeblest effort to preserve the tranquillity of the land.

Archbishop Dietrich of Mainz and Frederic of the Palatinate, who had hitherto been opponents, now united and set about the deposition of the king. George Podiebrad was to succeed him, since he seemed most adapted to support the anti-papal efforts of the archbishop. But the opposition of the other electors, especially Frederic of Brandenburg, prevented the execution of the plan. Dietrich of Mainz was finally worsted in his struggle with the Pope; he was deposed and Count Adolf of Nassau nominated

archbishop in his stead. Since Dietrich gave way reluctantly and found support from his ally the palsgrave, a bloody war ensued, in the course of which Adolf conquered, and the town of Mainz, which stood by Dietrich, lost its position as a free city of the empire on October 27th, 1462. At the same time the imperial town Donauwörth was threatened by Lewis of Bavaria-Landschut; the king, therefore, suspended the ban over him and entrusted Albert Achilles with his punishment. Lewis had allies in the emperor's brother, the Bohemian king, and Frederic the palsgrave; twenty-four cities of the empire, which feared for their own existence, opposed them. But the Brandenburger was defeated on July 19, 1462, by the Wittelsbacher at Giengen, and in 1463 a peace was made there.

In Austria the strained relations between the king and his brother Albert continued. The latter roused the city of Vienna to open insurrection against Frederic. When at last the Bohemian king came to his help, a peace was concluded between the brothers at the end of 1462; but only Albert's death in December, 1463, prevented a renewal of the fraternal war.

In Bohemia the religious controversies were still heated. George Podiebrad owed his kingdom to the Utraquist party, and, after he had been recognised in his dignity by emperor and Pope, he had always a foe which, on account of his religious attitude, refused to acknowledge him and do homage—the town of Breslau, which belonged to his realm. The inhabitants were at last, in 1459, induced by the mediation of the Pope to promise that they would do homage to the king in three years. Pope Pius II. (1458–1464) was indignant at the little attention which King George paid to his favourite scheme,



THE EMPEROR FREDERIC III.

Called to be emperor in 1440, the reign of Frederic III. covered a difficult period, and thus, though he was fond of peace, he had many struggles to face. He defeated the schemes of his many opponents in Germany.

From the statue at Innsbruck



FREDERIC III. RECEIVING HIS BRIDE, ELEANOR OF PORTUGAL, AT SIENA

From the fresco by Pinturicchio in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena

the war with Turkey, and began a war against the Bohemian Utraquists, while he declared the compacts to be void and took Breslau under his especial protection against George. The latter, on the other hand, was driven by the harsh procedure of the Pope to estrange himself more than ever from the Catholics. Pius II. died in

Claimants for the Throne of Bohemia

August 1464, but his successor, Paul II., continued still more firmly the policy of his predecessor in the Bohemian question. He released the subjects from their oath of allegiance, deposed the king, and preached the crusade against the Bohemian heretics. In the civil war George himself was victorious over the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus. He did not, up to his death in 1471, renounce the Bohemian throne. He had chosen his successor—the youthful son of the Polish king Ladislaus, but he had to fight for his throne against the claims of King Matthias of Hungary. The war lasted seven years. Poland kept true to Bohemia, but Hungary found supporters in Silesia, and especially in the town of Breslau. In the Peace of 1478 Ladislaus was obliged to cede Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz to Matthias.

Matthias Corvinus of Hungary had also to fight with the Emperor Frederic. At the very outset of his rule, in 1458, one party had chosen the emperor as rival king. Frederic was finally compelled to renounce the crown, and to content himself with the prospect of acquiring it in the event of Matthias dying without issue. But while Matthias was fighting with Ladislaus for the Bohemian crown, Frederic provoked him by investing Ladislaus with the electoral vote and Bohemia, and an invasion of Austria by the Hungarian king was the result.

In order to free himself, Frederic was obliged to invest the latter with Bohemia and pay a large indemnity. But Matthias came again with an army, and this time remained for many years, since Frederic wished to place the Archbishop of Graz, who had been exiled by him, on the archiepiscopal throne of Salzburg.

Vienna itself fell into the hands of the Hungarian in 1485, and Frederic was compelled to ask the help of the empire. It was only in the diet of Nuremberg in 1487 that the princes agreed to send help, and in fact a small army was collected under the command of Duke Albert of Saxony. A treaty was concluded by which Matthias retained all conquests until full compensation was given, which Frederic was absolutely unable to do. Fortunately, Matthias died in 1490, and thus released the emperor from his unpleasant position.

On the western frontier of Germany a new danger was threatening from Charles the Bold of Burgundy. It was a natural consequence of the feebleness of the German king that Charles the Bold caused the greatest uneasiness in the parts of the German Empire adjacent to his land; he had, indeed, little to fear from the empire. The district of electoral Cologne seemed mostly endangered, and the emperor was disposed to begin an imperial war there against Charles. Archbishop Rupert, little beloved by his subjects, had been deprived of his office by the Pope, but naturally did not wish to resign the archbishopric, or, above all, to recognise the authority of the chosen administrator, Hermann von Hesse. Since the whole country, and especially the towns, supported Hermann, he had no other recourse than to appeal to the Burgundian for help. Charles gladly complied, and began, in the summer of 1474, the siege of the strong archiepiscopal town of Neuss. He met, however, with unexpected resistance, and had to invest the town for ten months. A strong imperial army appeared in the spring of 1475 under the command of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg; Charles abandoned the siege and retired to Burgundy. He declined any further support of Rupert, and the administrator Hermann became Archbishop of Cologne.

While the possessions of the house of Hapsburg in Bohemia and Hungary, and even in Austria, were shrinking, and the incapable King Frederic hardly made



ALBERT ACHILLES

The third son of Frederic I., Elector of Brandenburg, Albert Achilles succeeded to three principalities, and engaged in successful wars with Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

Failure of the Siege of Neuss



IN THE DAYS OF THE INDEPENDENT TOWNS: HANS THOMAS OF APSBERG AT WAR WITH THE SWABIAN LEAGUE
From the painting by Werner Schuch

any attempt to maintain for himself and his house their proper power in the German east, his son Maximilian, with youthful energy, was taking a prominent part in the relations with Burgundy on the western frontier. In his whole character a complete contrast to his father, eloquent and liberal, endowed with the most varied

Maximilian the Idol of his People

interests, he became the idol of the people, and lived long in the memory of the masses as the "Last of the Knights." Indeed, his personality cannot be better characterised than as the embodiment of chivalry. His marriage with Mary of Burgundy had been repeatedly the subject of diplomatic relations between Frederic and Charles the Bold. But when the latter died, and Mary was actually left heiress of her father's dominions, the marriage of the heiress, aged twenty years, with Maximilian, who was a year younger, was soon celebrated at Ghent in August, 1477.

Louis had already begun the war against Burgundy, and internal disorders were rife, especially in the towns of Bruges and Brussels. The first task, therefore, of the new ruler was to subdue his land by force of arms. Fortune favoured him; he defeated the French on August 17th, 1479, at Guinegatte, and was then able to regard himself as lord of the country.

Two children, Philip and Margaret, were born of the marriage with Mary, and when the duchess died in 1482, Philip, then four years old, was the heir of her dominions. Maximilian was recognised indeed in the north as guardian of the boy, but the town of Ghent got Philip into its power, and Flanders, Holland, and Brabant formed an alliance with France. An understanding with France was finally brought about, without further fighting, by the Peace of Arras at the end of 1482, according to which a part of the Burgundian kingdom was restored to France, and the marriage of

Flanders in Sympathy With France

Margaret, a child of two years, with the Dauphin Charles was arranged. But Flanders still professed a sympathy with France, with which Maximilian had difficulty in contending. First and foremost, the province demanded an independent administration under a council of regency—that is, a government by states. Not until the conquest of Sluys in 1485 did Bruges and Ghent acknowledge the guardianship of Maximilian.

But in February, 1488, Maximilian himself was taken prisoner at Bruges, and kept prisoner nearly four months. Since public opinion in the other provinces sided with Maximilian, and the emperor also was approaching with an imperial army from Cologne to the relief of his son, he was at last liberated, when he had promised the appointment of the required council of regency and the withdrawal of the foreign soldiers. These promises were, however, disregarded after his liberation, and the imperial army, now under the leadership of Duke Albert of Saxony, advanced to besiege Ghent, which it took in the autumn of 1489. From this time Maximilian was really master in the lands he had inherited. He had won for his house by the acquisition of Burgundy the territory which ensured the Hapsburg ascendancy in the sixteenth century.

The inactivity of Frederic, which had been deeply felt by the princes, and had since 1462 suggested the thought of his deposition, led men once more to entertain such ideas, as Maximilian by his acquisition of Burgundy attracted the attention of all. Against the will of his father, chiefly at the instigation of Bishop Berthold of Mainz, he was chosen king of the Romans in February, 1486, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in May. Since 1489, when the possession of Burgundy was assured, Maximilian had become the pillar of the house of Hapsburg. Sigismund of Tyrol renounced his lordship in his favour in 1490; and after the death of Matthias, king of Hungary, Maximilian reconquered Austria and enforced the old claims of the Hapsburgs to the crown of Hungary. He acknowledged in 1491 Ladislaus, who was disputing the crown with his brother John Albert, as king of Bohemia, but obtained on his side recognition of his own claims to succeed to Bohemia and Hungary in the event of the new king dying childless.

The Emperor Frederic had also promoted a new alliance in the summer of 1486, with the object of securing the Hapsburg power against the Wittelsbachs in South Germany. In February, 1488, the so-called "Swabian League" was founded at Esslingen, which united princes, towns, and nobles, and was able to place a strong armed force in the field. Since the chief aim of the league was to conquer the too powerful Wittelsbachs, it amounted to a very decided protection of the Hapsburg

interests, which it actually afforded in the sixteenth century.

When the Emperor Frederic died, on August 19th, 1493, his house held a position totally different from that occupied at the outset of his reign. This was in no way due to his action. Maximilian, on the contrary, had helped to realise this object in latter years, especially since he proved himself a general. Owing to his family possessions, it was possible for him, although chosen in order to support the empire, to influence the destinies of the nation more decisively than any king for many years.

The political events of Germany in the fifteenth century were not only determined by the ordinary forces which had worked together for centuries, but an external power gained decisive influence over the destiny of the European West, which it filled with a nameless dread. This was the Turkish Empire, which arose on the Lower Danube in the place of the self-contented Byzantium, and thence penetrated into the sphere of German interests. The circumstance that here a

**Success
of Turkish
Invasions**

non-Christian foe was in the field turned this rivalry into a religious question. The whole idea of Crusades, therefore, revived, although the measures taken in carrying out the idea were far from corresponding to those of the twelfth century.

As far back as 1396, Western Europe had advanced in arms to check the torrent of the Turkish invasion. On this occasion, the Turk was completely victorious. But the devastating onslaught of Tamerlane and his Mongols from the East was more effective in staying for the time the progress of the Ottomans in the West.

But in the time of Sultan Murad II. (1421-1451), on the breaking up of the Byzantine empire into separate states, the ultimate victory of the Turkish power must have seemed certain to the intelligent observer. Only the West could bring help in this case. Albert II. made the attempt in 1439, but lost his life in the campaign. So long, indeed, as the schism in the Church lasted, there could be no idea of a serious warlike expedition of Roman Catholic Christianity against the unbelievers in support of Greek Byzantium. At this juncture, therefore, in 1439, the union of the two Churches at Ferrara was announced, but only on paper, for the

gulf between the two confessions could not be bridged over. Pope Eugene IV. now took up the matter, and ordered a Crusade to be preached in the West. The Prince of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, had conquered Turkish armies superior in numbers at Belgrade in 1441 and in 1442 at Maros-Szent-Imre and at the Iron Gates ;

**The Sultan's
Ten
Years' Truce**

the Turk was not, therefore, invincible. The next year the same prince led a large army, in which all the nations on the Danube immediately concerned were represented, as far as the Balkans. In every part of the West, men were professing their readiness to share in the coming campaign, when in the summer of 1444 the Sultan Murad concluded a truce for ten years with King Ladislaus of Poland and Hungary, in which the advantage distinctly was on the side of Hungary.

War was hopeless without the participation of Hungary. Nevertheless, at the instigation of Cardinal Julian, hostilities were again begun ; even Ladislaus was persuaded to take part in them. This time a fleet was to co-operate with the land army. However, the Hungarian army alone met Murad—Genoese ships had been bribed to transport the enemy across the Bosphorus—and a battle was fought at Warna on November 10th, 1444. Ladislaus was slain, and the whole Hungarian army turned to flight. Hunyadi was also defeated by Murad in a bloody battle on the Amselfeld, near Cossowa in Servia on October 17-19th, 1448.

When Murad died, in 1451, his son Mohammed II. Bujuk (1451-1481) succeeded. He was firmly resolved to sweep away entirely the decayed Byzantine Empire and to make Constantinople his capital. The Emperor Constantine would not consent to surrender, and so the siege of his capital was begun in autumn, 1452. There was no prospect of help from the

**Siege and
Fall of
Constantinople**

West, although the emperor formed an alliance with Pope Nicholas V. ; for among the Greeks particularly the people were most bitterly opposed to a union with the Roman Church. The sultan, with an enormous host, invested the city, which could muster only an insufficient garrison. No substantial help was sent to the emperor, except by the republic of Genoa, whose ships were really far superior to the Turkish fleet. Constantinople finally



KNIGHTS AND PIKEMEN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY ON THE MARCH

From the original drawing by G. Grobet

fell before the assault of the Turks on May 29th, 1453. The Emperor Constantine was slain in battle, and the Christians were mostly massacred; the survivors were sold into slavery, and the town was pillaged. Mohammed did not permit the buildings to be injured, for he wished to reside in the city at once. He provided a population for it by forced immigration from Asia Minor, and the transformation of "St. Sofia" into a mosque announced to the world that Islam had made its entry into the city on the Bosphorus.

The terrible news of the fall of Constantinople spread with rapidity through Europe. In vain the Popes Nicholas, Calixtus, and Pius II. tried by assiduous preaching of indulgences to rouse Christendom to a Crusade against the dread foes of Christianity. Although no secular ruler except Hunyadi prepared himself for resistance, an enthusiastic crowd, composed of every section of the population, streamed to the standard of the Cross, and, led by John Capistrano, a zealous preacher of war, defended Belgrade, to the siege of which Mohammed had advanced in 1456. They actually suc-

ceeded in driving back the sultan's army and in winning rich booty, especially the siege artillery. Unfortunately, John Hunyadi, the only man hitherto who had offered serious resistance to the enemy, died a few days later—on August 11th, 1456—of the plague. But Mohammed's lust for conquest was temporarily diverted by various insurrections of conquered tribes. With Venice alone, on account of the possessions of the Republic in Greece, he waged war for more than fifteen years, only to appear soon after the peace of 1479 in Italy, where he occupied Otranto. On his death, in May, 1481, the Ottomans were obliged to abandon this base of operations.

Smaller inroads into the Austrian domains and Hungary had also been made at this time, but the empire had taken no steps against them. In fact the princes saw in the incursions of the Turks only a danger for the hereditary lands of the Emperor Frederic. He himself understood only too clearly that this was imminent. He had summoned an imperial diet to Regensburg on the news of the fall of Constantinople in order to organise a crusade against the Turks. The decree

THE FORTUNES OF THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA

was there deferred to a later date. The princes at Frankfort did, indeed, promise to send 10,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry, but nothing was done. Pius II. took all imaginable trouble, and summoned a meeting of the princes to Mantua in 1459 in order to discuss the question of a Crusade. The princes did not appear in person, but only their representatives. He then sent Cardinal Bessarion to Germany in order to work upon the princes, but fruitlessly.

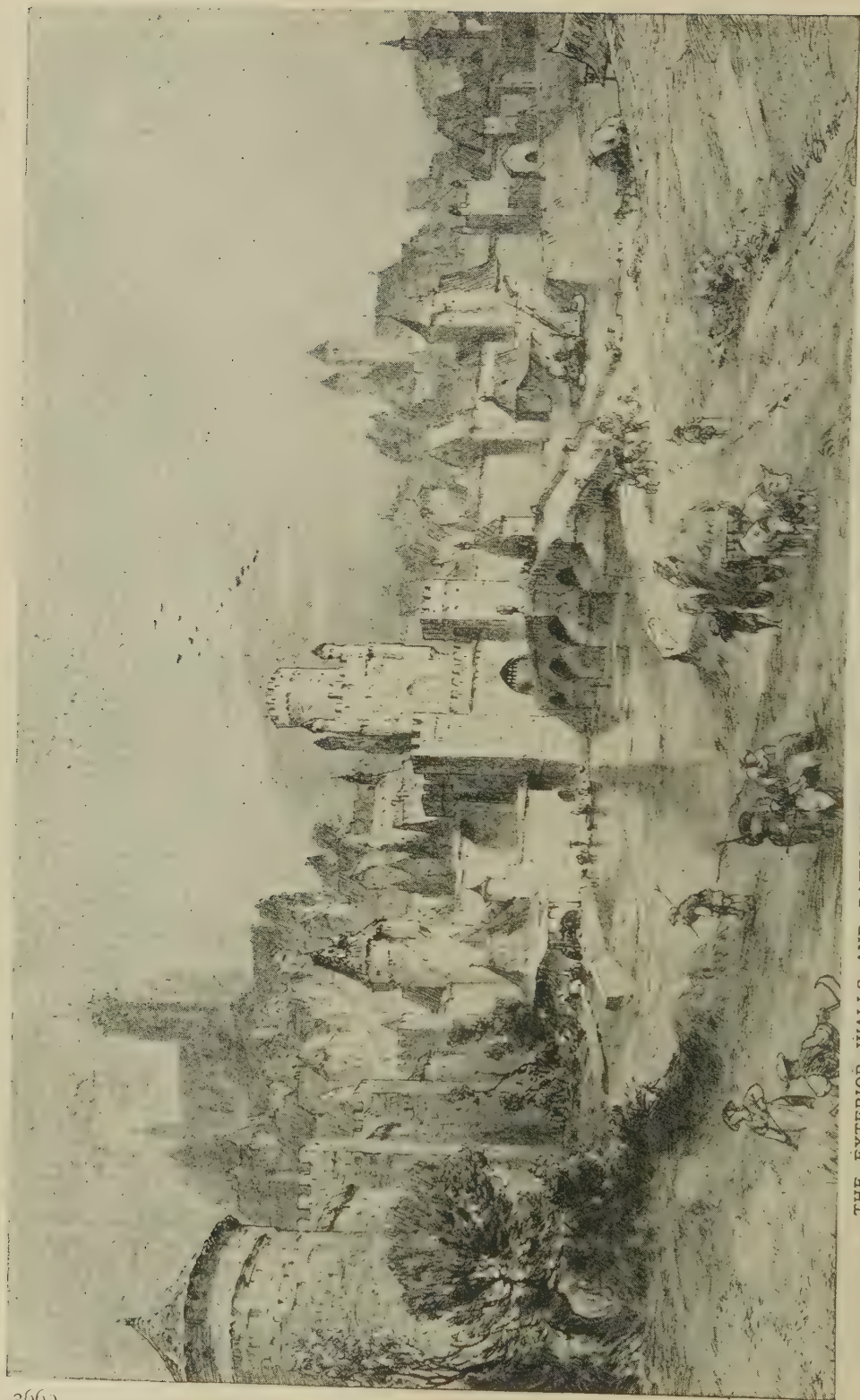
In the diets of 1466 and 1467 there was again much talk about a war with the Turks, but no results followed. No progress was made until the diet of Regensburg, in 1471, which was attended by the emperor himself, and was otherwise well represented. The emperor asked for 10,000 men at once to guard the frontiers of his hereditary lands, and the princes were willing to grant them; only the towns opposed it. After a discussion on the method of starting a great expedition in the next year the matter was allowed to drop. In spite of all speeches and resolutions, no sort of action was taken against

the enemy of Christendom. The result was similar in 1474, when the diet of Augsburg was expressly summoned for this purpose. Bajazet II., son of Mohammed II., who died in 1481, was, as it happened, less warlike than his father, and allowed the much-exhausted border-lands some respite. His successor, Selim (1512-1520), had also more to do in the east, and could think less about inroads into Germany. The danger nevertheless existed for the German empire, and became greater than ever under Suleiman, who appeared before Vienna in 1529.

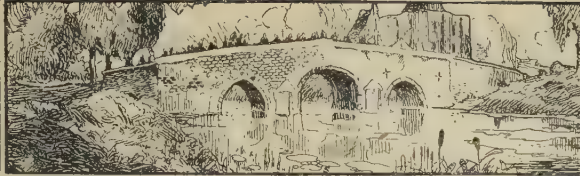
In the sixteenth century a war might really have been better undertaken, since a "Turk tax" was available, which, although it was not paid with punctuality or completeness, still placed certain means at the disposal of the empire. In any case, the concession of that property tax of ten per cent. was a fundamental acknowledgment on the part of the states that the war against the infidels was the duty of the German Empire and people, and not merely the concern of the neighbouring princes and their territories.



THE FASHIONABLE SPORT OF FALCONRY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
From the original drawing by W. E. Wiggall



THE EXTERIOR WALLS AND BATTLEMENTS OF A GERMAN TOWN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



GERMAN TOWNS AND TERRITORIES

THE ORIGINS OF THE PRINCIPALITIES AND THEIR RELATIONS TO THE IMPERIAL POWER

THE imperial power in the early Middle Ages, although amply provided with economic means and represented by great personalities, had very few duties to perform in comparison with the tasks of the modern state. The administration of justice and the maintenance of peace at home, the full exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the protection of the borders of the empire from external foes, comprised almost all its official duties.

In principle, even in the fourteenth century, these were still the spheres where the royal power was felt, but in every respect the prerogatives as well as the powers of the empire had diminished. At the period when natural products were the medium of exchange, the German king of the time was the greatest landowner, the richest man in the empire. Even if the imperial estates and the profitable rights had not diminished, the empire, after the introduction of coined money as the medium of exchange in the twelfth century—a system from which any advantages gained by the royal power must have been due chiefly to privileges of coinage and taxation—would not have been able to maintain its more prominent position as regards the other powers.

But now during the interregnum the property and privileges of the empire had been lost to the crown through reckless gifts and wholesale pawning, so that the imperial power possessed only slender means. It could not be supposed that the new economic development would be sensibly influenced by the empire. All that actually was done in that respect was the work of the two younger constitutional organisations, the territories and the towns. Both of these represented the standard economic units of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, and on their side followed out that which in

modern times is called an economic policy. A hereditary monarchy existed in France and England. There were a family succession and well-defined crown lands; of which the extent, in France particularly, was steadily increasing. The number of in-

How German Princes were Enriched

dependent princes and counts as vassals of the crown, appreciably diminished in both countries. If a fief after its conversion to the crown was granted afresh, it was usually conferred on a member of the royal house, and so strengthened still more the royal influence. The conditions were quite different in Germany, the electoral empire. The princely electors were anxious to hinder the formation of a firm imperial constitution which would bar the expansion of their own territorial power. It could be only to the advantage of the electors if they chose an unenergetic emperor, and as a reward for their vote repaid themselves out of the imperial possessions. The emperor on his part endeavoured to build up the territorial power of his own house. The imperial crown was a great factor in this territorial aggrandisement. The Luxemburgs as well as the Hapsburgs realised this, and both strove earnestly for imperial sway. In this struggle the Hapsburgs succeeded by right of survivorship.

The Roman imperial crown had lost its splendour after the interregnum. All German kings had, it is true, thought it an honour to cross the Alps and have themselves crowned in Rome. But the last expeditions to Rome were little calculated to produce flattering impressions, even if they did not all turn out so lamentably as that of Rupert, in 1401-1402. The empty glory of the imperial crown had gradually died away. Charles V. was the last German king who wished to be crowned Roman Emperor. The kings after

Germany's First Coined Money

The Empty Glory of the Roman Crown

him assumed the imperial title immediately on their election, and concealed by the brilliancy of the name the paltry value of German majesty.

As on the one side the royal prerogatives, coinage, customs, safe-conducts, protection of Jews, mining and salt monopolies, courts, etc., were transferred to the

Wide Stretch of Germany's Dominions

territorial princes, so externally also the empire lost in extent. Everywhere large strips were detached on the frontiers and became independent, or actually fell to the neighbouring states.

The imperial dominions stretched nominally westward as far as Flanders and Burgundy and the Rhone land, southward to Upper Italy, and eastward as far as the borders of Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland. The eastern countries themselves continually formed closer relations with the empire. They were indeed governed partly, in theory at least, by the German ruler, but they did not become real members of the empire. In the west the imperial dominions were actually diminished. Charles IV. had, in 1365, received the crown of Burgundy at Arles; but as compensation to the French dauphin, for having renounced his claim on Mary, heiress to the throne of Hungary, and to avoid the double papal election, he conferred on that prince the vicariate of the empire in Burgundy.

The reversion of Burgundy to France was thus settled. The course of affairs in the north-west was similar. When, after the founding of the new Burgundian power in 1363, Flanders was allied to Burgundy by the marriage of the heir with the heiress, Margaret, in 1384, it withdrew quietly from its dependence on the empire, and the Flemish towns ceased to be members of the Hanseatic League.

Switzerland also became independent, for the Hapsburgs, who struggled to build up their sovereignty there, were compelled

Switzerland Asserts its Independence

to yield to the confederation of city burghers and free peasants. An imperial army made an ineffectual appearance before Zürich in 1354. The peace of the next year clearly implied the expulsion of the Hapsburgs from their old possessions. When, then, the towns of Swabia, in 1358, formed an alliance with Berne, Zürich, Zug, Solothurn, Mülhausen, and even with the Hapsburg town of Sempach, the struggle of the Hapsburgs to protect their

last rights was inevitable. Leopold of Austria advanced with an army of knights, but was completely defeated in 1386 at Sempach by the "peasants." The permanence and the strength of the confederation were thus secured. The battle of Naefels, in 1388, had equally unfavourable results for Leopold's sons.

In the peace of 1389 the house of Hapsburg had to renounce its rights of territorial sovereignty, especially its jurisdiction over Lucerne, Zug, and Glarus. The confederates, however, renewed their league; Solothurn joined it, and the "Sempach Letter," in 1393, became the starting-point for the later development of Switzerland. The threatening territorial sovereignty was shaken off, but the empire lacked the power to enforce its rights.

The free united Swiss communities from the end of the fourteenth century were quite independent. They did not share politically any more in the common destinies of Germany, but in the sphere of intellectual life the connection became more marked. Basle especially became a seminary of German humanism and a centre of the artistically complete German

Where Maximilian Failed

printing trade. The renewed attempts of the Emperor Maximilian to maintain the alliance of the mountain country with the empire miscarried. After an unsuccessful struggle he was compelled to consent, in 1499, to the liberation of Switzerland from imperial taxation and jurisdiction. Thus the nominal connection with the empire was dissolved. For the future the confederates were designated with the distinguishing name "Kinsmen of the Empire," until the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, fully recognised the confederation as an independent constitutional organisation outside the empire.

Within Germany itself the imperial power had a very varied influence. In the South German districts, where large imperial towns lay close together, where there was a large number of knights of the empire, its importance was distinctly more felt than in the plain of North Germany. The imperial power had never found there, even in previous centuries, support so firm as in the south. With the increasing importance of the trade on the German coast, a separate confederation of the towns, the Hanseatic League, governed the political life. This started with an association of German merchants

for the protection of their common interests in foreign countries; but after the beginning of the fourteenth century this association acquired even at home the admitted headship in politics.

A similar position to that of the Hanseatic League in the north was held by the Teutonic Order in the north-east. It had inserted itself between the Poles, Lithuanians, and Russians, and had cut them off from communication with the sea. The land of the order on the Baltic became an important outpost of Germany. Up to the battle of Tannenberg, in 1410, so momentous for the constitution of the order, ninety-three German towns and 1,400 villages were founded there. Dantzic, the most important place in the country, belonged to the Hanseatic League, and was a rival of Lübeck. But the constitution of the order existed only for Germany, not for the German Empire; it formed a separate body, and in the end helped to support the power of the Brandenburg Hohenzollerns.

In the heart of the empire the districts which as yet saw no sovereign over them were anything but supports of the imperial power. The imperial towns paid their taxes, and in other respects occasionally entered into nearer relations with the emperor, as when a diet was held within their walls. Some, however, were freed from the regular yearly taxation, and were therefore styled "free" towns. And where tracts of land, now fairly numerous, remained without a lord, this signified absolute independence. It was far less possible in their case to bring them under the imperial taxation than in the case of the princes, who on their side, sometimes at least, had a keen interest in the aggrandisement of the empire. The strength of the imperial power thus varied much in different parts of the empire, and found a corresponding expression in the services rendered to the empire by the separate districts.

Rudolph I. and Albert I. devoted much pains towards putting the decaying revenues of the empire once more on a better basis, but they were not farsighted enough to make the commercial aspirations, which were the foundation of the new economic conditions, profitable to the imperial coffers. They contented themselves with a reorganisation of the governorships in the imperial provinces and of the imperial exchequer, which,

together with the fixed taxes imposed on the imperial towns according to the agreement, represented the actual revenues of the empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The work done by the imperial power in its own peculiar sphere, the maintenance of peace in the country, corresponded in fact to its resources. Quite apart from the fact that no imperial executive existed capable of punishing offenders against the order for general peace, there are no more instances of an "Imperial Peace," that is, a penal enactment, published for only a definite period against disturbers of public order, and enforceable throughout the whole empire. The imperial peace edicts from the time of Rudolph to Henry VII. were practically renewals of the "Public Peace" of Mainz in 1235.

After Lewis of Bavaria, even these renewals fell into disuse, and only on the important law of Albert II., in 1438, revived the old thought of peace for the whole empire. Ordinarily provincial peace edicts were issued, and show to what extent on the most essential point the conception of empire had given way to that of territory. King Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, in 1383 once more attempted an "Imperial Peace," but could not carry it out, for he failed to break up the existing confederations of the towns.

Now, when the empire could not enforce its power, another path was taken in order to secure the necessary peace, especially in the interests of the towns. The towns concluded "unions"—that is, leagues, for a definite period—and pledged themselves to make common cause against anyone who should disturb the peace of one of the members. Princes were occasionally parties to such leagues, among which that concluded between the Rhenish and Swabian towns in 1381 stands foremost. As early as 1331 the Public Peace of Ulm included, in addition to twenty-two im-

perial towns in Swabia, the lords of Upper Bavaria and Brandenburg, as well as the Bishop of Augsburg. The Golden Bull had expressly permitted the unions for the maintenance of the public peace, while it forbade all coalitions for other purposes, and had thus proclaimed that the empire for its part was no longer able to secure the tranquillity of the land. A number of peace edicts were issued in the fourteenth and fifteenth

**Decaying
Revenues of
the Empire**

**Imperial
Peace
Edicts**

**Purpose
of the Town
Leagues**

centuries, and a series of unions formed for the preservation of peace until the "Perpetual Public Peace" of the imperial diet at Worms in 1495 forbade as a fundamental principle every feud and all recourse to self-defence. This was, of course, possible only at a time when the territorial lords had mostly acquired sufficient strength to punish rebellious nobles unaided, and an energetic interference of the imperial power was no longer necessary. The emperor was supreme judge. The counts and all other authorities judged only in his name, and in every place where the king appeared the court was open to him. This, in principle, was the case even in the later Middle Ages; but the "counties" had long become hereditary, and their holders had acquired various other powers, so that they were mostly present as territorial lords. Aulic privileges had long since infringed the old constitution of the tribunals, and the king had only little left of his sovereign jurisdiction.

Although he had from the first the right of "evocation," in virtue of which he could at pleasure give judgment in any matter not yet legally decided, yet he was obliged comparatively soon to renounce this claim as regards individual princes. The Golden Bull of 1356 made the privilege "de non evocando" the legal right of all electors; and in 1487 the royal prerogative of "evocation" was universally abolished.

The old constitution of the courts had presupposed a free people; but freemen in large numbers were found only in Westphalia, and there the royal courts, called "Vehmgerichte" ("Vehmic tribunals"), for the trial of crimes existed practically unchanged. They were courts of freemen to try freemen under the presidency of the count. But since in the greatest part of the empire nothing was known of freemen and the count's court, the condition of

The Wise Action of Charles IV. things in Westphalia seemed to contemporaries a remarkable anomaly. Charles IV. wisely, in the public interests, made full use of this remnant of Germanic jurisprudence in the Public Peace for Westphalia of 1371, since he entrusted his administration to these Vehmic tribunals, and by so doing contributed greatly to the respect, or rather superstitious fear, with which they were everywhere regarded. Their constitution was such that in the

circuit a judge nominated by the king with seven free jurors from the "free seat" held a court always in the open air and by broad daylight. According as others than the jurors might or might not be present, the matter was called "public" or "secret." The extreme penalty was death by hanging, carried out immediately if the accused was present; or, if he did not appear, wherever he was met by three free jurors.

The result of this jurisdiction was in the fourteenth century thoroughly beneficial, since grave defects in the criminal law were thus remedied. In the next century the Vehmic tribunals certainly degenerated; the diet at Nuremberg in 1431, and the reforms of Frederic III. in 1442, were forced to take measures against the encroachments of the "secret tribunals." Gradually, therefore, they forfeited their importance.

The need of a complete body of law for the empire as a whole was then keenly felt. The imperial towns and the country districts still belonging to the empire seemed to be almost independent constitutional bodies. The person of the emperor was usually unknown to the people, and no proper representation of the imperial right existed. There

Germany's "Daily War" in Bohemia was, in fact, in the imperial chancery no register of the constituent members of the empire. Not a single list of the towns and princes was forthcoming, when in 1422 preparations had to be made in hot haste by the empire for the "daily war" in Bohemia. The town of Düren, which from 1242 had been pledged to the count and subsequent duke of Juliers, and had long regarded itself, in fact, as a provincial town, was after 1578 repeatedly summoned to the imperial diets, and called upon to pay the Turks' tax. The chancery was actually unprovided with any proofs by which it might reconcile asserted privileges and actual facts.

The want of an imperial executive machinery was not less bitterly felt. Anyone who obtained a legal title by the imperial law had usually to fight for it first. Even if the ban of the empire had been published, there were no means of executing it. When, for example, Charles IV. pledged the imperial town of Weil to Count Eberhard of Württemberg, it joined the Swabian League, existing since 1376, and the emperor suspended the ban over the fourteen towns. Eberhard wished to fight for

his claim to the town of Weil; but his son was completely defeated by the towns at Reutlingen in 1377, and the emperor found himself compelled to retract the ban and to cancel the pledge. The towns had in this case conquered the imperial authority and the princely sovereignty.

Where the empire wished to exact penalties it was dependent on the goodwill and the contingent means of the states of the empire charged with the executive. In the sixteenth century, when the division into circles already existed and considerably facilitated matters, an imperial executive system was arranged in 1555; but it came too late, for all political power had already passed into the hands of the princes.

The German empire, at any rate after the Golden Bull, formed a federal union. Hitherto, it is true, the imperial vassals had advised their sovereign in weighty matters, but the decision lay with him. Now in all decisive questions the assent of the electors was a necessary condition,

Willenbriefe, or "Letters of Consent," usually with some personal aim, and in fact they often claimed the right to depose the king, which was actually exercised in the case of Wenzel in 1400. The Electoral College soon grew to be representative of the empire, and those "Letters of Consent" took the place of the assent of the imperial assembly. The

Growing Power of the Princes number of princes of the empire, who in 1350 included in their ranks more than seventy spiritual and forty temporal lords, steadily grew; for, on the elevation of an imperial fief to a military fief, the position of a prince of the empire was easily acquired. In the fourteenth century, among others, Pomerania, Juliers, Guelders, Luxemburg, and Berg, and in the fifteenth century, Cleves, Holstein and Württemberg had become military fiefs.

The division of inheritances, customary since the thirteenth century in the princely houses, by which the owner of any



GOLD FLORINS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE IN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES
At one time there were no fewer than six hundred different mints in the German Empire, and the exchange of money was, in consequence, very difficult. By the middle of the fourteenth century the German golden florin had acquired great importance for wholesale trading. The first two coins in the above illustration are gold florins of the period of Lewis IV., from 1313 till 1347; the gold florin of John I. of Bohemia, from 1309 till 1346, occupies the centre; while the two remaining coins are gold florins of Frederic III., Archbishop of Cologne, from 1370 till 1414.

and the imperial assembly was raised to a judicial institution, although the intended annual assemblies of the electors were not carried out. The princes became "estates of the empire," just as under them "estates of the country" were developed. These took a share in the imperial government, and came more and more prominently forward. The position of the emperor had now been entirely changed. The formalities of his election were carefully settled; and the selection of seven princes of the empire, in whose

The Changed Position of the Emperor hands the election now lay, was an additional cause of weakness to the monarchy, since each elector strove to obtain a compensation for his vote in the shape of imperial lands and privileges. If the electors could choose an emperor, it was a natural consequence that they reserved to themselves a right to interfere during his reign, and sometimes gave expression to their approval in so-called

portion might retain the position of prince of the empire, increased the number of lay princes and shifted the balance of power in the empire in their favour. The authority of the individual prince within his own district varied according to its origin. Since the emperor gradually abandoned in favour of the princes all supreme rights still remaining to him—the Golden Bull conferred on the electors the right of coining gold, the emperor renounced his right of "evocation" and the exercise in the ban fell into disuse—the power of the local prince became a complete sovereignty. In the fourteenth century, above this ordinary sovereignty came the still higher territorial dominion of the electors.

The modern independent states of Germany grew up out of the territories of the Middle Ages, and in the end Austria and Prussia had to fight for the supremacy. The sovereignty, the distinctive mark of which was the superior jurisdiction,

was acquired by counts and lords, as well as by the princes. All these territories, at first only private possessions conferring civil rights, had, in contrast to the empire, the advantage that the distinctly smaller extent and essential similarity of conditions within the district allowed the lord to exercise a uniformity of administration

**How the
Princes
Ruled**

which had always been wanting in the empire. The territorial civil offices, which at first were granted to the officials concerned with the seignorial rights of the princes, became the foundation-stone of the system of sovereignty which, notwithstanding the very various personalities of the rulers, has, in consequence of an administrative-tradition, continuously developed in the direction it once for all took at this time.

The titles, on the basis of which a prince ruled over the separate parts and parcels of his territory, were extraordinarily diverse. By the side of an old allodial holding might be found an imperial fief, in virtue of which the rights of a duke, a margrave, or a count had been conferred on the owner, or a district in which the prince as warden of a small church possessed penal jurisdiction. In another place he was only lord of the manor, in yet a third again he was only trustee of the revenues of the law court. The age, still little adapted to abstract thought, could not always dissociate these different offices, which only by chance were united in a powerful personage, from the idea of that personage. It did not appear surprising if the princes allowed their heterogeneous rights to sink into the background, but in return put their territorial power in the foreground throughout the whole sphere of their authority, and on that basis exercised a new kind of sovereignty previously unknown in Germany.

From the way in which territorial power originated it naturally follows that considerable tracts of land were

**Refractory
Power of
the Knights**

only exceptionally held by one lord, and that ordinarily the "territorium" was made up of very various ownerships. This arrangement was very cumbersome both for the administration and for the execution of any measures, as well as for cases when the refractory power of the knights had to be quelled. The case could easily arise where the territorial lord, through the hostility of his neighbour, might be

hindered by force from entering great portions of his domains. The more prominent princes had early tried to remedy this evil by obtaining a territorial symmetry. The prince looked for a favourable opportunity to acquire as a gift from the emperor any crown lands lying in the vicinity, or to take them over from an impecunious monarch in return for a large sum as a mortgage security, which neither party ever intended should be redeemed. An enclosed strip was obtained in exchange for the surrender of a remote estate, or an entire district united to existing possessions through a diplomatic marriage.

Sometimes the land of small independent lords was annexed to the territory, and these latter saw themselves reduced to the status of provincial knights. Where large imperial towns lay within a territory, their acquisition was not less desirable from the point of view of territorial compactness than it was from regard to their taxable value. This is the meaning of the attack of the Archbishop of Cologne upon Dortmund in 1368 and Soest in 1447, and of the Margrave Albert Achilles of Brandenburg upon Nuremberg in 1449. In the fifteenth century the imperial cities of Donauwörth and Mainz

**Success
of Archbishop
Baldwin**

actually became tributary to Duke Lewis of Bavaria-Landshut (1458) and Archbishop Adolphus (1462) respectively. Archbishop Baldwin of Treves was the most successful of the princes of the fourteenth century in carrying out this territorial policy in the west.

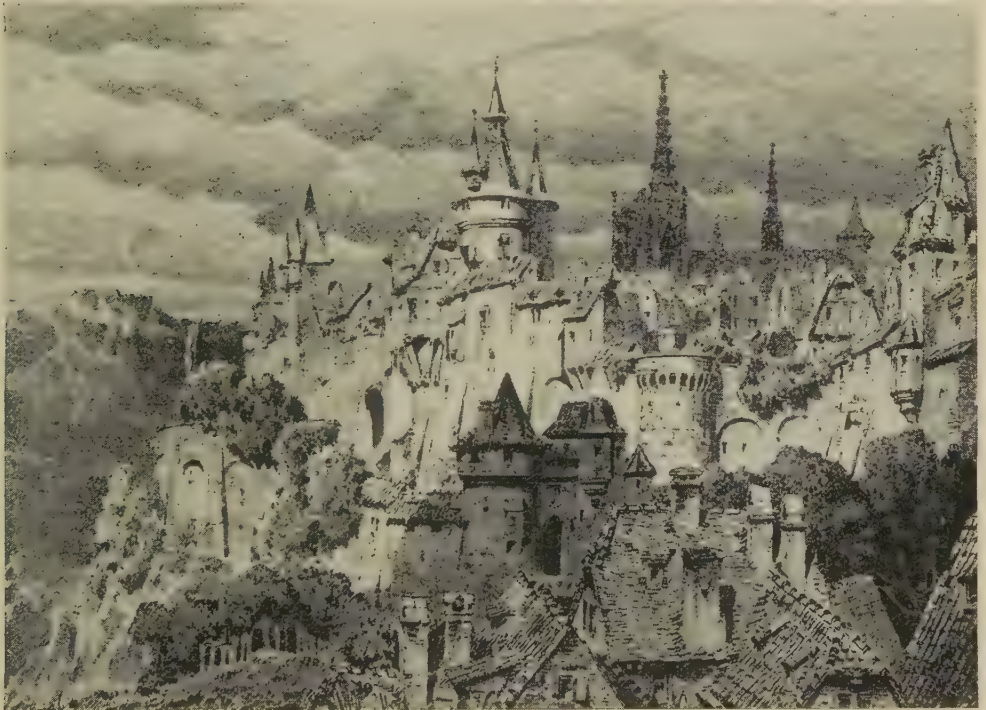
In the east Charles IV. had attained wide and compact dominions, especially as opposed to the Wettiners, partly by unexceptionable feudal methods, partly by cunning and force. His marked business capacities and the comparatively large pecuniary means which stood at his disposal greatly aided him in obtaining these results. In addition to this need of compactness the want was universally felt of a uniform administration, which might be supreme above all existing seignorial and similar institutions.

The want of a fixed system had made itself appreciably felt in the empire after the break up of the old counties, and was an important factor in the decay of the imperial authority. In the much smaller territories, whose rights were partly resting on civil law, the question of organisation was solved in the following way.

GERMAN TOWNS AND TERRITORIES

The division into circles of jurisdiction was retained, but, for practical convenience, excessively large circles were subdivided and unnecessarily small ones were amalgamated. In the fourteenth century such an arrangement of offices prevailed everywhere. At the head of the circle designated as "Amt," "Vogtei," or "Pflege," stood the "Amtmann," "Vogt," "Pfleger," "Landrichter," "Gograf," or "Schultheiss"—according to his title, which varied in different localities—who was usually a member of the lower nobility and represented as an official all the sovereign rights of the territorial lord.

often nothing else than a formerly independent lordship. There was no idea of separating administrative and magisterial functions. The amtmann was therefore in his own person a judicial, administrative, magisterial, fiscal, and military official; in fact, he was often president of a seigneurial district belonging to the territorial lord, and had a staff of inferior officials under him. It is easy to see the important bearing of such an organisation, with its capabilities of special development, on the growth of a territorial state, if we consider that every individual residentiary official was familiar with the



OUTSIDE THE CROWDED WALLS OF A GERMAN MEDIÆVAL CITY

This representative of the territorial lord was a removable official with extensive legal authority and fixed pay, even if the outward form of enfeoffment of office was no longer observed. Since the machinery of the supreme authority, which was identical with that of the princely court, of which the seat was not fixed, often worked irregularly, the amtmann had to act on his own responsibility in his lord's interests. He was thus closely identified with his circle, in the middle of which he usually lived in a castle, and seemed almost an independent lord, just as his district was

person of the amtmann, who was daily before his eyes as the vicegerent of the territorial lord.

The essential character of the "territory" was emphatically rural. As a rule the primitive economical condition of exchange in kind still prevailed, and the town institution of exchange in money seemed strange. The peasant insurrections, which showed themselves long before the fourteenth century, especially in the south-west, were directed chiefly against the exorbitant interest required by town capitalists, and, above all, against the

Jews. The territories *prima facie* comprised rural districts, the taxable value of which the territorial lords continually tried to raise in correspondence to the larger requirements necessitated by increased cost of living and war expenses. The territorial towns, more or less important from trade and industrial enterprise, and often mere agricultural towns, were still independent formations, with their own constitutions and government. They were not completely part and parcel of the territory. Their relations to it were often limited to the financial support of the territorial lord by taxes. But the town as a whole paid the sum demanded from it, and the princely administration was not concerned with the manner in which this taxation was met.

The towns often acquired different profitable privileges from their territorial lords—just as the princes formerly from the empire—either by lease or as a pledge. The most profitable source of revenue, the excise, usually lay in their hands. The financial support lent by the towns was of infinite importance to the princes, and they therefore assented, voluntarily or by force of circumstances, when the towns on their side desired information as to the application of the money and other administrative concerns, and made the execution of every sort of measure dependent on their consent.

The declaration of the country towns that they were willing to guarantee the debt of their lords became after the fourteenth century a regular event, and finally led to their forming one of the states of the country, that is, they were regularly represented at the diet. Thus the interests of the towns came into contact with those of the country nobility.

The partition of the princely houses, by which the princely title and court establishment were retained by each of the

Partition of Princely Houses

sons, was a great drain on the princely treasuries, and necessitated larger demands from the country. The right of the prince to levy taxes was absolutely unrecognised. A one-sided tax exacted by him was called *exactio violenta*, or tyrannical impost; and the old term "Beede" was retained for the taxes obtained by an arrangement with the persons liable. By feudal law the knights were tax-free; they were bound only to render three

kinds of services, namely, to ransom their lord from captivity, to dower his daughter, and to make his son a knight. Since the knightly vassals of the territorial lords in other cases also aided their lord with money, they formed the germs of "Constitutional States," since the religious bodies already existing in the country, though by nature tax-free, furnished the prince on special occasions with money, and at the same time pressed their advice on him, just as much as the towns and the knights.

There were many opportunities for extraordinary pecuniary aids. The new system of warfare, which had been regarded as necessary since the Hussite disturbances, demanded a supply of waggons and artillery, and large sums for the payment of the foot soldiers. It was then that the working of silver mines gave some princes, particularly those of Saxony and Tyrol, an advantage over their neighbours. In general, however, the increased demands were met by indirect taxes, and thus opportunity was given to the "states"—that is, to the knights,

A New Confederation of States

religious bodies and towns—to exercise influence on the government of the land by their assent. A confederation of states was formed in order to counterbalance the power of the princes.

This new constitutional body, with the three divisions of states, finally completed the conception of the territory. The diets now lost their character of a convention based on civil law; they appeared as a constitutional organisation. The states became the representatives of the land, and, as in Cleves and in the county of Mark, took an energetic part in the administration of the country and achieved many financially good results.

The development of the states was an advantage to the territorial lords, in so far as a systematised financial administration was established under the control of the states, and the lord's right of taxation could no longer be denied as a principle. But, besides this, a multitude of semi-constitutional powers, which in the fourteenth century had become dangerous rivals of their later territorial lords, but at the end were reduced to membership of the states, disappeared for the future as independent bodies in the empire, and were able to contribute to the financial strengthening of the territories.

The constitutional nature of the territories was strengthened from another side. The partition of inheritances, which created petty dominions, was not favourable to the formation of important territories. Even if the parts, after one or two generations, had been reunited in one hand, there was always the fear that in the long run large territories, uniformly organised, might again break up.

To avoid this danger, the family law of Pavia in 1329 declared for the first time that no system of alienation should exist for the lands of the house of Wittelsbach—Upper and Lower Bavaria with the Rhenish Palatinate. In cases where partition was made, special stipulations were introduced to avoid, if possible, the disintegrating effects. Frederic II., margrave of Meissen and landgrave of Thuringen, partitioned, it is true, his lands on his death, in 1349, among his four sons, but at the same time ordered a joint government under the guardianship of the eldest brother, and so combined the constitutional advantage of political unity with the concession of equal private rights to each son. The Golden Bull

The Decrees of the Golden Bull of 1356 absolutely forbade the partition of the electoral territories, if not of all the domains ruled by an elector, and the Hapsburgs, in 1364, decreed the indivisibility of Austria, including the privy purse.

A corresponding regulation for the house of Brandenburg followed in the "Dispositio Achillea" of 1473, which established the Frankish system of the rights of the younger son, and prohibited the partition of the mark. Even where no law forbade partition, efforts were made to avoid it, and at the same time to effect the concentration of larger domains in one hand by the so-called treaties of reciprocal succession; that is, compacts between two ruling families by which on the extinction of one branch the other should succeed to the inheritance. Hapsburg Austria alone of the great territories attained this end. All the former possessions of Luxemburg, owing to the treaty of reciprocal succession in 1364, finally fell to the lords of Austria.

The increasing use of money as the medium of exchange, a custom which, originating in the towns, prompted the princes, on the other hand, if they wished to have any political position at all, to increase and assure their revenues. Only thus was it possible finally to outstrip the

towns, whose power in the fourteenth century seemed actually greater than that of the princes. Nearly everywhere there was a marked increase in the income from imperial prerogatives which had been transferred to some prince. The custom-houses, particularly on the Rhine, became considerably more numerous. Archbishop

Germany's Increasing Traffic Siegfried of Cologne, who died in 1297, had already erected a new customs fortress at Worringen, and others soon followed. But

the increasing traffic made the receipts from customs grow rapidly. In 1377, Ehrenfels returned from its customs 20,000 golden florins, that is to say, £10,000 worth of gold. In Coblenz the takings increased from 30,000 pounds of silver in 1267 to 100,000 pounds in 1368.

Although Albert I. in 1301 abolished all new Rhine tolls, this was only a temporary measure. The princes drew their best revenues from the increasing traffic; indeed, from ignorance of economics, they often overburdened it with imposts. The administration machinery, besides, was so clumsy and costly that comparatively little flowed into the central treasury. But by means of reorganising the administration, large revenues could easily be obtained, as is seen from the financial reforms of Hans von Mergenthal in electoral Saxony after the middle of the fifteenth century. The coffers of the princes had been, indeed, mostly drained. The sums for which privileges were pawned seem to us often ridiculously small, and the rate of interest at which the towns lent money was very high. The towns, although almost alone affected by the taxes on traffic, had still the most favourable financial system. What money they, as states, granted to the princes was usually found by them without difficulty.

The case was different with the nobility and the spiritual estates, who, as seigneurs, received an income paid chiefly in kind, and could only within narrow limits bring themselves to sell it in the town markets. They personally regarded themselves still as tax-free, and the taxes which they were bound to pay to their territorial lord were shifted on to the dependent folk, the peasants. The position of the peasants had been very favourable even in the thirteenth century. The rents payable to the lord were fixed, and with increasing profit from the ground this implied a

considerable addition to the produce of labour. The overflow of the population was taken away by the colonisation of the east and by the towns, and the village "march" still amply provided everyone dwelling near with wood for building or burning and pasture for the cattle. But when there was no longer any place

What the Lords might Have Done

where the superfluous population might find a livelihood, a continual partition of the hides of land began, and poor people settled in huts, with, at most, a diminutive piece of ground, and, as a rule, merely trusting to the inexhaustible wealth of the common march.

Pasture had to give way to agriculture; there was no other way for averting the threatening distress. But for this not merely the capital, but, more than all, a comprehension of the demands of the age, was wanting, especially among the lords of the manor, who might have done a national service by an opportune improvement of agricultural methods. But nothing of all this was done. The position of the peasants became more and more deplorable, for the lord now claimed a superior ownership in the common march itself, and regulated its use at his own discretion.

The old class of manorial lords greatly diminished, and the petty lords were eager to exercise sovereign rights in imitation of the great lords. This, owing to the pettiness of their condition, led to a systematic and irritating oppression of the peasants. We see this in an increase of forced tasks, in the discontinuance of the measures which had been taken to change burdensome rents in kind to money payments, and, above all, in the collection of the poll-tax, which threatened to reduce the peasant population to serfdom. This is particularly true of South-west Germany, but not less of Flanders, where as early as 1324 a sanguinary peasant insurrection broke out, and in 1404 the sovereign of the country himself opposed the

Insurrection of the Peasants

tyranny of the manorial lords. The peasant no longer took part in the greater intellectual questions of the age, in the administration of justice, and in political life. He remained stationary and stunted, while the citizen population of the towns made great progress, and with increased earnings usually found leisure for higher intellectual training. The thriving burghers came into quite intimate relations with the

peasants, for the latter, being completely fleeced by their lord, had only too often to fall back on town loans, and 50 per cent. interest was not infrequent.

Whole districts were impoverished, and peasant risings followed. These risings were the precursors of the great movement which broke out in the sixteenth century in connection with the new teaching of the gospel. Although the men of the time had not generally a very profound comprehension of social conditions, still, it had become clear to the public mind what the hopeless condition of the peasant population really implied for the nation at large. The imperial legislature indeed took up this question at the diet of Augsburg in 1500, but nothing was done to grapple with the evil.

We have already become acquainted with the towns in their relations to the empire, the territories, and to each other; but our attention must now be given to their internal economy, political, financial, and administrative.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the use of money as a medium of exchange was spreading, and affected the

How the Masses were Oppressed

towns exclusively, the municipal council, a corporation of rich merchants, greatly extended its power to the prejudice of the town rights of the bishops and princes. In most of the towns of South and West Germany this council had acquired, either by peaceful purchase or by stubborn struggles with the actual lord, as in Cologne and Strasburg especially, the rights of the town lord; that is, supreme jurisdiction, right of coinage, and the right of indirect taxation. Under such conditions the council became omnipotent. It had under its control the amount of taxation payable by the burghers, as well as their liability to military service, and was considered both at home and abroad the fully authorised representative of the town. This corporation was at first filled up by selection from the wealthy families, but it gradually became exclusive, and only the members of some few patrician families were able to reach the council.

The town population was thus split into two classes—the ruling patricians and the unprivileged community. The condition of things produced by the wanton oppression of the masses was bound to lead to revolt. In the existing industrial organisation of the guilds, in which the



THE GUILD HOUSES AT COLOGNE AND REGENSBURG



ULM'S ANCIENT GUILD HOUSE



MARKET HOUSE AT FREIBURG, SHOWING STANDS OF THE DEALERS IN FRONT

THE OLD GERMAN GUILD HOUSES AS MODERN TOWN HALLS

Frith

population united their efforts for economic reform, a power was discovered which the council did not venture to resist, at least in the south and west, the old German soil. In the north and east, the colonisation districts, where the principal towns all belonged to the Hanseatic League, the corresponding movement began considerably later. The guilds, showing

**Artisan
Revolt
Crushed**

a vigorous and progressive economic development, invested by the council with a commercial jurisdiction, and thus raised to a public institution, now included the mass of taxpaying citizens, who, at the same time, in time of war were answerable for the town with their lives. Were those who made the greatest sacrifice for the town to be permanently unrepresented in the government? As early as the thirteenth century the artisans in the most progressive towns, Cologne and Ulm, tried by a rising to force the council to acknowledge their importance. They wished to exercise a control over the financial system of the great houses. But the attempts were attended with little success, for the rebels were suppressed by force, partly with the help of the town lords, and their guild organisation was dissolved.

The artisans in Ulm were the first to reach their goal, in 1292. Speier, Mainz, Regensburg, and Zürich, followed between 1330 and 1336. Soon Berne and Rothenburg were the only important towns in the south where the patricians could still assert their power. Nüremberg by 1348 had yielded to the guild movement. In most places the struggle raged more or less openly for a century, but only in Flanders did it lead to terrible scenes of violence. Terms were finally agreed upon in Cologne in 1396 and in Strassburg in 1419, and thus a new permanent municipal government was established.

The solution of the disputed questions was excessively complicated, and the influence of the guilds in the prevailing town government very varied. In many places the

**When the
Guilds were
in Power**

old families were completely ousted. The guilds had conquered, and now governed in appearance exactly as the council. In other localities the council remained, but its character was altered by the admission of councillors representing the guilds. Again, in other towns the family organisation as well as the guild disappeared as a political body, and the

council was for the future elected out of the general community of burghers. The artisans in the fifteenth century had everywhere acquired some share in the town government. Their industrial organisations, which repeatedly seemed too dangerous, and had accordingly been dissolved, but always re-established, saw themselves now confronted by political duties, and their industrial character grew fainter and fainter. The members of the guild now took part in public life, in the government and administration. It was the council which provided the machinery for both, as it selected certain of its members for the discharge of definite business.

The North German towns, which all belonged to the Hanseatic League, were, according to the whole tenor of their past history, occupied mainly with commerce. Industries were of less importance. We do not therefore hear of such violent guild disturbances there as in the south and the west; in any case, they occurred much later. In Lübeck indeed the guilds gained a preliminary success in 1408,

**Patrician
Rule
Restored**

and about the same time in Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund. But in 1416, Lübeck, the leading town, succeeded in restoring the old council, and, by threats of "Verhansung," that is, exclusion from the Hanseatic Union, in maintaining the patrician rule in most towns. At any rate, the disputes between families, guilds, and the community continued there. But in many towns they were non-existent or arose only later in the sixteenth century.

The desired object was the same in the north as in the south, namely, an alteration of the constitution in favour of the poorer classes. Facilities for the acquisition of the franchise, and a democratic municipal government, by the side of which the council should continue to exist as an executive body, were especially demanded. This object was fully realised in Germany only by Strassburg, where the whole population actually adopted a monetary system of exchange, and a constitution in the modern sense had grown up on this basis.

The municipal community, like other corporations in the German constitutional system, rested on the "personal principle," that is, under certain antecedent conditions members widely separated in locality might belong to the same association.

The idea of acquiring a territory of great extent locally, belonging politically to the town, within which the municipal council—naturally only in imperial towns—exercised the rights of the sovereign, was still far from being realised in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Attempts, however, had long been made to attach individuals from the surrounding districts to the town under the name of "Ausbürger," or outburghers and "Pfahlbürger," or burghers of the pale. The wealthy citizens, although enjoying full rights in the town, began to invest their surplus money in landed property. They acquired manorial rights in the vicinity of the town, had tenants in copyhold, and lived mostly outside the town walls. In this way, naturally, the interests of the country were interwoven with those of the town.

When disputes arose with a neighbouring lord or knight, the town supported its citizen and his dependants; and imperceptibly the town extended its sphere of interest to the entire possessions of these "outburghers." On the other

**The Rise of
Municipal
Government**

hand, the country lords, princes, and religious houses had property in the towns, either as dwelling-houses or as warehouses for their surplus crops which were to be put on the market. They saw themselves compelled in the interests of their possessions and their own security to profess friendliness to a powerful council, and to promise their armed assistance as noble burghers in event of a war. Besides this, many wealthy countrymen, indeed whole villages in the neighbourhood of large towns, put themselves under their protection; they became "burghers of the pale," and thus voluntarily submitted to the municipal government, naturally to the prejudice of any imperial governor or of a neighbouring territorial lord.

The Golden Bull of 1356 in its sixteenth chapter had prohibited in the interests of the princes the reception of "burghers of the pale," but in vain. From the close community of country and town interests arose the town territories, since places which possessed in the town "Burgrecht," namely, a claim to shelter behind the walls in times of need, formed to some degree closer relations with the town itself, especially when the council held also the supreme penal power. Eighty-two localities had the "Burgrecht" in Frankfort,

while in Mainz even earlier some forty villages for fifteen miles round enjoyed this privilege. The district of the imperial town of Aix-la-Chapelle was smaller, while in Cologne the power of the council extended only as far as the town walls.

The foundation for the power of the towns was their peculiar position as commercial centres for the country at a time when the state was badly fitted by organisation or policy to foster trade or to secure the profitable pursuit of business. The source of wealth in the towns was at first the itinerant traffic, prosecuted mostly by firms, which gradually became a fixed trade. The small town of Ravensburg was the home after 1450 of the most important trading company of the time, that of Hundbiss, Muntprat, and Mötteli, a precursor of the Fugger business. To this was soon joined the money-lending and exchange business. But the industries of the artisans, now organised in guilds, soon gained in importance, and some members of the foremost guilds could compete with the commercial lords.

Together with the accumulation of the great fortunes which now quickly multiplied, a town proletariat was formed—a crowd of indigent people, whose ranks were filled with journeymen with no prospects of ever becoming masters, musicians, porters, and a vast number of mere beggars. These were the people who on many occasions, especially in the fifteenth century, interfered decisively in political disturbances, and sometimes, in common with the country proletariat, fought the common oppressor. The misery of these lower classes was all the greater, since the remedies sought and applied were quite unfit, and in many instances full of mischief. Many of the charitable institutions of an ecclesiastical character, which were intended to mitigate poverty, were, on the contrary, calculated to bring up the proletariat to pauperism.

**Miseries
of the Lower
Classes**

The social distress had certainly often occupied the serious attention of the town councillors; but their treatment of the malady was as great a failure as were later on the plans for human improvement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The policy of the towns rather favoured the growth of capital and strengthened its omnipotence. Corn speculations and the formation of commercial rings were no longer rarities in

the fifteenth century. The so-called Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund spoke of them in moving language.

Whatever the towns chose to do for the maintenance of the country's peace, they acted always in a narrow spirit of self-interest, often unconsciously fighting against themselves in the rival town. The

external security of intercourse was especially preserved by "unions" of the towns. But the foremost of all the duties which the towns undertook was the regulation and simplification of economic intercourse, the new foundation on which the existence of the town rested. One important task was to resist the debasement of the coinage practised by the princes in their own interests, and to introduce a currency circulating in larger districts.

Owing to the 600 different mints in the empire, the unavoidable exchange of money which the towns mostly transacted in their own banks—in Ulm as early as 1300, and in Frankfort after 1402—implied an almost incredible obstacle to intercourse. In place of the prevailing light silver coinage, which had been sufficient in an uncommercial age, larger coins were urgently required for trade purposes, and this want was met by the Bohemian florins, which King John caused to be struck in 1325, after the Florentine pattern. These acquired an international importance.

Except the emperor, Bohemia alone had from the first the right to coin gold. This, however, had been conceded to all the electors by the Golden Bull. Even before that, four towns, Lübeck, Frankfort, Treves, and Cologne, had acquired the same privilege. The German golden florin after the Florentine pattern had, by the middle of the fourteenth century, acquired

an importance for wholesale trading, and after the monetary convention of the four

Rhenish electors in 1386, became the universally recognised coin which, in the district of the Rhenish trade and beyond, kept a fixed ratio of value to silver. If the princes were the first to coin gold chiefly, the trading towns remained the first to use the gold pieces. In the monetary convention of 1402, even imperial towns were included, and soon the coinage of the

towns of Frankfort, Nüremberg, and Ueberlingen was esteemed of equal value with the golden florin of the four electors. The Rhenish florin, however, was the first coin struck in Germany which passed throughout the whole empire and beyond. It is true that finally, owing to the "Imperial Mint Regulations" of Essling in 1524, issued at a time when the increasing silver-mining industry, especially in Saxony and Tyrol, permitted the coinage of heavy silver pieces, the silver coinage alone had currency. But the florin was employed for a long time as the coin of commerce, although the prosperity of the towns, the foundation of political power, decayed with extraordinary rapidity when once the political victory of the princes was finally assured, and the German towns lost their importance for international trade.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and also the first half of the sixteenth, are in Germany taken up by the towns. With comparatively small populations—

in 1449 Nüremberg had a little over 20,000 inhabitants, Frankfort-on-Main between the years 1350 and 1500 never more than 10,000, and even Cologne itself in 1575 had only some 37,000—the towns as the commercial centres led the nation both in progress and in politics. The imperial policy was always forced to take into consideration the money of the small city republics. Wenzel had already once—in 1389—contemplated the formal admission of the towns to the imperial states. And after Nicholas of Cues in his programme of political reform had expressly demanded this position for the towns exactly one hundred years later, the admission of the imperial towns to the diet by chosen deputies was finally settled.

The imperial assembly then was composed of three colleges: the first consisted of the electors, the second, of the remaining princes, counts, and lords, and the third, of the towns. The towns first appeared as a united body in the diet of Frankfort in 1489. After that they are divided into a Rhenish bench with fourteen members, and a Swabian bench with thirty-seven members.



MAXIMILIAN: 'LAST OF THE KNIGHTS' AND HIS ATTEMPTS AT IMPERIAL REFORM

THE decay of the German monarchy had gradually destroyed the old traditional constitution of the empire, which was based on the forms of feudalism. The "Golden Bull" had attempted to establish the conditions existing at the middle of the fourteenth century, and had, in principle at any rate, done good service by the codification of the laws of the empire. But the constitutional conditions developed themselves independently of the wishes of the legislation, which itself only too soon became antiquated.

In the struggle between princes and towns, which was still undecided at the end of the fourteenth century, victory rested with the former in the fifteenth century, and they were for the first time really lords as regards the monarchy. The goal, so far as the imperial constitution was concerned, was the formation of a federal union, within which the king should retain little beyond the title and honorary presidency. But the weaker the monarchy became, the more jealously it watched over its few remaining privileges, and it was in no way disposed to concede the proposals of the princes. Yet a reform was admittedly essential with regard to the completely helpless military system of the empire.

These problems had been repeatedly discussed in the imperial diets; but king, princes and towns were indisposed to sacrifice even the most modest part of their rights in favour of the community. Nicholas of Cues met the statesmen with the practical system of an imperial constitution, for which he tried to interest the king at the council of Basle; but all in vain.

Even the anonymous "Reformation of Emperor Sigismund," with its proposals of reform, which disclose a subtle comprehension of the phenomena of the age, passed away without a trace. The diet of Frankfort, in 1334, at least faced

the serious problem. They were agreed to sixteen chief points, which were to lead to the improvement of the imperial constitution; but the execution of them was indefinitely postponed. The efforts of Albert II. have already been mentioned. His proposals for the restoration of the Public Peace, which were put by his chancellor Caspar Schlick before two imperial diets at Nuremberg in 1438, did not meet the approval of the princes, who thought that they were prejudiced as compared with the towns.

If Albert's life had been prolonged he would certainly have succeeded in carrying out some reforms, for he possessed the peculiar abilities for doing so. With him, therefore, the hopes of the nation sank into the grave.

Under Frederic III., as under Lewis the Bavarian, the princes occupied themselves with the reforms of the empire, and naturally in their own interests. They brought the direct charge against the emperor that he would do nothing for reform, and in a memorial of the Electoral College of 1453 the electors were described as the "ex-officio councillors and co-adjutors of the emperor." They wished to co-operate not only in the council, but in the execution of the decrees, and hoped by this means to revive the prestige of the empire. The emperor naturally opposed this with all the energy of which he was capable. The adoption of such a proposal would have been tantamount to

his deposition. A further attempt, made by King George of Bohemia, was similarly defeated through the resistance offered to it both by emperor and princes. The question of the Public Peace was more hopeful. Since all parts of Germany had been harassed by the most bloody and devastating feuds in spite of the proclamation of the Public Peace, it must have been clear to the dullest intellect

**Nation's Hopes
Buried
with Albert**

**Reforms
Opposed by
the Emperor**

**Germany's
Weak Military
System**



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN IN ARMOUR

that the most important point of the discussion must not be legislation, but the introduction of an executive authority. In the diet at Nuremberg in 1466 the plan had been already adopted of creating for separate districts some such executive power on a federal basis. A return was made to the former division of the empire into circles for the restoration of the Public Peace. This plan had been contained in the Public Peace proposals of King Wenzel in 1381 and of King Albert II. No immediate steps were taken; but in the "Swabian League," founded in 1488, there appeared, for the first time in Upper Germany at any rate, a power which possessed sufficient means to enforce the Public Peace in its district even against the most powerful opposition.

This was the state of imperial reform at the death of Emperor Frederic III. All the hopes of the nation were now directed toward his youthful and magnanimous son, from whom the whole world thought that some extraordinary results might be expected. The task was indeed difficult, and perhaps harder for so energetic a personality as King Maximilian than it would have been for a prudent head, who might have persuaded himself to sacrifice a portion of the practically vanished regal prerogative theoretically on the altar of patriotism.

King Maximilian found in Berthold of Mainz—to begin with, at any rate—an adviser who possessed sufficient insight to support him in his work. And so far as there was no question of resigning any legal power and authority, the princes and towns were ready to share in it.

But for the moment these duties lay far from the king. He had formed the mighty plan of energetically confronting the advance of the Turks; then, decked with the laurels of victory over the Turks, he would obtain the imperial crown, and so with greater authority carry out the reform of the empire. That is doubtless the thought which underlies the policy of the emperor to the end of the year 1494.

The idea of a war with the Turks had occupied him from his earliest youth, and only a few weeks before Frederic's death father and son took steps in common to effect a league against the infidels. Their exertions were fruitless; the enemy was in no way intimidated, but invaded Croatia and returned with rich booty before Maximilian could come up. The king vainly tried with the help of his hereditary lands to raise an army primarily



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

The son of Frederic III, Maximilian succeeded his father as German Emperor in 1493. While his fame is due chiefly to his efforts to reform the Imperial and Austrian administrations, he achieved success in other directions, and his general policy made him popular with the people.



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FAMILY

From the painting by Strigel in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna

for the protection of Hungarian Croatia. A new Turkish invasion followed in August, 1494. It was now only too clear that without vigorous help from the empire Croatia would be alienated from the Christian faith, and that its embodiment into the Turkish Empire would constitute a serious menace to Germany. Notwithstanding all the king's exertions, no serious measures were taken, and so, in April, 1495, Maximilian joined the three years' truce which Ladislaus of Hungary had struck with the sultan.

Maximilian had during the lifetime of his father betrothed himself in second marriage with the princess Bianca Maria of Milan, and had secured to her uncle, Lodovico Sforza, his investiture with the Duchy of Milan. The dowry of three

hundred thousand ducats, which this matrimonial alliance would bring, induced him to take this step not less than the hope of Lodovico's help in the impending Turkish war. The marriage of the king with the Milanese princess took place after the death of the Emperor Frederic in November, 1493. Maximilian actually conferred the duchy as an escheated crown land on Lodovico Sforza and his male heirs in September, 1494, and the solemn investiture followed, in November, 1495.

Maximilian, immediately after he had come into the empire, in order to show himself as sovereign for the first time, made it his most earnest duty, in the interests of the intended Turkish campaign, to suppress by his fiat the long threatening war between the electors of

Mainz and the Palatinate. He was, in fact, successful, in August, 1495, in bringing about a reconciliation between them. Before this the Public Peace, proclaimed in 1486 for ten years, was prolonged for three years more, that is to say, until 1499. The idea of a lasting Public Peace was thus by implication not entertained by the king. The affairs of

Marriage of Maximilian's son Philip

Italy now occupied him afresh; Lodovico Sforza found himself hard pressed by France, and desired Maximilian's help to negotiate a peace between Charles and Naples. The two kings agreed to do so; conferences were repeatedly arranged but never held, since Maximilian precisely at the suitable moment was detained by the dispute with Charles of Guelders.

Connected with this was the entry of the king into the Netherlands, where the Archduke Philip, a youth of fifteen years, now took over the government at the wish of the states. The more unpopular Maximilian himself was in the Netherlands, the more the people hoped to be able to guide his tractable son Philip. His matrimonial alliance with the Spanish Infanta Joanna, which afterwards acquired such importance for the destinies of Europe, was celebrated in October, 1496. Father and son thought less of obtaining the Spanish crown by marriage than of creating a counterpoise to the mighty crown of France by an alliance between the royal families of Spain and of the Hapsburgs.

In the year 1497 Margaret, daughter of King Maximilian by his first wife, was married to John, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella. But the heir to the Spanish throne died after a very short wedded life, and Margaret returned to Germany two years later as a widow.

Although the German ruler and Charles VIII. of France had no direct personal relations, they had frequent communication by embassies. The result of the negotiations

France's Free Hand in Naples

was that France should have a free hand in Naples, but in return was to allow Venice, so important for the Turkish war, to fall to the Hapsburgs. The idea of a war against the Turks was very prominently before the two kings, and Venice had not shown the least friendliness to Maximilian, but had absolutely refused to take part in the Turkish campaign. However, when Charles VIII. entered Rome towards the end of 1494, and there

was talk of his intentions of winning the imperial crown, Maximilian sought an alliance with Venice, meaning thus on his side to gain an open road to Rome in order to assume the imperial style.

The coronation journey to Rome, which Maximilian had at first wished to postpone until after the victory over the Turks, had thus become more urgent. But an imperial assembly was required to settle the preparations, and was also imperatively demanded by the schemes of reform which were floating in the air. It met at Worms at the end of March, 1495. The king demanded for the protection of Milan an "urgent aid," and besides that a "permanent aid," that is, an army which was to be permanently under arms for at least ten years; in return for this he was prepared to treat about the reform of the constitution. The states, for their part, were willing to discuss the permanent military system of the empire, but would not hear of an immediate expedition to Rome.

The majority of the princes were interested chiefly in a radical reform of the system of law and legislation which culminated in the appointment of an imperial standing chamber or council nominated by the states; this was equivalent to a complete change of the imperial constitution in the direction of the federal state. The Elector Berthold of Mainz was the soul of these efforts. He was the author of the practical proposals which in the interest of the empire increased for the time the influence of the electors, but appeared in essentials acceptable to the other princes and the towns. The Wittelsbachs and the Landgrave of Hesse alone adopted an unconciliatory attitude.

By the end of April the assembly learned of the proposal of the Elector of Mainz, according to which an imperial chamber was to be entrusted with the entire government for a definite period. Only such commands of the king as were given through it were to be legally valid in the empire. Its main duties were the restoration of peace and order in the empire, the administration and expenditure of the imperial revenues, and the charge of the imperial military system. Since the power of pronouncing the ban was assigned to the Supreme Court of Judicature, then called into existence, the king was left with only honorary privileges, while the electors were in important cases to have

a hearing in the imperial chamber. The king kept silence for a considerable time when the proposals had been communicated to him. It was clear to him that his "supremacy" had not been reserved for him in the form in which he thought he ought to have claimed it.

When he appeared in person, towards the middle of May, and explained the "urgent aid" to the effect that he demanded from the states within six weeks one hundred thousand florins—he was willing to raise 50,000 himself from his hereditary dominions—the princes informed him that no grant of money could be contemplated before the establishment of order and peace in the empire. Finally, in view of the conditions in Italy, the states showed their readiness to grant the money.

A committee from the states was, however, to superintend the application of it. But the money was not forthcoming, chiefly through the fault of the towns, which would not pay until first of all they were assured of the acceptance and execution of the proposals for changing the constitution of the empire. The emperor had not yet made any official statement about the reform programme; this was not given until June 22nd. The counter proposals which he unfolded that day to the assembly meant almost the opposite of those laid before him by the states. However welcome the raising of the "Common Penny" might be to him, impetuous as he always was, he saw too clearly an infringement of his "supremacy" in the formation of an imperial chamber. He was willing to recognise an imperial chamber only during the period of his absence from the empire. Wearisome negotiations now began between the states and the king; the former saw that something at least could be obtained from the king, and they wished to have it. His assent was given to the Public Peace and the Supreme Court, with some slight changes; in return the states renounced the institution of an imperial chamber.

On July 27th the king gave his assent to the renewed separate proposals as regards the Common Penny, the Public Peace, and the Supreme Court, and on August 7th he signed the four documents which related to the institution of the Supreme Court, the Public Peace, the administration of the Public Peace, and the Common Penny. In return Maximilian

received, in addition to the 150,000 florins already granted, the guarantee of the states for a further loan of a similar amount.

Undoubtedly the most important of the decrees was that as to financial reform, the provision of money for the Supreme Court, and the expeditions of the imperial army. It did not seem clear how much the "Common Penny" would really bring in. The system of collection—the parish clergy appear to have been the controllers of country taxes—was not remarkable for its simplicity. The collection was provisionally sanctioned for four years. It was confessedly an experiment, but on the expiration of this period the method of its collection, and not the tax itself, was to be discussed afresh. No money at all came in at first. The territorial lords were first obliged to come to an understanding with their states; the elector of the Palatinate refused his assent absolutely, and in the case of other princes who were absent from the assembly, as well as of the unrepresented knighthood of the empire, it was necessary to ascertain their willingness to pay.

The commissioners, who were to hand over the money received to the seven imperial treasurers, had not even been nominated for the various territories by the summer of 1496. The money could not be collected in any case so quickly as the emperor expected, through the defective administrative organisation of the empire and the complete ignorance of the principles of taxation which prevailed at the time.

In Burgundy, however, and in other districts, there was absolutely no intention of exacting the tax. The Knights of Swabia, united in the "Shield of St. George," declined to do so, as did also the Swiss Confederacy, which did not wish to recognise the Supreme Court, and in consequence actually abandoned all connection with the empire after the war of the year 1499, so feebly conducted by the emperor. The promises made in

1495 with respect to the money were not observed by the states, and still less by the emperor. He carried out his foreign policy on his own responsibility, and tried, very ingeniously, without appearing in the imperial diets, to spend as much as possible of the public money without the control of the states.

The condition of affairs in Italy at the beginning of the year 1496 showed little change. Milan and Venice both urgently wished for Maximilian's appearance in person. He eventually crossed the mountains in August, after England, in July, had joined the Holy League. Maximilian did not come as emperor, but as a mercenary of Venice and Milan.

The Weak Army of the Emperor They had both invited him in May and each had promised him 30,000 ducats, for which he was to put 2,000 horsemen and 4,000 infantry into the field for three months; there was, in addition, an extended extra payment for 2,000 Swiss.

Notwithstanding all this, his army was excessively weak; by the end of August he had not more than 600 men, and the enlistment of the Swiss had only just begun. Venice was not yet ready to pay, and in fact would rather not have seen Maximilian come. But he was there already, and endeavoured after the beginning of September to suppress by military occupation the western districts of Italy, which were subject to France, and to bring them over where possible to the league of France's enemies.

The most suitable plan by which to assert any power would have been to bar the passage of the Alps and thus to prevent the concentration of the French. But Venice and Milan, which finally gave way, opposed this scheme, and thus the selfish policy of Venice hindered the full employment of the strategically advantageous position in the interests of the league. Maximilian, instead of returning to Germany, dreamed of great military enterprises to be carried out simultaneously in Italy and Burgundy, for which, unfortunately, money and troops were completely wanting. On the other hand, there was no longer any talk of taking serious measures to obtain the imperial crown, although the diet at Worms had expressly promised its assistance. In

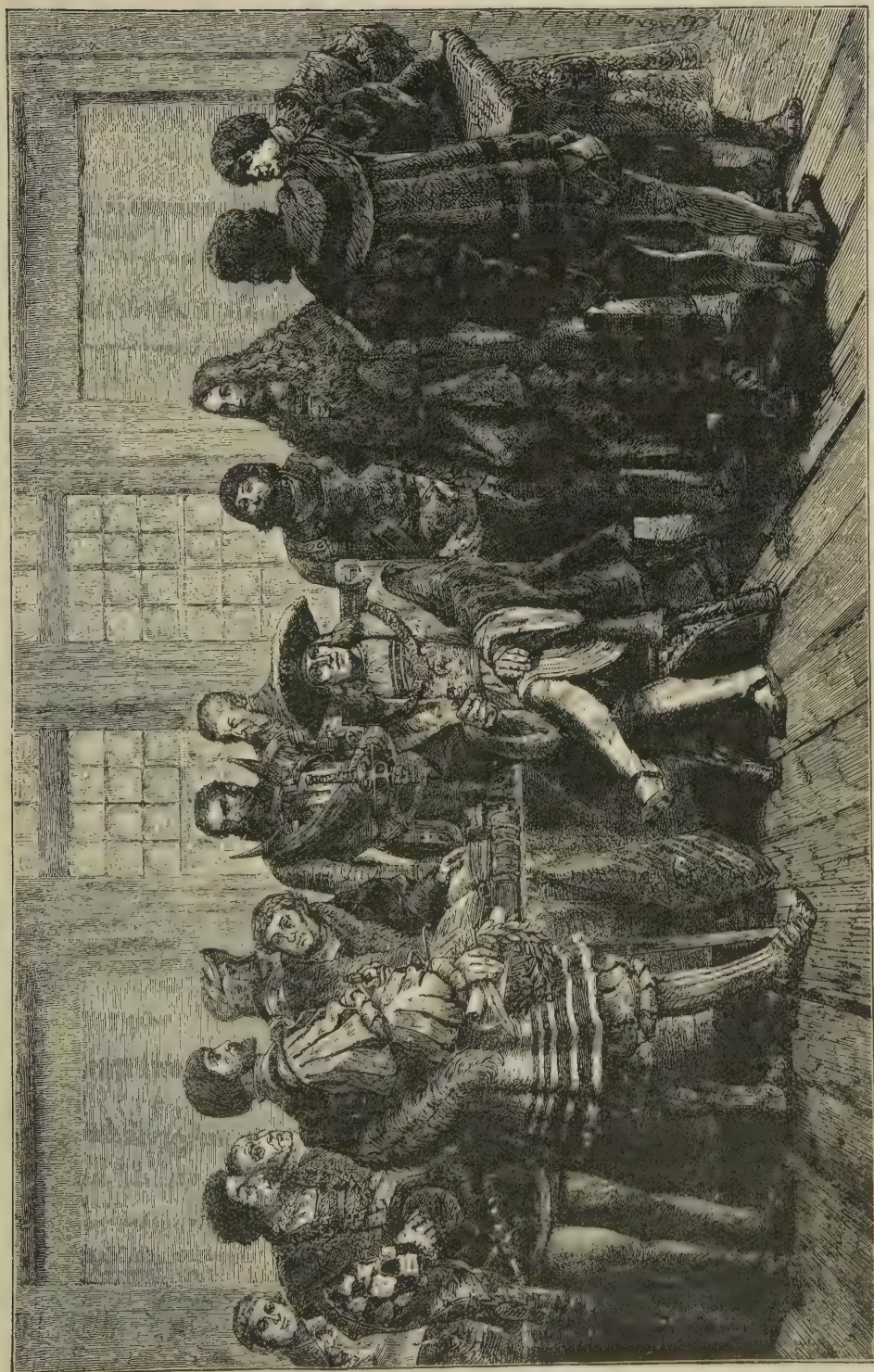
French Fleet to the Aid of Leghorn October the king came to Pisa in order to besiege the important town of Leghorn. But toward the end of the month the French fleet, so eagerly expected by the besieged, arrived, and a favourable wind allowed it to enter the harbour of Leghorn, while Maximilian's attempts to repel it were totally unsuccessful. The attempt on Leghorn finally failed, the siege was abandoned in the middle of November, and

since the three months' term of service was over, the force went back over the mountains, although just then a renewed expedition of Charles VIII. was threatening, and even Venice itself would have been glad to see the king longer in Italy. The promise, however, of better success in a war against Burgundy decided his policy.

On December 26th, 1496, Maximilian was again at Mals in Tyrol. But he did not go, as might have been expected, to the diet at Lindau, where Berthold of Mainz was busied in closely examining the position of the sovereign towards the empire; the discussion of such questions now seemed to the king almost high treason. The diet at Lindau was unsuccessful, owing to the small attendance, and it finished its sittings on February 9th, 1497, whereupon another, equally unsuccessful, was opened at Worms. The only result of it was the actual assembling of the Imperial Supreme Court at the end of May. Notwithstanding every effort, the "Common Penny" was not collected from most districts. Other expedients for

The Broken Promise of Maximilian raising money failed signally. At last, when Maximilian had given a definite promise that he would appear in person in the next diet at Freiburg in Breisgau, the states granted him immediately 4,000 ducats on account. But the sovereign, far too much occupied with his hereditary lands, did not go to Freiburg; the states waited for him from October, 1497, to the summer of 1498. He remained in Innsbruck, where the news reached him of the death of Charles VIII., and he set about levying an army to fight against France.

Some 7,000 troops actually entered the enemy's land. But since neither the league nor the princes—not even his son Philip—thought of sharing the struggle, Frederic of Saxony was selected to conduct negotiations, and the war was broken off. Archduke Philip had already allied himself with Louis XII., and on August 15th he promised, as a final compromise, to take the oath of fealty for Flanders and Artois. The simultaneous renunciation by Philip of his claims to Upper Burgundy roused the wrath of his father, who had distinctly hoped for a more favourable result, in the event of his diplomatic representative having brought matters to a settlement. Maximilian at length appeared on June 18th in Freiburg,



THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN SURROUNDED BY THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

with the declared intention of taking the field against France at once. After heated explanations the states were at last prepared to pay the balance of the 150,000 florins if the king would furnish them with an account of what he had already received. With regard to France, they promised to safeguard the interests of the empire; but the king must provide for the collection of the "Common Penny" and the establishment of peace and justice. The first attempt was now made to survey the receipts from the tax. Fourteen abbots and twenty-seven towns had paid, and of the princes only the Elector of Mainz, so far as any money had been received by the king.

The knights of the empire alone raised open objections; with this exception, all were ready for payment. Some important decrees were passed concerning the administration of the empire, as a sort of supplement to the reforms of Worms. The final decree of August 24th signified a distinct advance, although a new diet at Worms at the end of September was destined to crown the whole work.

A treacherous attack of the French, in spite of the truce and the pending negotiations, now drove the king to vigorous action. With the force that stood at his disposal he reached Montbéliard by September 12th and advanced after the retreating enemy, but was unable to come up with them. He remained a short time at Metz on the way back, as the attempts to effect a longer truce with France came to nothing. The king was equally unsuccessful in dissuading his son from the treaty with France. When, then, at the beginning of the year 1499, Louis entered into an alliance with Venice it was impossible for Maximilian to make any terms, although he was distracted both by the recent outbreak of war with Guelders and the events in Switzerland.

Philip's Fealty to France In addition to this, the diet summoned to Worms did not meet. The king transferred it to Cologne, on account of the quarrel with Guelders—but did not appear himself—and thence to Ueberlingen on account of the confederates. Meanwhile, Archduke Philip actually took the oath of fealty to the French king, as promised in 1498. Louis XII. was now prepared to act as arbitrator between the Lower Rhenish territories of Juliers, Cleves,

and Guelders; and in spite of the grave protests of the German king, who threatened the princes with loss of their privileges, peace was ratified by his influence.

Before Switzerland was lost to the empire in 1499, the old peasant freedom in Friesland had been ended. In the diet of Freiburg Maximilian had nominated Duke Albert of Saxony governor of Friesland on July 20th, 1498. The Frisians thus received a territorial lord, but obstinately rebelled against him, so that lasting wars followed. The counts of Cirksena had always to suffer in later times from the ambition of their neighbours; at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War Mansfeld came to an understanding with the States-General. But at last Prussia received from the Emperor Leopold the reversion to the land, and took possession of it after the death of the last count in 1744.

The sea-coast was a great acquisition for Prussia, but the commercial companies, which were immediately founded, did not fulfil their brilliant promises of success. Before his election Maximilian had been famed as an efficient general, but after his accession he was defeated in every campaign which he undertook. All the internal reforms hitherto recorded were in reality only concessions forced from him by his endless need of money. But the work was now begun, and the imperial diet summoned for February, 1500, was to advance it a stage farther. Although the king had been present some considerable time, business did not begin before April. The most important question for Maximilian was that of auxiliary troops, and he came forward with proposals on the point. The "Common Penny" was universally disliked; it had proved nothing but an abortive scheme. For this reason the attempt was made to raise a permanent imperial army of 34,000 men on the basis of the proposal made in 1486. At the same time, for the relief of the assembly of the empire, a standing committee, the Council of Regency, was to be appointed, and the Supreme Court once more established.

The arrangements for the council were completed in July, and the committee itself met at Nuremberg in 1500. But the king's plan with regard to the army did not meet with the approval of the states; on the contrary, the princes, at Berthold's advice, insisted that the requirements of



A MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

From a life-size reconstruction in the Arsenal at Berlin

the empire should be supplied by every member of the empire. One trooper should be furnished by every 400 persons who had any property, while the lords were to furnish one for every 4,000 florins income. The towns were to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their revenues, the Jews to pay one florin poll tax. They thus hoped for an army of some 30,000 men ; and the special duty

of the Council of Regency was to be the administration of these funds. On this head Maximilian for once agreed with the states. The assembly, besides treating these questions, was also occupied with the foreign policy, especially the attitude of France, from which an attack long seemed imminent. An imperial embassy to the court of Louis XII. was certainly unsuc-

cessful in its demands, but war was temporarily avoided. Louis was now the real master of Milan, and no one could easily dislodge him from that position. It therefore seemed most prudent to the Council of Regency to offer him for a large sum of money the investiture by the empire. The king, indeed, was not

The Real Master of Milan

quite sincere with his words ; but in order to outbid the princes he agreed with Louis in October, 1501, as to his investiture with Milan on condition that Louis would assist him in his expedition to Rome for coronation.

The Council of Regency resisted the preaching of indulgences by the papal legate, Cardinal Peraudi. At first the cardinal hardly ventured to put foot on the soil of the empire. He did so later, when a pledge had been given that the money should remain entirely in Germany. Maximilian hoped for the fulfilment of his wish, that in this way the means for the campaign against the Turks would be forthcoming. The Council of Regency was forced in the end to allow preaching and collecting ; but it interfered in the matter, and hindered the enriching of the papal treasury by German gold. Indeed, the treasury of the empire was to be benefited by the proceeds.

As far as the Pope was concerned, the loudly expressed demand that the papal Curia should give back annates already paid, and the revenues from earlier indulgences, was quieted by this undoubtedly large concession. The German princes naturally thought only of the money itself. On no account was the Curia to be enriched at the cost of Germany ; but nothing suggested the idea that the states had attacked the indulgence itself as an institution of the Church.

The preaching of indulgences had doubtless revived the idea of crusades, and a diet was summoned to Frankfort to

Proposed War Against the Turks

deliberate on the question. But the king did not appear ; the procedure was too troublesome for him. On the other hand, he summoned the princes on his own authority as a feudal lord to a campaign against the Turks ; but this was the most direct violation by the king of the newly created constitutional arrangement. Bertold, from whom Maximilian had demanded the surrender of the imperial seal, summoned, as a counter measure,

an electoral diet, after the old style, to Frankfort in May. The assembled princes attacked the king with vehement speeches, but expressed their readiness to join in the Turkish war, although only after long and careful preparations.

Meanwhile, Maximilian tried to get possession of the money derived from the Jubilee Indulgence, but the legate remained firm to his compact to hand over the amounts raised to the council, which seemed to be nearly ignored through the turn of events. The king's attempt to invite the electors to his court in order to discuss the matter was ineffectual ; in fact, on July 4th, 1502, a formal combination of the electors took place, the object of which was to oppose the king and protect the constitution created at Worms and Augsburg. A diet, to which the other princes were to be invited, was settled for November in Gelnhausen, in order to deliberate about the Turkish expedition. Maximilian summoned a "strengthened Council of Regency" to the same town for August, but countermanded it when he was certain that no one would follow his orders. The

Differences Between King and Electors

assembly of the electors did not take place, since the king summoned for the same date an imperial diet to Gelnhausen, on which the electors wished to remove to Würzburg.

In the end Maximilian, for his part, relinquished the plan of an immediate war upon Turkey, and did not temporarily contemplate calling an imperial diet. Indeed, he once more set into operation the high "imperial chamber," with its undefined powers in law and legislation. Permanently strained relations existed between the king and the electors, but neither side took any action, and the king's financial position was improved, since after the year 1503 really considerable portions of the jubilee funds flowed into his coffers. In October of this year the electors once more met at Frankfort, but consented to an imperial diet only if Maximilian himself would appear. But Maximilian was now bent on the journey to Rome and the expedition against the Turks.

While all Upper Germany was being agitated by the dispute as to the succession in Landshut, which broke out after the death of Duke George of Bavaria, and was settled in the summer of 1505 by the "award of Cologne," Maximilian achieved

a certain success in his foreign policy by the treaty of Blois in September, 1504, which was followed by a final accommodation with France at Hagenau, in April, 1505. Louis XII. was to be invested with Milan, and Charles, son of Archduke Philip, grandson of King Maximilian, who was betrothed to his daughter Claudia, was to be regarded as his heir. In this way the Hapsburgs might again hope to gain Milan; besides this, Louis paid a large sum to Maximilian for the investiture.

The two Hapsburgs, father and son, and the king of France, now stood in close alliance; their spheres of interest in

attention once more to imperial reform. He may have seen that reform was impossible without an administrative body, and therefore demanded a new Council of Regency, which was not to trench on royal prerogative, but was to be merely advisory. The old idea of a government by the states was completely abandoned in the proposal. But the princes would not consent to this, and withdrew from the task of reform. A renewed establishment of the Supreme Court was determined, but remained on paper, for it would have been impossible to keep it up. The king now asked for



A CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF A COURT BALL AT MUNICH IN THE YEAR 1500

This quaint picture represents a court ball at Munich in the year 1500. Several of the dancing couples occupy the floor of the ballroom; at the table in the background Duke Albert IV. is playing cards with a lady, while the orchestras in the balconies play alternately, one set of musicians resting while the other is providing the music.

Italy were marked out. And although the treaty was broken by Louis, the international position of the house of Hapsburg was nevertheless more favourable than in previous years, especially since fairly cordial relations existed with Henry VII. of England.

Maximilian turned his steps from Hagenau down the Rhine to Cologne for the diet, and now, encouraged by the issue of the Bavarian War of Succession, as well as by the success of his foreign policy and the conquests of Charles of Guelders, he tried to give his

4,000 men from the empire for one year in order to make good his claims to the Hungarian succession, and his request was granted. The means were raised in the old way, by "register contributions"; thus the idea of a direct imperial tax was abandoned.

But this time also the plan was not carried out, and Maximilian entered into closer diplomatic relations to Ladislaus, as a result of which an arrangement was made in March, 1506, that the Hungarian princess Anne should be married to a grandson of Maximilian. But the danger

was not thus ended, since there was the fear that such a marriage would be vigorously opposed by the Hungarian nobles. The demand of the Hapsburgs, that the nobility should renew their guarantee which they gave in 1491 as to the Hapsburg succession, actually conjured up the war. King Maximilian entered Hungary in June, 1506, with an imposing force. Oedenburg was captured and Pressburg fell. The struggle was interrupted by the birth of a Hungarian prince, who received the name of Lewis; he was now the only legitimate successor of Ladislaus. But in the Peace of Vienna, on July 10th, 1506, Maximilian's claims to the succession of Hungary were nevertheless expressly established.

Meanwhile, it appeared as if the occasion was finally suitable for the expedition to Rome that had been settled at Cologne in 1505, for Pope Julius II. had completely quarrelled with France and Archduke Philip had won military successes in Spain. But Julius suddenly turned round, and in the autumn Rome and Milan, Naples and Venice combined in order to hinder the coronation journey of the German sovereign. All details of the march over the Alps had been arranged in August, and notwithstanding the gloomy tidings as to the turn of politics in Italy, Maximilian had formed the bold plan of forcing an entry into Rome, when the news reached him of the death of his son Philip, on September 25th, 1506. The idea of an aggressive war against France in combination with him had, therefore, to be abandoned. But, in order to carry out the expedition to Rome, which had not been abandoned, Maximilian assiduously sought the advice of the princes, and could hardly wait for the imperial diet convened for the beginning of 1507.

The relations of the Pope to France had again become cooler towards the end of the

**The Pope's
Coolness
to France**

year 1506; in fact, he tried to mediate between Maximilian and Louis while the latter was preparing to conquer Genoa. The diet, which was eagerly desired in Germany, finally met towards the end of April at Constance. The work of internal reform was actually concluded by a new system of supreme judicature, but unfortunately the important question of the executive was inadequately met. The Supreme Court of Judicature met in

Regensburg about the end of the year, and was transferred two years later to Worms. The states granted the funds for the journey to Rome, and fixed the amount of the register contributions, which then remained permanently in force. Maximilian, on his own initiative, advanced into Italy from Tyrol during the winter, and assumed, on February 4th, 1508, the title of "Roman Emperor Elect." Since for the moment, owing to the complications with Venice, an entry into the eternal city seemed to lie in the remote future, a vigorous campaign was now undertaken against the great trading republic which had seized Istria.

After a preliminary success at Trautson, the Germans were completely defeated in March near Pieve di Cadore, while the emperor, far from the army, tried to get reinforcements from Germany. The Venetian commander, Alviano, had still further successes; he took the town of Görz in April, and attacked Trieste, which surrendered on May 6th. All the ports fell into the hands of the republic, and a land army threatened Carniola. Maximilian repeatedly tried to obtain money from the states; but the "urgent diet" summoned to Worms was several times adjourned. So he had to consent, on June 6th, to a three years' truce with Venice.

**Maximilian's
Truce
with Venice**

This truce, which did not take into consideration the interest of the French king on the frontiers of the German Empire, made Louis dissatisfied with his former allies, the Venetians, and drew him into closer relations with the emperor. The latter, since the death of his son Philip, was guardian of his infant grandsons, Charles and Ferdinand, and had assigned the regency of the Netherlands to his widowed daughter, Margaret, a woman of great practical ability. The English king, Henry VII., was a suitor for her hand, since he hoped in this way to win influence over the Netherlands, but being rejected, made proposals to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of France.

Such a reconciliation between England and France would have been fraught with great danger to the Netherlands and Germany, and it was necessary to avoid this at all costs. Margaret, therefore, induced her father to resume the former negotiations with France. The result was the arrangement made in December,



MAXIMILIAN AFTER THE OCCUPATION OF VERONA, WHICH SURRENDERED TO VENICE FOR THE SUM OF £10,000
From the painting by C. Becker, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co., London

1508, at Cambray, which became possible only through the provisional adjournment of the question of Guelders. In the so-called "League of Cambray" the kings of France and Germany had combined with the Pope in common action against Venice, and on the terms that the Venetian territory was divided in advance

Division of Venetian Territory

between the three parties. Louis on his part was enfeoffed with the kingdom of Milan on payment of 100,000 crowns, and the prospect of investiture held out to him so soon as the French campaign against Venice had actually begun.

While France placed an army in the field against the republic, and won a victory in May near Agnadello, Maximilian in vain sought the means for carrying on the war. Pope Julius and the French king took possession of the parts of the country guaranteed to them. Maximilian could not co-operate, but appeared in the middle of August for the siege of Padua. But he abandoned the attack at the beginning of October, and was by the end of the month once more in Tyrol, while the imperial army broke up, and Louis retired from the seat of war, having gained his desired object. Although Maximilian was convinced that the struggle must be continued during the winter, he could not induce his allies to adopt suitable measures. In fact, the strength of the league was somewhat relaxed during the winter, so that the war in 1501 was carried on unenergetically.

A new imperial diet met at Augsburg in March. The emperor demanded military support, and was now prepared to come to an agreement in the matter of reform. But the princes held back; they agreed to nothing, in the conviction that there could be no permanent settlement with this king on the basis of a constitution. The influence of the Pope also was clearly felt; he was now desirous of a peaceful arrangement, and had freed the Venetians

League to Crush the French

from the ban in February. His efforts were directed towards reviving a new league to crush the excessive power of the French. It was impossible for Maximilian in his financial weakness to follow a policy of his own. Driven by necessity, he continually drew closer to France, and made an agreement with Louis in November that renewed the Treaty of Cambray for the two powers who now alone participated in it. This alliance was really

directed against the Pope, and the effective weapon in this war was to be a stoppage of supplies to Rome. A new council, which eventually met at Pisa in November, 1511, was intended to deliberate afresh about Church reform.

In consequence of these events, Pope Julius was anxious to enter into relations with each one of the allies, ostensibly in order to restore peace in Italy—in reality, to break up the coalition. However, these attempts miscarried in the spring of 1511. But after the illness which made his life precarious, he was allied with Spain and Venice, and soon found a hearing with Maximilian. He was already inclined towards the "Holy League," especially as England had joined it. In June, 1512, the peace negotiations between Venice and the emperor were concluded. The Swiss, also, in return for the assurance that Massimiliano Sforza would be put in possession of Milan, were ready to strike a blow at France.

The Bishop of Gurk was the emperor's envoy to the Pope; the latter, on the understanding that the council at Pisa should be abandoned, and the Lateran Council acknowledged, made the most valuable concessions, since he depended entirely on the emperor for his position towards Venice. The former, even in the winter of 1512-1513, had not completely broken with France until the death of Pope Julius, in February, 1513, gave a new turn to the matter.

Giovanni de Medici was elected as Leo X. so rapidly that Maximilian could not exercise any influence over the election at all, and his plan of becoming himself master of the states of the Church after the death of Julius was thus finally frustrated. Leo remained apparently loyal to the Holy League, but soon released King Louis from the ban, while Venice formed a direct alliance with France in March. A little later, King Maximilian, at his daughter's instance, allied himself with Henry VIII. of England. The new Pope and Ferdinand of Spain were certainly privy to this agreement. A joint attack on the French territory was a preconcerted arrangement. But neither Leo nor Ferdinand was thoroughly sincere in the matter. Ferdinand, indeed, concluded a truce with Louis at the same time. The situation was cleared up only when the confederates, at the beginning of June, 1513, won a decisive victory over the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF MARIGNANO, IN WHICH THE SWISS WERE DEFEATED

At Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1515, Francis I. of France defeated the famous soldiery of the Swiss, and Milan thus came into the possession of the French.

After the painting by Fragonard in the Museum of Versailles

French at Novara and forced them to evacuate Italy. Ferdinand now showed himself more amenable.

Henry VIII. appeared on French soil in August, and the Swiss were ready for an attack on Burgundy. Maximilian himself appeared in the English headquarters, and shared as a general in the victory of the English army over the French, on August 16th, 1513, near the selfsame Guinegate, where thirty-four years before he had already distinguished himself. The fortress of Terouanne, on the frontiers of the Netherlands, surrendered a few days later. The Swiss at the beginning of September were before Dijon, but retired home again without having made the least use of their favourable position. At the beginning of October the allies gained a victory in Italy over the Venetians, who were now prepared to open negotiations with Pope and emperor.

Although the royal house of England formed more intimate relations with the Hapsburgs through the betrothal of Archduke Charles with Mary, sister of Henry

VIII., and although the English made further preparations against France in the winter of 1514, still King Louis succeeded by skilful diplomacy in ridding himself of his foes. In April, 1514, King Henry, affronted at the breaking off of his sister's marriage, went over to the side of France. In August a peace was struck on the terms of the cession of Tournay to England, and Mary, the king's sister, was given in marriage to King Louis.

Under these conditions the emperor had only the support of Ferdinand left. At his advice he approached the Pope, and offered him the imperial fief of Modena. But the negotiations were still in suspense when, on January 1st, 1515, Louis XII. died, and his son-in-law, Francis of Angoulême, followed him on the throne.

The new king, who planned the marriage of Archduke Charles, now of age, with Renée, the surviving daughter of King Louis, did not wish in the least to renounce the French dominion in Italy, and made immediate preparations to defend his rights. An army was soon in Italy, and

won a victory in the two days' fighting at Marignano, now Melegnano, on the Lambro, on September 13th and 14th, 1515, over the famous soldiery of the Swiss. Milan thus fell to the French. Massimiliano Sforza

Francis the Protector of Venice

had for the future to live in France. The unexpected death of Ferdinand, in January, 1516, prevented a plan of alliance with the English king, who was willing to lend his help to defend Naples. Venice greeted Francis as her protector.

Venetians and French marched together against the Swiss, who were won over by English gold, but were compelled in March, 1516, to retreat from the Mincio to the Adda, and thence to Milan. Maximilian delayed to strike a decisive blow, and could not afterwards recover the lost opportunity, since his

Swiss mutinied. He still hoped, it is true, for a renewal of the struggle by help of English gold. Henry VIII. was to receive Milan in return. But Henry drew back, and Maximilian, indignant at this behaviour in his ally, began to take part in the negotiations pending between his grandson Charles and King Francis, which led, in December, to an alliance between them. The basis of this was the surrender of Verona to Venice for the

sum of 200,000 thalers in gold (£30,000), while Riva and Roveredo, together with Friuli, remained to the emperor. The treaty, which, in the form of a five years' truce, was finally renewed on August 26th, 1518, continuously added to the extent of the emperor's power in his hereditary land of Tyrol.

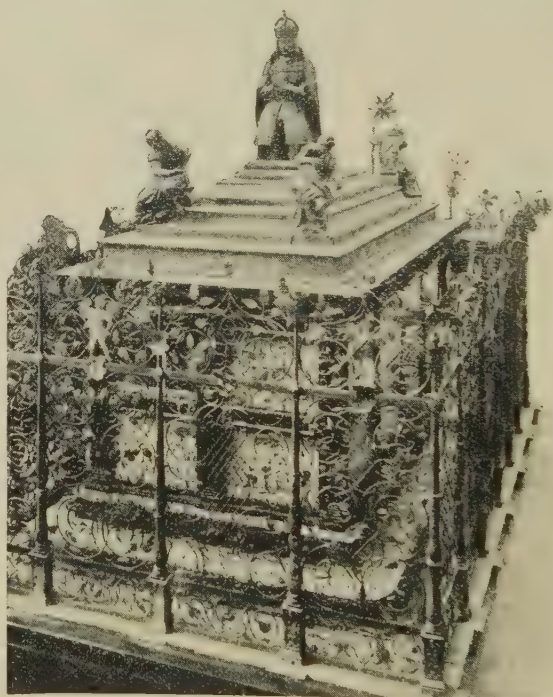
While foreign policy took up the emperor's attention, he had not been inactive

in other matters. A continuance of imperial reform was impossible from the attitude of the princes. But the diet of Augsburg in 1512 passed the constitutionally important decree that all measures adopted in the diets should be binding on all the states. On the other hand, in order to execute the judgments of the Supreme Court of Judicature and to protect the public peace, ten circles with separate organisation had been established. The renewal of the Swabian League in 1512 was of importance for the maintenance of internal peace; but the simultaneous formation of a "counter league" lessened in many respects the effect of this excellently designed institution. The impoverishment of the German people by the

The States and Papal Extortions

financial practices of the papal Curia was discussed in the diet of 1517; and in 1518 a new Turks' tax was claimed on the part of the Pope, although it was proposed to leave the collection and application of it entirely to the nation. But the states refused to hear of a tax in any form whatever, and raised against the papal extortions well-founded complaints, which were no longer irrelevant to the doctrines beginning to be expounded in those days at Wittenberg.

The Emperor Maximilian had always been inspired with the wish to increase the power of his family. But the older he grew, and the less pleasure he could find in the empire and in his foreign policy, the nearer to his heart must have lain the arrangement of the succession. His grandson, Charles, had attained his majority on January 5th, 1515, and had taken



THE MAGNIFICENT "TOMB" OF MAXIMILIAN

Maximilian died in 1519, and was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt. The magnificent structure shown in the illustration designed after Maximilian's own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck, and not, as he had desired, over his actual grave.

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MAXIMILIAN AND IMPERIAL REFORM

the government of the Netherlands into his own hands.

In the year 1517 the succession in the empire, about which Maximilian had already entertained the most varied views, became an important question owing to his failing health; and just before his departure, Charles, on an understanding with his grandfather, came forward as a candidate. Indeed, the choice of a Roman king during the emperor's lifetime was most important if the Hapsburg succession was not altogether to become doubtful. Some concessions to the electors and payment of old debts soon made them compliant, and the election was fixed for January, 1519, in Frankfort. Maximilian promised at the same time to have his own coronation as emperor completed, and the Pope, according to all appearance, was ready. But the monarch died on January 12th, 1519, at Wels, before he could carry out all these plans. He had not made any definite settlement as to his successor or appointed the provisional government necessary

Death of the Emperor Maximilian

in the absence of both grandsons, and so his reign closed abruptly, leaving all important issues unsolved. His body was buried in the church of St. George in Wiener-Neustadt, but his magnificent tomb, designed after his own idea, was raised in the royal chapel at Innsbruck,

and not, as he had wished, over his actual grave. When Maximilian, on December 28th, 1518, signed his will, twenty-eight of the great bronze statues and 134 of the smaller figures were ready. The masters of the plastic arts at Nuremberg, Landshut, and even in the Netherlands, worked at those statues, the grouping of which, as finally carried out by the grandson, was certainly not according to the idea in the mind of the monarch who gave the original order.

During the reign of King Maximilian, many thoughts were born which afterward obtained a tangible form, and many practical improvements sprang from the creative brain of the king himself. But his changeable nature, with the rapid alteration of plans and intentions, prevented him from carrying out systematically purposes when definitely formed. However little results his exertions in the field of imperial reform may have finally given to the nation, still the nation showed itself grateful. His contemporaries admired him; posterity celebrated him as the "last of the knights." It was, indeed, the chivalry of his nature that won him the affection of his people, notwithstanding the many evils from which, during his reign and partly through his mismanagement, the German nation suffered.

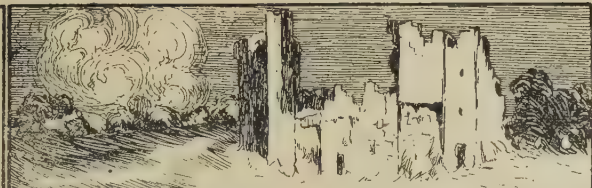
ARMIN TILLE



THE MEETING OF MAXIMILIAN AND HIS FIRST BRIDE, MARY, HEIRESS OF BURGUNDY
After the painting by Anton Peterer



THE DEVASTATING ONSLAUGHT OF THE PLUNDERING MAGYARS
The Magyars were a Finno-Ugrian people who loved fighting and plundering, and when they burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube they left desolation in their track. They ravaged the civilisation of Europe at the close of the ninth century, a period during which the resisting power of the countries attacked was at its very lowest



GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

THE early settlements of the Teutons in prehistoric times lay between the Elbe and the Vistula, the Kelts being their western neighbours. When the Teutons proposed to migrate westwards and to settle in the Keltic districts to the west of the Rhine, the advance of these barbarians was checked by the fortifications which Julius and Augustus had added to the natural barriers of the Rhine and Danube. Three or four hundred years later the Teutons broke through the Roman frontiers they had often threatened.

While the East Teutons were advancing on their path of victory and death amid mighty conflicts, an event hardly less important was in progress on the frontiers of Middle and Eastern Europe, noiselessly and almost unobserved; this was the occupation by Slav races of those districts which the Teutons had abandoned. They entered the empty space between the Vistula and the Elbe, and, crossing this latter river, settled on the Frankish ground of Thuringia. They also seized modern Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the retiring Marcomanni, spread over the Sudetic and Carpathian Mountains, established themselves in Pannonia and Noricum, and overran the eastern slopes of the Alps, the districts from the source of the Drave to the Adriatic, and considerable portions of the Baltic peninsula.

The Slavs in Possession of Bohemia

Bohemia, which had been abandoned by the retiring Marcomanni, spread over the Sudetic and Carpathian Mountains, established themselves in Pannonia and Noricum, and overran the eastern slopes of the Alps, the districts from the source of the Drave to the Adriatic, and considerable portions of the Baltic peninsula.

This Slav migration, which followed the Teutonic migration, was accomplished during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. So early as the sixth century their oppressors and pursuers, the Avars, pushed forward along the Theiss and Danube into the territories occupied by the Slavs. To this movement were added immediately afterwards a backward Teutonic wave, and, at a later date, a wedge-like advance of the Magyars, with the result that the Slavs were permanently divided into a northern and southern group.

The occupation by the Slavs of these wide territories which had belonged to the Teutons brought the two nationalities into relations providing material for endless conflict. Such conflicts broke out to some extent during the reconquest by the

Germans of the original Teutonic settlements, but led to no definite result any more than the conflict between the Germans and the Romance peoples of South-west Europe, with their constant alternations, which were begun by the struggle for territory, supremacy, and material or moral power, and have continued for some fifteen hundred years.

The history of the struggles between the Slav and the Teutonic military forces and civilisations centred round two regions, which must be separated geographically and historically, one to the south-east and one to the north-east. The line of demarcation between these two coincides almost exactly with the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia. The state of Austria was the result of the conflict in the south-east, and the monarchy of Brandenburg-Prussia was produced by that on the north-east frontier.

A movement eastward at the expense of the Slavs began in the seventh and eighth centuries, and emanated from Bavaria, the duchy of the Agilolfings which was but nominally dependent upon the Frankish Merovingians and Carolingians. Availing themselves of the decline of the power of the Avars, the Bavarians extended their influence over

the Slavonic Carentanians, the ancestors of the modern Slovenians, or Wends, of Central Austria. At the same time Christianity advanced from the Bavarian bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, and Passau over the frontier districts. The country as far as the Enns and the upper Drave was already thrown open to the German nationality, when a far greater

Slavs and Teutons in Conflict

The Line of Christianity's Advance

power prepared to intervene in the struggle which was going on.

After the death of Tassilo, the last of the Agilolfings, Charles the Great began his struggle against the Avars in 791, which ended with the destruction of their kingdom in 796. As elsewhere, the Frankish king founded margraviates on the Central Danube, apparently

Conversion of Heathen Peoples

two in number, the East Mark, including the land on the right bank of the Danube, from the Enns beyond the Vienna forest and extending southwards to the Drave; and the Mark of Friuli, the land to the south of the Drave, including Istria. Passau and Salzburg, which had been an archbishopric from 798, occupied themselves with converting the inhabitants of the former provinces of Noricum, Rhætia, and Pannonia, who were chiefly heathen; Salzburg and Aquileia obtained metropolitan rights over the conquered districts.

Constitutional and ecclesiastical organisation were accompanied by immigration and settlement. Lower Austria and Western Hungary, Styria, and Carinthia, received the main bulk of their German population between the eighth and ninth centuries. Bavarians and Franks made their settlements side by side with Slav inhabitants and also with Slav colonists.

The Carolingian system of government by no means aimed at the extermination of the peaceful Slavs who had become Christians; at the same time the inhabitants of the Slav marks continually became dependent upon German territorial lords, and as early as 828 the word "Slav" (*sclavus*) acquired the significance of slave. There was nothing oppressive in this arrangement, as the land was divided chiefly into large estates belonging to ecclesiastical corporations or secular nobles who appreciated the scattered population at their full value. Thus from the outset the German territories of the

Campaigns of Charles the Great

Austrian Alps were brought under cultivation, primarily by large territorial lords, and to a less extent by a class of peasantry. The process of Germanising and Christianising the south-eastern frontiers of the German kingdom is connected with the Bavarian campaigns of Charles the Great against the Avars; similarly his Saxon wars brought him into collision with the Elbe Slavs on the north-east. The attacks upon Bohemia occupy an intermediate

position. Charles overran this country from the south-east and north-west, until he had made it tributary to himself, though he did not throw it open to German colonisation or to Christianity (805-806). The complicated campaigns against the Elbe Slavs forced the conquered tribes to make a nominal acceptance of Frankish supremacy, but left them in other respects independent and so dangerous that the great organiser founded several frontier counties—the marks of Thuringia, Franconia, and Bohemia—and created a connected line of defence, strengthened by fortresses, along the Elbe, the Saale, and the Böhmerwald.

Here were situated the frontier marks, in which peaceful intercourse with the Slavs was developed, such as Bardowick, Magdeburg, and Erfurt. In the north-west Saxon, Danish, and Slav territories, the frontier of the empire was pushed across the Eider; however, Charlemagne left to the federated tribes of the Abodrites East Holstein, or Wagria, which was not conquered until the bloody conflicts of the twelfth century. After the death of

Foundation of New Slav States

the great emperor in 814, his disconnected empire naturally fell to pieces, and the Elbe Slavs, together with those of the south, with the exception of the Carentanians, broke away from French influence. New Slav states were formed, of which the great Moravian kingdom was the most important and the most hostile to the Germans. In Moravia and Pannonia the Slavs voluntarily accepted Christianity about 870, without obliging the Germans to make much effort for their conversion. Bohemia and Moravia remained untouched by German influence for another century.

The great Moravian kingdom had been hard pressed by the Emperor Arnulf, and was already in process of dissolution when the South-east German marks of the Carolingian period came to ruin; the Magyars, a Finno-Ugrian people, burst into the district of the Theiss and Danube, and, like the Huns and the Avars, ravaged the higher civilisation of Europe, the morality and resisting power of which had never sunk so low as at the close of the ninth century, the age of devastation.

German supremacy was thrown back beyond the Enns; the more accessible districts of the Carolingian Mark became deserted; and the remnants of the

THE GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST

colonial population remained scattered in mountain and forest valleys, surviving two generations of this terror. The inhabitants of the Pannonian plains, who were chiefly Slavs, became serfs, and the Slovacks were reduced to pay tribute; only the Slovenians or Carentanians remained free. A protracted frontier war was in process, which brought forth new royal families, and in particular a new Bavarian ducal house.

The conditions in Saxony were similar. The conduct of the uninterrupted frontier war against the heathen Elbe Slavs brought the ducal family of the Ludolfings to the front. This house—the Saxon emperors—continued the frontier war, which was imposed upon them by tradition and necessity. The second period of successful struggle against the Elbe Slavs began, and Henry I. started by attacking the Hevelli in 928, with the Saxon army, which had been reorganised for the Magyar war.

In the year 928 Henry I. attacked the Hevelli and captured their main fortress, Brenna-burg, or Brandenburg, after pitching his camp on the frozen Havel. "Ice, steel, and hunger, these three brought Brenna-burg to her fall." In the same year the king stormed Gana, or Jahna, the town of the Daleminzii, and founded the fortress of Meissen on the conquered territory. Here, again, the defeated population was subjected to pillage, while the warriors were put to death and the remainder sold into slavery. When Henry, in 928 and 929, invaded Bohemia, which had been united for a generation under a duke of the Premyslid house, Wenzel I., the later martyr and patron saint, offered no resistance, but accepted the land as a tributary fief from the hands of the German king. Although Bohemia several times shook off the German supremacy, the feudal suzerainty was upon the whole maintained, so that the duchy and the later kingdom became a permanent portion of the empire, and belonged to the German federation until its end in 1866. By the further subjection of the Redarii, Abodrites, Wilzes, and Liutizi, all the land on both sides of the Elbe as far as the Oder obeyed the first king of the Saxon house.

The civil wars, which fill the earlier years of Otto I., were accompanied by wars upon the Wends. The successor of Henry I. had made over the frontier of

the Saale and Central Elbe to the Mar-grave Gero, and the district on the lower Elbe to the Duke Hermann Billung. Gero waged war with fearful vigour and with reckless choice of means. In 939, when informed that the Wends had planned a surprise attack, he invited thirty of their chiefs, made them drunk, and killed them.

How Gero He thus ruled the Slavs to the
Ruled Havel as Hermann ruled the
the Slavs Baltic Slavs; but he was constantly supported by the king, and the Wendish wars of the Saxon period thus assumed a character of imperial enterprise.

Between 950 and 970 the Wends were constantly revolting. After the death of Gero, in 966, the king divided this district into five marks, from which were gradually formed the Northern Mark, or Old Mark, the Eastern Mark of Lausitz, or Saxony, and the Thuringian Mark—the Margraviate of Meissen. Otto's wars with his German rivals, the Danes, for the mastery of the North Sea and the Baltic territories, and the mark organised in 934 by his father and occupied by the Germans between the Eider and Schlei—afterwards the Mark of Schleswig—are legendary achievements.

Throughout this time German merchants and German missionaries, those historical pioneers of military and constitutional supremacy, had been visiting the marsh and forest districts occupied by the Wends; German missionaries had also come face to face with the obstinate heathenism of Scandinavia. In these frontier territories Christianity did not secure its hold until the ecclesiastical institutions of the Saxon period were established. The bishopric of Hamburg, founded in 831—an arch-bishopric after 834 and the seat of St. Ansgar, who first secured the title "Apostle of the North"—was united with Bremen in 847, and remained under the Saxon kings the starting-point for missions to the north. Otto I. made the bishoprics of

The First Schleswig, Ripen, and Aarhus,
Wendish founded in 948, subordinate to
Bishoprics the metropolitan see of Bremen. At that time, in 946 and 949, the king founded the first bishoprics upon Wendish soil, Havelberg and Brandenburg, to which the subject Slavs were obliged to pay tithes and tribute. To these must be added the bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagria—East Holstein—known to the Wends as Stargard. In 968 Otto succeeded in his favourite

project of making Magdeburg an archbishopric, independent of Mainz; and to this the sees of Havelberg and Brandenburg, Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz, were subordinate as suffragan bishoprics. Thus Christianity had secured a firm foothold in the marks, and the missions prospered among the refractory Wends.

The Wends Back to their Old Gods However, when Otto II. was defeated on July 15th, 982, by the Saracens in Apulia, the Danes and Slavs renewed their attacks in 983, and the patient achievements of fifty years' policy collapsed amid this wild disturbance. Havelberg and Brandenburg were destroyed; Hamburg was reduced to ashes; and the Wends returned to the service of their god Gerowitt and the three-headed Triglav, at the places of sacrifice. Tithes and tribute were no longer paid.

The German nationality became powerless between the Elbe and the Oder. The only true method of securing Germanisation had not yet been discovered. Germans had entered the fortresses which the Slavs had already built or reconstructed, and German wardens had replaced the Slav castellans or Zupans. Only under the shelter of the fortresses had the land been cultivated here and there, and it was impossible for such a colonisation to put out strong roots in the territory east of the Elbe.

Under the regency of Theophano some campaigns against the Wends were undertaken between 986 and 990, but under Adelheid (991-996) the frontier was barely defended. The Emperor Otto III., whose sympathies were wholly foreign, and who was absorbed by the dream of a universal monarchy, was sufficiently ill-advised to diminish German influence in the east. It was at that period that the duchy of Poland emerged from the deep obscurity of the time, and Christianity made its way here under the dukes Mesko and Boleslav Chabri. About this time Hungary and

Hungary and Russia Adopt Christianity Russia were also Christianised, while Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Iceland and Greenland, followed in the eleventh century. Inspired by sincere reverence for the Bohemian Adalbert, his personal friend, who had been murdered by the heathen Prussians in 997, Otto III. made a pilgrimage in the year 1000 to Gnesen, where a memorial was erected to this saintly martyr, whose corpse Boleslav had covered with gold.

At the wish of Duke Boleslav; and with the emperor's consent, a special archbishopric for Poland was organised in Gnesen; seven suffragan bishoprics were to be subject to the new metropolitan, including the bishops of Cracow, Breslau, and Kolberg, all to the disadvantage of the metropolitan chair of Magdeburg, to which the Poles had been hitherto subordinate. Only the Bishop of Posen protested against this new organisation of the Polish Church and adhered to Magdeburg for the moment. In that same year Hungary was for ever separated from the German Church, after Stefan I. had made Gran the seat of a primate for the whole kingdom.

From that date Poland and Hungary continued a separate ecclesiastical and political existence, but the Germans never ceased to transmit their own civilisation and that of the west to their eastern neighbours. The kingdoms of the Piasts and of the Arpads resisted German supremacy, which they recognised only under the immediate pressure of German military force; none the less the time approached when German migration no longer

Where the Saxons were Successful trickled, but flowed, into the two countries; after that date agriculture, mining, trade, manufacture, and town life were stamped with German characteristics. The Saxon emperors were more successful in the south-eastern mark than upon the Wendish frontier; the former had been shattered by the Magyars at the beginning of the tenth century, but had been restored in 995 after the victory on the Lechfeld.

Once again the rulers gave large tracts of land to secular nobles, churches and monasteries; and again a strong German and especially Bavarian immigration began. Like the East Babenberg mark, the frontier of which had been definitely advanced to the Leitha since the Hungarian wars of the Emperor Henry III., so also the Carentanian or Styrian mark gradually broke away from the Bavarian duchy. In view of the extraordinary independence of these south-eastern frontiers and their princes, it was possible at a later period that larger independent states might be developed there.

In the time of the Salian emperors the imperial policy paid no special attention to the Slav districts on the Elbe. Colonisation and missionary activity came to an end. It should have been the task of



THE BETRAYAL AND SLAUGHTER OF THE WENDISH CHIEFS BY THE MARGRAVE GERO

the territorial princes and bishops to continue the work which the empire had ceased to perform. However, even the Saxon dukes of the family of Billung confined themselves to exacting taxation from the Slavs, but made no attempt to foster colonisation or Christianity. For a short time the archbishopric of Bremen, especially under the ambitious Archbishop Adalbert, who died in 1072, whose diocese included the whole of North Europe, revived the missions to the Slavs; he seems to have been the first to induce the Netherland colonists to bring the peat districts on the Weser under cultivation. He was supported in 1046 by the alliance of the Abodrite prince, Gottschalk, who had voluntarily accepted Christianity.

Christianity under the Wends soon made such progress that it was possible to found the bishoprics of Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg. But in a few years the reaction set in. The Liutizi attacked the Abodrites, who reverted to their old gods and obeyed the heathen prince, Kruto, after Gottschalk had been killed in 1066, and Bishop John of Ratzeburg had been sacrificed before the idol Radegast.

No fundamental change took place until the Saxon duke, Lothar of Supplinburg, became German king on August 30th, 1125. The Elbe Slavs were again made tributary; the sanctuary of Radegast in Rethra was destroyed; and even the Polish duke, Boleslav III., did homage to the emperor for Pomerania and Rügen. Christianity had secured a hold in Pomerania in 1124; a pious German bishop, Otto of Bamberg, was an apostle of this heathen country. German customs and language crossed the Elbe in force, extended over the wide river-valleys, and advanced towards the shores of the Baltic.

These districts at the present day are thoroughly German, and are, indeed, the

Heroes of German Expansion centre of German strength and power. The time had come when the nation was in possession of that superfluous

strength which felt the need for conquest and colonisation. The age also brought forth those leading personalities required by every great movement, the heroes of the German expansion beyond the Elbe. These were the Ascanian Albert the Bear, the Schauemburger Adolf II. of Holstein, and Henry the Lion.

In the year 1134 the Ascanian Albert of Anhalt, the son of Otto the Rich of Ballenstedt, was invested with the fief of the Saxon Nordmark, a barren and swampy district then inhabited only in the west. There were no actual settlements in the Wendish territory to the east of the Elbe, and only historical claims to this imperial fief. In rapid succession, however, Albert conquered Prignitz, together with Zauche, restored the episcopal chair of Havelberg in 1136, and concluded a treaty of inheritance with Pribislav of Brandenburg, so that this district, the later Middle Mark, came into his hands in 1150.

The bishopric of Brandenburg was then revived, and it was finally possible for the titular bishops of the marks, who had been driven from their dioceses for a century and a half, to resume residence. Together with Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg (1152-1192) the Ascanian now devoted himself to the colonisation of the Slav districts on the Elbe. The conquests of the sword were secured by the work of the ploughshare. As Ranke says: "The sword, the cross, and the plough

Massacres of the Slav Races co-operated to secure the land on the right of the Elbe for Germany." The colonisation on the right bank of the

Elbe, which is most characteristic of Germany, originated, however, not in Brandenburg, but further north, in Wagria. Count Adolf II. of Holstein, of the family of Schauemburg, had almost exterminated the heathen Slav population of this district in a series of massacres. He then sent out messages to the Lower Rhine, to the Flemings and the Dutch, to the effect that all who wanted land might come and receive arable and pasture land, cattle and fodder, in abundance.

The colonists came and settled in small villages. Adolf II. also built a town; in the neighbourhood of Buku, which was destroyed in 1138, rose the new town of Lübeck in 1143, which was destined afterwards to secure the supremacy of the Baltic and the commercial predominance of the whole of Northern Europe.

For fifteen years German colonists continued to enter Brandenburg. Since the Wendish revolt of 1157 the property and the rights of the Slav population seem no longer to have been recognised. The margrave distributed the land, where he did not keep it for himself, to noble lords, chiefly coming from the Altmark, who

THE GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST

had helped in the process of conquest, to bishoprics, churches and monasteries, and also to his *ministeriales* and knightly adherents. In some cases the Wendish nobles who had submitted were left in possession of their property, and amalgamated with the immigrants to form a new race. Christianity seems to have begun in this quarter with the summons to the colonists from North-west Germany; Bishop Anselm of Havelberg and the Premonstratensian Order were transplanted to the mark from the neighbouring town of Magdeburg, where the founder of the order, St. Norbert, had been archbishop in 1126 and had died in 1134.

The popular Cistercian Order did good service in the colonisation and Germanisation of the north-east. The work of Albert the Bear was continued by his successors in those parts of Brandenburg which were acquired about 1260, the Uckermark and the Newmark, Lebus and Sternberg.

The third of the royal colonisers of the twelfth century was the most powerful of them all; this was Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Originally he contented himself with the tributes of the Wendish princes, including the Abodrite Niklot.

**The Powerful
Henry
the Lion**

Purely territorial interests induced the Guelph to initiate an aggressive policy against the Elbe Slavs. After the foundation of Lübeck by Adolf II., the customs revenue of Bardowick, the chief commercial town on the Lower Elbe, belonging to Henry the Lion, began to dwindle, and the duke, by the right of the strong hand, deprived the count of Schauenburg of his new town (1157-1158).

This action redounded to the advantage of the people of Lübeck, for the Guelph overwhelmed this productive source of imposts with privileges. In order to free the town on the Trave from the molestation of Slav pirates, Henry attacked the Abodrite prince, and made his territory, which had hitherto been tributary, a component part of the duchy. Following the example of Albert the Bear, he divided the conquered district among his noble comrades, among squires and knights who had joined in the expedition, and among bishops and monasteries. The three new territorial bishops of Lübeck, Ratzeburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin were invested by him personally, and not as were the bishops of Brandenburg by the emperor. In addition to the territory of the

Abodrites, the modern Mecklenburg, he also subjugated Pomerania, though the princes, who were already Christians, were not deprived of their power. On the other hand, the Danes overpowered the last refuge of piracy and heathenism, the Island of Rügen. In the summer of 1168, King Waldemar I. and Bishop Absalon of

**The Danes
Destroy a
Great Idol**

Roskilde conquered the strong defences of Arkona. A deep impression was made upon the Danes, who broke the four-headed idol Swantewit in pieces, and threw it into their camp fire. It was only by secret intrigues that Henry the Lion could secure from the Danes the cession to himself of half the temple treasures of Arkona and half of the tribute of the island.

The colonisation of the lowlands on the right bank of the Elbe displays certain features which recur in the German settlements of Silesia and Prussia, also in Bohemia and Hungary. The margrave, the monastery, the noble, or anyone who possessed a superabundance of land, called in colonists, who were chiefly Saxons of the Rhineland, Flemings, and Netherlands, though here and there Central and Upper Germans made their appearance. A contractor, known as the locator, divided the land appointed to him among the settlers who had come with him, and now became village companions. Again, some Slav township might be divided among the new comers when the former population had been expelled. These new settlements generally took the form of villages with one or more streets, according as the houses were built in one or two rows; the land belonging to every house formed a connected strip extending to the wood or marsh. Generally speaking, individual allotments did not exceed the average size of thirty acres.

While the German colonists of the Elbe and Oder district had taken possession of the mainland in the twelfth century, and had founded a countless number of villages, the thirteenth century was especially the age of the foundation of towns. The process of Germanisation was not concluded, and did not show its full power until the foundation of German towns endowed with German rights—chiefly modelled upon those of Magdeburg. In the founding of towns a general plan was also followed, and we discern an

**The Age of
German
Expansion**

THE GERMAN EXPANSION ON THE EAST

increasing technical power of arranging detail. One or more locators stand at the head of the enterprise proposed by ecclesiastical or secular nobles. At a suitable spot, which is already inhabited in part, a market-place is marked out, which is of large size, square and level, and is generally known as the "ring-platz."

Spaces are marked off for the council house and exchange, and sites are then measured along the market-place for the settlers; these are neither broad nor deep, in order that as many as possible may share this privileged position. In addition to this, a few parallel streets of approach are marked out, and the whole is surrounded by a circuit wall of considerable strength. In some cases new towns and suburbs are formed, which are united upon occasion with the old town. The locator ranks as mayor of the town, in possession of privileges of every kind.

The town annually pays the landowner or territorial lord, after the lapse of the stipulated period of exemption, a

lump sum, which is contributed by the individual families, and becomes a smaller burden as the wealth of the community increases. Whenever German municipal privileges are introduced, the process of development does not cease until complete independence is secured. The mayor is assisted in his judicial functions by assessors; the affairs of the town are in the hands of a town council, and the mayoralty is finally transferred from the lord of the town to the community. When the community has thus become entirely free, the usual struggle begins between the mercantile patriciate and the industrial classes to secure admission to the council and the state offices. This stage of development, however, was undergone by every town in the mother country, and reappears in the colonial towns, though in abbreviated form.

Together with the agricultural village and the commercial or manufacturing town settlements, the mining colony forms a third kind of settlement. After the discovery of the silver mines of Freiberg,



THE STOCKADED HOUSE OF A GERMAN FARMER IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY



THE HOMESTEAD OF A TEUTONIC CHIEF IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL TIMES

Town life was unknown among the early Teutonic races, who dwelt in village settlements around which were fortifications of earth and wood that served as a refuge for the population. The chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, swamps and other natural boundaries, their own headquarters being stockaded as shown in the illustration.

the half Slav Erzgebirge attracted not only German miners, whose first starting-point seems to have been the Hartz Mountains, but also other colonists. These completed the Germanisation of the modern kingdom of Saxony. Such colonies developed codes of their own capable of expansion, and in Moravian Iglau and Bohemian Kuttenberg the mining industry soon formed centres similar to that of Saxon Freiberg.

All these institutions which arose upon the old Slav territory are also found in Silesia, which was entered by German colonists at a later date than Brandenburg. Their invasion was directed by the power of the Church and the princes.

In Poland, which was regarded as belonging to Silesia until the thirteenth century, Christianity had become predominant so early as the tenth century. The Polish Church retained the traces of its German origin, and in consciousness of this fact an attempt was made to counter-balance German preponderance by the introduction of French clergy. Circumstances, however, brought it about that in the twelfth century not only the Church, but also, and to a greater extent, the ducal

power facilitated the general triumph of German nationality throughout Poland, and secured the complete Germanisation of the larger part of Silesia. The dukes enjoyed almost unlimited power and property, while the Church and the growing order of the nobles shared the privileged position of territorial lords. In consequence the peasant class, originally free, gradually dwindled, and was replaced by a disorganised mass of occupants, subject to tribute, burdened by forced service, and bound to the soil. There were no free towns, although we can detect traces of an early Polish town constitution, which bears some similarity to the old Russian town system.

After the time of Boleslav III., who died in 1138, Poland was broken into petty principalities, and Silesia also acquired a kind of independence. The neighbourhood of Germany, the connection of the dynasts with German princely houses, the influence of German women and mothers, and of princes educated in German schools, secured the advance of the Germans to the central districts of the Oder in the twelfth century. As in Pomerania and Mecklenburg, this

movement was a bloodless one, completed under the protection of princes of Slav origin, without the slaughter or expulsion of the non-German previous and present occupants—a peaceful contrast to certain proceedings in Wagria, Brandenburg, and Prussia. Where the authorities failed to support the movement and the Polish nationality was able to maintain its ground, as in Upper Silesia, the Slavs were also left in possession. In the rest of Poland, whither the Germans advanced in the thirteenth century, with no less success than in Silesia, an irresistible national reaction took place forthwith.

German Advance in Poland

The peasant colonisation of Silesia by the importation of German immigrants was begun by the German Cistercians—who were first called in by Duke Boleslav the Long—to Leubus in 1175; these were soon followed by Premonstratensians and Augustinian Canons. The Germans settled in new or old villages—the latter were, however, in ruins—under the same favourable conditions as in Brandenburg. From the first moment the settlements of the tenant peasantry struggling with the swamps and primeval forests formed a salutary contrast to the scattered villages of the Polish serf population, who were both incapable and disinclined to work.

It was not surprising that princes, bishops and lords began to found villages “of German right” both in Greater and Lesser Poland. As Schiemann observes, “The privileges of the German peasant colonies consisted in the fact that they enjoyed immunity from the princely jurisdiction except in criminal cases, while they had free markets, freedom from imposts and military service, and were relieved from the manifold forms of forced service which oppressed the Polish peasant.”

Of the Silesian dukes none performed greater service for the Germanisation of the country than Henry I. the Bearded (1202–1238). Under him were founded such towns of German right as Neumarkt,

Löwenberg, Neisse, Goldberg, Oppeln, Ratibor, etc. Especially after the great invasion of the Mongols and the bloody battle of Liegnitz on April 9th, 1241, the process of colonising and founding of towns received a greater impulse. At that time Breslau began its development and secured the privilege of Magdeburg in 1261, while Liegnitz, Landshut, Brieg, Glogau, Beuthen, etc., were also prosperous. The Duke Henry IV. Probus, after the battle of the Marchfield in 1278, received Silesia as a fief from the German king, Rudolf I., and thus the political separation of Silesia from Poland was completed. United with Bohemia by the last Premyslids after 1291, it became in 1327 “feudatory to the crown of St. Wenzel.” During the time of Charles IV. it was once more prosperous, but upon the whole it remained a mere appendage of that kingdom. As such it passed to the Hapsburgs in 1526, with whom it remained until Frederick II. in 1740 asserted the hereditary claims of the Hohenzollerns to Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau, and Jägerndorf.

The German element in Silesia suffered no diminution by the union with Bohemia, though its eastern expansion came to an end. The Polish clergy declared against German colonisation in 1260, and from the time of Vladislav I. Lokietek (1320–1333) the Polish crown generally displayed a spirit hostile to the Germans. This spirit predominated among the powerful nobility until German influence was entirely broken down under the Jagellons, and the kingdom of the national Polish *Schlachta* began to decay.

At the close of the fourteenth century the general culture of Silesia was at a low ebb. The nobles had degenerated, and were professional robbers; the towns were impoverished, especially the smaller of them, and the peasants were overwhelmed by a stupefying servitude which was very little more tolerable than that of their Polish and Bohemian equals.



WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



THE
DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS XI

THE KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

HENRY THE LION seemed to have assured the position of the Germans on the Baltic. The Osterlings, the German Baltic navigators, sailed the sea as far as Gothland and the Gulf of Finland. German factories existed before the end of the twelfth century in Wisby and in Great Novgorod. The Germans began to vie with the Scandinavians and the Slavs for the possession of a world that had hitherto been inaccessible to them. The ecclesiastical or secular conqueror and coloniser was now joined by the merchant, who had been a somewhat insignificant figure in the expansion of Germany until the end of the twelfth century.

The prospects of further advance suddenly became extremely gloomy; the all-protecting power of Henry the Lion collapsed, and Frederic Barbarossa divided the remnants of the Gulf

Conquests of the Danish King

possessions among his adherents in 1181. The barrier was now torn away which had hitherto checked the advance of Danish conquest. The Danish king, Waldemar II. (1202-1241), overpowered Holstein, forced Mecklenburg and Pomerania to do him homage, brought Lübeck under his supremacy, and received the confirmation of his possession of all lands beyond the Elbe and Elde from the Emperor Frederic II., who, in 1214, at seventeen years of age, had come to Germany. In Esthonia the Danes also established a footing, and thence they menaced the new colonies of the Germans.

Suddenly, however, fortune changed. Duke Henry the Black of Schwerin captured the Danish king and his eldest son, who bore his name, to satisfy a private quarrel, at the little island of Lyö, near Fünen, in May, 1223, and brought them in safe custody to Danneberg. While Waldemar II. was confined in the "king's hole," the Germans again secured possession of all the terri-

tory to the east of the Elbe with the exception of Rügen. The king, when set free on November 17th, 1225, attempted to recover what he had lost by force of arms, but was defeated at the battle of Bornhövede on July 22nd, 1226. The German imperial forces had no share in this great victory over the Danes. As

affairs in the country on the Elbe and the Oder had developed without their interference, so also upon the Baltic coasts the advance of German nationality continued without their aid. Their interference, as a rule, was a hindrance rather than a help, and their lack of interest, upon the whole, proved a benefit.

At the time of Waldemar II. a remarkable colonial settlement had been formed upon the shores of the Baltic on the fifty-seventh parallel of north latitude. Nations of foreign tongues inhabited the country south of the Gulf of Finland—Esthonians, Livonians, Courlanders, and Oeseles—who belonged to the Finnish branch of the Mongolian races; to the south-west of them were settled Indo-Germanic peoples—Letts, Lithuanians, Semgallians, and Prussians. The ethnical characteristics of this region were complicated, even from primitive times, by the infusion of Finnish and Lettish elements and by the influence of Scandinavian immigrants. These races were, without exception, still in a state of barbarism, and none rose to any form of constitutional organisation.

How Small Districts were Protected

Chiefs ruled over small districts protected by wildernesses, stockades, and swamps. Apart from village settlements there were also fortifications of earth and wood which served as refuges for the population when revenge or the instinct of piracy led to raids upon the country. Town life was unknown. While the Letts were occupied in cattle-breeding and agriculture, and also in hunting, the Finns

were fishers and mariners or pirates. The religion of the Finns was allied to Shamanism. As regards the religion of the Letts we know that the old Prussians had a national sanctuary in Romovo, in which the high priest, Kryve-Kryvejtó, tended the everlasting fire in honour of Perkunas and offered the sacrifices of victory. All the Baltic peoples believed in a life after death, as is clearly shown by the objects found in their tombs.

Religion of the Baltic Peoples

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Baltic districts were repeatedly ravaged by the Russians, who were unable, however, to secure more than a temporary payment of tribute. In the year 1030 the people of Novgorod built the fortress of Vuríeff to overawe the district; this was destroyed by the Esthonians thirty years afterwards. The modern Russians have, however, given the old eleventh-century name to the German town of Dörpat, which rose on the same spot.

It was not, however, fated for the Russians to bring Christianity and the elements of civilisation to the Baltic territory; this was the work of the Germans, especially of the Low Germans, who extended their linguistic area to the Gulf of Finland, while it touched the allied district of the Dutch and Flemings on the west. German merchants first came from Gothland (Wisby) to the gulf at the mouth of the Dvina. Sailing up the Dvina they came to Poleck and Witebsk, whence an overland route led to Smolensk in the district of the Dnieper. It was, indeed, possible to reach Smolensk from Novgorod, but the road was longer, and in Novgorod the Germans were exposed to the hostile rivalry of the Scandinavians, who were older settlers in that town. Thus, the Germans, and especially the sailors of Lübeck, gained a trading district free from rivalry by this "passage of the Dvina." They left their country in the spring, pitched their booths on the Dvina in the summer, and returned home in the autumn. Individuals even then began to pass the winter among the Livonians and among the Esthonians.

Missionaries to the Livonians

Missionaries soon ventured to Livonia: among these were the Augustinian canon Meinhard, who built the first stone church at Uxküll, and was consecrated bishop in 1186 by the Archbishop of Bremen, Hartwig, and the Cistercian, Theodoric.

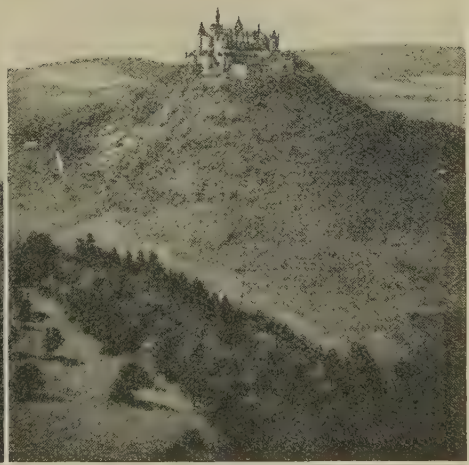
The Germans gathered about their settlements, clearing the forests and setting an example of higher morality to the natives. But neither Meinhard nor his successor Berthold, who summoned the crusaders into the land and was killed in battle in 1198, was ever more than a mere pioneer. After the retreat of the first crusaders the Livonians adopted so threatening an attitude that priests and merchants fled from the country.

At this critical moment the right man appeared to found the predominance of the Germans in the Baltic territories. This was the canon of Bremen, Albert of Buxhövede—also called Albert of Appeldern—who had been consecrated third bishop of Livonia. Before entering his new sphere of work, he secured the favour of the Danish ruler by a personal visit, gained the protection of King Philip of Swabia, and was granted a crusading bull by Innocent III. In 1200 he sailed up the Dvina with twenty-three ships to the settlements of Uxküll and Holm, which had been founded by Bishop Meinhard. He chose, however, a more suitable spot for his residence; at the mouth of the little river Riga, at its confluence with the Dvina, where a considerable bay appeared likely to invite merchants, he began the construction of the town of Riga in 1201. In the following year citizen settlers came out from Bremen and Hamburg, and even at the present day the civic shield of Riga combines the armorial bearings of Bremen and Hamburg.

Founding of the Town of Riga

The Cistercians entered the new monastery built at the mouth of the Dvina in 1208. The Order of St. Bernard was followed by the Premonstratensians, and within a short time, in the extreme north-east, the two spiritual corporations were rivals in the work of colonisation. It was never possible, however, to bring a sufficient number of German peasantry to Livonia and to the territories on the far side of the Niemen; the peasantry would not go by sea, and it was quite impossible to reach this remote district by land without crossing hostile and inhospitable districts.

The German plough was thus unable to conquer Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia as thoroughly as Brandenburg and even Prussia. Hence the difference between the history of this Baltic land and that of the territory between Lübeck and Memel.



GREAT MEDIÆVAL CASTLES OF GERMANY AS THEY ARE TO-DAY

In the late Middle Ages all Germany was a land of splendid princely strongholds, as witness the castled Rhine. Many of these castles are still inhabited, like that of the Counts of Eltz, shown at the top of this page, the picturesque Schloss Lichtenstein on the left, and the ancestral castle of the Hohenzollern on the right. None excelled in grandeur or beauty of site the Castle of Heidelberg, which is to-day a splendid ruin of its past

Photochrome

The struggle with the Finnish and Lettish peoples did not begin until the moment when the Livonians were regarded as subjugated and baptised—shortly after 1200. An occasional body of crusaders was then no longer enough to guarantee the protection necessary for colonial expansion. Hence, about 1202, the knightly

"Brothers of the Sword" Order of the Brothers of the Sword was founded by Bishop Albert, and confirmed by the Pope in 1204. This ecclesiastical

and military brotherhood was organised upon the same principles as the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, who had originated in the Holy Land. Like these Orders it was divided into three classes—the priests, the knights, and the serving brothers—among whom the squires were to be distinguished from the artisans. The uniform of the "Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia" consisted of a white coat and cloak to which a red cross was sewn, formed from two swords crossing each other, hence the name "Brothers, or Knights, of the Sword." On service the heavy armour then in use was naturally worn, though covered with the cloak of the Order.

At the head of the Order was the Master, who was chosen by the Knights from their own class, and all the authorities of the order, the Commanders, Bailiffs, etc., were unconditionally subordinate to him. In important cases the Chapter was summoned, which, however, could only advise, and not decide. The number of the Brothers was never great; like the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, they rather formed a kind of official or general staff corps, to officer the local levies and reinforcements of Crusaders. The Order was recruited chiefly from the North German nobility as long as it remained independent.

Hardly had Bishop Albert been invested by King Philip with Livonia, and elevated to the position of an imperial prince in 1207, when the Order, in return for its

The Knights' Struggle for Independence services, took a third of all the land that was conquered or was to be conquered thereafter. Forthwith the destructive opposition of the episcopal power began; the bishop wished to secure sole authority in the country while the Order was struggling for independence. Innocent III. did not wish to institute any new metropolitan power, and decided that the

Order should pay no other service to the bishopric of Riga, in return for the third part of the land, than that of providing security against the heathen.

Meanwhile the Order had advanced to Esthonia in 1208, and in about nine years had nominally conquered the country. Among the Livonians and Letts a state of ferment had prevailed for a considerable time, a sign that Christianity and German civilisation had gained no real hold of the country. In the year 1218 Livonia was threatened by a great Russian invasion. Bishop Albert then applied in his necessity to Waldemar II. of Denmark, who promised help if the Germans undertook to cede to him all the territory he might conquer.

To this they agreed, and the Danish king landed in 1219 with his naval and military power at the spot where the town of Reval afterwards arose. A surprise of the Esthonians at the castle of Lindanissa was successfully repulsed. It was this battle in which, according to legend, a red flag with a white cross descended from heaven to lead the Danes to conflict. This was the "Danebrog," afterwards the imperial

Danes and Germans at War banner of Denmark. A war between the Danes and Germans for Esthonia was inevitable, as the Order of the Sword had by

no means surrendered its old claims to this district. For the moment the Order made an arrangement with Waldemar in respect to Esthonia, without the knowledge of the bishop, so that the presumptuous Dane now claimed the supremacy of Livonia.

This danger united the Order, and Bishop Waldemar then, in 1222, renounced his claim to Livonia, for the reason that he had never had that country in his power. In January, 1223, a revolt of the Esthonians broke out, the castles of the Knights and of the Danes were reduced to ruins, and in May, the Count Henry of Schwerin captured the Danish king, who, more than all others of his nation, had threatened the German supremacy of the Baltic.

The Order of the Sword now secured the whole of Danish Esthonia in the course of their struggle with the rebels. More important was the fact that Waldemar's blockade of Lübeck came to an end, so that crusaders, merchants, and Knights could advance eastward from this point of Baltic emigration. With their help it was possible to reconquer the castle of Dorpat, which the Russians had taken



KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD AND KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

The Brothers of the Knighthood of Christ in Livonia, wearing on their white cloaks the device of crossed swords is now came to be distinguished as the "Knights of the Sword." Those of the Teutonic Order, which eventually absorbed the former brotherhood, wore the symbol of the Cross. The above shows military and priestly members of both orders.

From the original drawing by W. E. Wigfull

from the Knights. The Russians were now reduced to impotence for a considerable period by the Mongol invasion. The Germans were thus able to subdue the island of Oesel in a winter campaign across the frozen sea, and to force Christianity upon the inhabitants. The subjugation of this piratical state concluded the political foundation of German Livonia. Before the death of

Death of the Great

Bishop Albert Bishop Albert, in 1229, the German king, Henry VII., the son of the Emperor Frederic II., had conferred Esthonia upon the Brothers of the Sword as a permanent fief, and permitted the Bishop of Riga to coin money and to grant municipal liberties. After the death of this great ecclesiastical prince hard times came upon the land and the Order. Waldemar II. again secured possession of Northern Esthonia, including Reval.

The Order of the Sword was oppressed by the bishops, who were jealous of its power. It possessed, indeed, a territory of 730 square miles in extent, whereas the five bishoprics of Riga, Dorpat, Oesel, Semgallia, and Courland had only 870 square miles between them. The Brotherhood, therefore, applied for union with the Teutonic Order, which had meanwhile entered Prussia. Probably the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, would have refused this request had not the Master of the Order of the Sword, Volkwin, met his death with fifty Knights in battle against the Lithuanians on September 22nd, 1236.

Thus, under Pope Gregory IX., an amalgamation with the Teutonic Knights was concluded. The Master, Hermann Balk, came to Livonia and took possession of all the land of the Order of the Sword in the name of the Teutonic Order. The claims of Denmark and Northern Esthonia were recognised for the moment, and it was not until 1346-1347 that the Danish territory passed into the hands of the German Order.

Colonisation in the Hands of the Knights

After the first half of the thirteenth century the fate of colonisation in the north-east, once occupied by a Teutonic, and then by a Slavo-Lettish and Finnish population, was in the hands of the Teutonic Knights. Until the fourteenth century the nation was in process of a development which is reflected in the history of the Order no less than the succeeding stagnation and decay. The last of the great knightly Orders of the crusading

period had originated in a brotherhood of ambulance bearers founded by German pilgrims, especially by merchants during the siege of Acre in 1190. As early as 1198 this brotherhood of hospitallers had been formed into an Order of Knights on the model of the Templars, except that in the case of those who served the hospitals the organisation of the Knights of St. John was adopted at the outset. The "Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary of Jerusalem" gave a national character to the new Order by accepting only scions of the upper German nobility, not excluding knights and, therefore, citizens who had a knight's standing in their towns.

The uniform of the Teutonic Knights was a white cloak with a cross; the same emblem was worn both on their surcoats and their caps, while the priests of the Order wore a white cowl with a black cross. The centre of the Order and the residence of the Grand Master was at Acre until the conquest of that city in 1291 by the infidels, although the Knights had meanwhile secured extensive possessions in Europe, amounting to a connected territory. As early as 1211 the

The Knights Expelled from Hungary

Knights had acquired a large sphere of activity in Europe, when Andreas II. of Hungary summoned its members to Transylvania to fight against the heathen Cumanians, and rewarded them with the Burzenland. The Order, however, protected the country from papal influence, declined to recognise the supremacy of the apostolic king, and attempted to gain complete independence, so that the Hungarians, in deep suspicion of these political moves, expelled them.

At that time negotiations were proceeding between the Grand Master, Hermann of Salza, and Conrad of Masovia. This Polish petty prince was also in possession of the land of Kulm, which was devastated by the heathen Prussians. The Cistercian monk, Christian of Oliva, the first titular bishop of Prussia, had, in 1215, undertaken a crusade into the heathen district beyond the Vistula, with the support of the Polish duke, an enterprise which failed. When Duke Conrad saw that his own possessions were endangered, he applied to the German Order. Taught by the failure in Transylvania, Hermann of Salza first negotiated with the emperor, who, in 1226, readily gave away what was not his to give, by investing the Order



MEDIEVAL GERMAN CASTLE, SHOWING THE DEFENSIVE USE OF NATURAL WATER

with the land of Kulm and with all future conquests. After some hesitation the Duke of Masovia abandoned his claim to the whole land of Kulm in 1230. The Order then offered it to St. Peter, whereupon Pope Gregory IX. returned it to them in 1234 as a permanent possession on payment of a moderate tribute.

By this means the Order became independent of episcopal power, which in Prussia, as in Livonia, was struggling for

the supremacy. Moreover, they were left entirely free with respect to the Poles, and could appeal to their imperial charter against the Church and to the protection of the Pope against the empire. It must be said, however, that the evils which finally overthrew the Order originated in these conditions which then appeared so favourable. The Popes treated it as they treated any other power, to satisfy the momentary interests of their world-wide

policy; the bishops undermined the supremacy of the Order, in which task they were outwitted by its enemies, the country and town nobility. When the Polish petty princes were brought into a strong centralised state by their union with Lithuania, the Order learned the disadvantage of the position that they had taken up, in the days of their splendour, between the kingdom of the Piasts and the sea. The empire, however, for which the Knights had shown but little respect, made no offer to preserve the loose bond of union from rupture or foreign supremacy.

When Hermann of Salza sent the Grand Master to Prussia in 1228, the colonisation of the Vistula district was proceeding from the fortress of Nassau. With seven brothers of the Order he erected a wall and a ditch—the castle of Thorn—which is supposed to have stood on the left bank of the stream around an oak-tree the top of which served as a watch-tower. Crusaders soon began to struggle against the heathen, and other people arrived to occupy the space around the castle of the Order. Between the years 1231 and 1233 arose the towns of Thorn, Kulm, and Marienwerder; by the charter of Kulm, on December 28th, 1232, the privileges of Magdeburg were granted to them.

After the great defeat of the Prussians on the Sirgune, in 1234, the Order advanced to the sea. Elbing was built in 1237 and colonised with settlers from Lübeck, who were allowed to live according to the rights of their native town. The important connection between the Order and the mercantile towns of the Saxon Wendish district was thus broken. Both peasants and nobles came, the former with their "locators," to the allotments assigned to them, and the latter to the great estates which the Order divided among them, in extent from 100 to 300 hides.

The Power of the Brotherhoods The power of the Teutonic Knights advanced continuously. In 1237 the union with the Brotherhood of the Sword was accomplished, and the problem now arose of securing the coast connections between the Frische Haff and the Gulf of Riga. The advance of the Teutonic Knights had already aroused the jealousy of the Pomeranian dukes, who both secretly and openly offered help to the unconquered heathen and to the Prussians, who had already been

baptised. The new constitution was also endangered by the Mongol invasion of 1241, though this for the moment was turned chiefly against the rival power of Poland. The papal bulls urging Christians to the crusade against the Prussians rightly asserted that the heathen Tartars were preparing a general destruction of the Christianity founded in Livonia, Esthonia, and Prussia. The union of the Tartars with the Russians of the Greek Church in heathen Lithuania threatened destruction not only to the possessions of the Order but to the whole of Latin Christianity. The crusading enthusiasm was inflamed, however, by the greatness of the danger.

At that time (1254-1255) Ottokar II. of Bohemia undertook his famous crusade to Prussia; Samland was conquered and Königsberg was founded. An important step had thus been taken to secure the unity of the divided Baltic colonies. The Order had now taken possession of the land of amber, and had monopolised this valuable commodity, and made it a staple article of trade. At the same time as Samland, Galinden in the lake district of Masuria also came into possession of the Knights of St. Mary. At the moment when it seemed that the Prussians had been overpowered, they began a desperate struggle for their national existence, in the course of which the supremacy of the Order was more than once endangered. It was not until the years 1280-1290 and the subjugation of the Sudanians that the Prussian people was actually subdued, that is to say, for the most part annihilated, expelled, or enslaved. Only those who had remained faithful and had given in their submission at an earlier date were able to live in tolerable comfort. The remainder of the Prussian people was gradually crushed under the colonial population which overran the country.

When Pomerellen was occupied, and the capital was changed from Venice to Marienburg by the Grand Master, Siegfried of Feuchtwangen, in 1309, the Teutonic Knights had reached the height of their splendour. In the last quarter of that same fourteenth century a rapid and inevitable decay began.

There was yet a task of historical importance before the Order—the struggle against the unbaptised Lithuanians; reinforcements of crusaders still came in, who

advanced against the heathen under its leadership. But the Knights of Western Europe in the fourteenth century had lost the heroic character of the age of the Hohenstauffen; they were but a caricature of their more capable forefathers. However, the Order long preserved its predominance against Poland, which had become a kingdom in 1320, as is proved by the Peace of Kalish in 1343. The Poles not only definitely renounced their possession of Pomerellen, but also ceded some frontier districts. The Lithuanians also learned to fear the superiority of the German arms, when they abandoned their frontier warfare for an attack upon Samland in alliance with the Russians and Tartars; at Rudau, on February 17th, 1370, they experienced a defeat, which was celebrated as the most brilliant exploit in the great period of the Knights.

However, it was not until the beginning of the next century—in 1405—that they succeeded in securing the Lithuanian province of Samaitia, or Samogita, which hitherto had interrupted the communication between Prussia and Courland. Thus

The Stringent Discipline of the Knights

it was not until the period of decay was at hand that the whole of the Baltic coast from the Leba to the Narva was under their supremacy. In the course of the fourteenth century the position of the Knights had been consolidated both in the Prussian and in the Livonian territory. These districts were ruled with an iron hand, while within the Order itself a no less stringent discipline prevailed, which educated the scanty but picked troops of the Brothers for the work of government. After the transference of the residence of the Grand Master to Marienburg the system of military bureaucratic rule was brought to completion.

The state was well organised both for defence and attack, and was based upon a sound financial system, while the administration was characterised by indefatigable supervision. Committees representing every province met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg. Wonderful stories were current of the treasures which were preserved there, concerning which only the Grand Master and the Treasurer could speak with certainty.

As the Knights considered themselves the proprietors of the country by right of conquest, they held large estates in their

demesne, and to the products of these were added the revenue in kind and the taxes paid by their subjects. Taxes were first levied in the fifteenth century. A regular income was provided by the regalities; the right of justice and of coinage, forestry and hunting rights, including bee-keeping, the use of water-

The Teutonic Order's Resources

The income of the Order in money was estimated at £275,000. The large supply of natural products which the Brotherhood received from the demesnes by way of taxes and dues necessitated the provision of intercourse with foreign markets, and such were found in England, Sweden, and Russia. Apart from amber, other articles of trade were corn, pitch, potash, building timber, wax, etc., though we have no means of learning the value of these exports.

The extent of the transmarine interests of the Order may be gauged by the fact that about 1398 it suppressed the ravages of the Vitalien Brothers, an organised band of Baltic pirates, and occupied Gothland and Wisby. This position, which was the key to the Baltic north, was, however, surrendered in 1407 to the king of the Union, Eric VII. (XIII.).

Next to the Order the Church possessed the largest amount of land. In Prussia a third of the territory was subject to ecclesiastical supremacy, which extended over two-thirds of the Livonias. To prevent the acquisition of supreme power by the Church, the Order opposed the development of monastic life, and granted full liberty only to the mendicant friars, who possessed no land, were popular in the towns, and worked to convert the heathen. Thus in the territories of the Order there were only two monasteries of any importance, and these, with the land attached to them, had come under the power of the Knights; they were the Cistercian foundations of

When Architecture Flourished

Oliwa and Pelplin in Pomerellen. Knights and monks were at one in their half unconscious and half intentional indifference towards all higher culture. The rule of the Order was thus unfavourable to the growth of science and literature and of all the fine arts; the most practical alone, that of architecture, became flourishing.

The relations of the Teutonic Order with the bishops were marked by greater difficulty. This was not the case in Prussia

itself, as here bishoprics were generally occupied by brethren of the Order or by others in sympathy with its views, apart from the fact that the Order was immediately subordinate to the Pope, and that no bishop would have ventured to pronounce such a sentence as excommunication upon a member. The case, however,

**The Knights
Subordinate
to the Pope**

was very different in Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, where the Knights were obliged to deal with conditions that had existed before its arrival, and had been complicated by the interference of Rome.

Only in Courland and Semgallia, which were conquered for the first time by them, did ecclesiastical affairs develop as in Prussia. When the Order secured the inheritance of the Brothers of the Sword in 1237, Livonia was already occupied by a number of ecclesiastical principalities, of which Riga was the most important. The elevation of Riga to the position of an archbishopric in 1253 made possible the formation of an ecclesiastical state in Livonia.

The object of the Knights was to deprive the Livonian bishops of that temporal power which had been already wrested from the bishops of Courland and Prussia; the result was a series of severe struggles and a permanent state of tension between the opposing forces. At the time of its prosperity in the fourteenth century the Order was upon the verge of securing its desire. This was achieved by its connection with the episcopal vassals, who had become politically independent in the Baltic territories and had thus obliged the bishops gradually to concede all the rights of sovereignty to such feudatories as were pledged to military services. The consequence was a corporate development of the vassal class, which was impossible in Prussia and Courland, but was repeated in Esthonia during its subjection to the Danes until 1347. Though the alliance between the Knights and the episcopal vassals was by no means permanent, it yet provided the Order with a possibility of restoring the balance between its own power and that of the bishops.

**Military
Service in
Prussia**

In Prussia there was also a class of vassals pledged to military service, from which a landed nobility developed; but the Order did not divide its supremacy with this class, but rather kept these members at a distance. Only for excep-

tional reasons was the rule broken that the Prussian or Livonian nobility and their Low German relations were not to be admitted to the Brotherhood of the Knights. The Order drew recruits from Upper and Central Germany even when the Grand Master had transferred his centre to the north.

This exclusive attitude towards the native nobility sowed the seeds of an internal conflict, which assumed a character dangerous to the state of the Order in the fifteenth century. During the fourteenth century the German-speaking nobles who had immigrated amalgamated closely with the remnants of the native nobility of Lettish origin, "the Wittungs." The Brotherhood conferred upon them the same rights as were enjoyed by the other feudal nobles, as a reward for their faithful submission.

The great mass of the population in the villages and manors enjoyed until the fifteenth century a freedom which was in strong contrast to their later servitude and subordination. Serfdom and oppression were the lot only of the rebels among the Prussian tribes. There was,

**Freedom of
the German
Peasants**

however, a difference between this happier portion of the Prussians and the German colonial population, in so far as the former were bound to "unlimited" and the latter to "limited" service in war, the latter being confined to the defence of the country. At the same time, even the native villages seemed to have secured the privileges of Cologne, which gave the German peasant a very desirable amount of freedom and independence.

Upon the whole, the rural population of Prussia and Livonia consisted of tributary peasants, who were mildly treated. They had hereditary rights of ownership to their house and land, and claims to forest, pasture, water, and game, and upon occasion ownership without liability to rent. During the "golden" time under the Grand Master Winrich of Kniprode (1351-1382) there are said to have been some 18,000 villages in all the territories of the Order.

Prussia was a land of German towns to a greater extent than Brandenburg or even Silesia. From the outset the Knights of the Order occupied uncultivated territories in alliance with the German citizen class. In the towns of Prussia there was, as formerly in Germany, a municipal aristocracy under whom the towns

KNIGHTS OF THE SWORD AND THE TEUTONIC ORDER

secured complete independence; here, too, there followed an age of struggle between the aristocratic and industrial classes which never ended either in the complete supremacy of the one or the entire defeat of the other. The peculiar characteristics of the Prussian and Livonian towns are derived from their attraction to the sea and the tendency to form alliances, which they manifested at an early date. Such alliances were further stimulated by Russian carrying trade in districts where they had a common interest in securing the exclusion of all rivals. Thus there were alliances of Prussian towns—Danzig, Elbing, Königsberg, Kulm, Thorn, Braunsberg—and of Livonian towns—

either supported or opposed the Hansa as they did.

In the fourteenth century the supremacy of the German nation began to fade and the pulse of life at home and abroad to beat more slowly. The foreign ambitions of the empire were replaced by a wise domestic policy. The expansion east and south came to an end; colonists were wanting and crusades had ceased. The population had been diminished by the ravages of the Black Death and other plagues. Not only the productivity but also the reproductive power of the nation seem diminished; stagnation and decay were universally prevalent. Eventually the neighbouring nations, who owed so



THE STRONGHOLD OF THE GRAND MASTER OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT MARIENBURG

Started originally as a religious society of German Crusaders, the Teutonic Order of Knights gradually became a military rather than a religious caste, and in 1237 it absorbed the Order of the Brethren of the Sword, who had laboured to convert to Christianity Livonia, Esthonia and Courland. The Teutonic Knights held sway during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Belonging to the Order were many famous strongholds, the chief of these being at Marienburg, shown in the illustration. Committees, representing every province, met together in the Grand Master's castle at Marienburg, and wonderful stories were told of the treasures which were preserved there.

Riga, Dorpat, Reval, Fellin, Pernau, Wolmar, Wenden—like the alliance of the Wendish towns, at the head of which was Lübeck, until all these unions were eventually absorbed by the great and general alliance of the Hansa, to which also the Prussian and Livonian towns belonged, though they did not abandon their narrower objects and confederations.

It was then found that the general interests of the Hansa and the special aims of Prussia and Livonia failed to coincide; quarrels ensued, and the Hansa launched a sentence of boycott. The situation became the more complicated when the Order began to carry on trade on its own account, and was now a rival and now an ally of its towns, and

much to Germany, abandoned their defensive policy for exclusion and attack, menaced the acquisitions of earlier days and plundered the empire, which could protect itself neither as a whole nor in its individual parts.

The anti-German reaction in the east reached its most dangerous point in the kingdom of the Szlachta. The Poles and Lithuanians delivered a series of vigorous blows which shattered the power of the Teutonic Order and made its territory the prey of foreign peoples. We have here to chronicle not merely the cessation of German achievements or the degeneration of German institutions, but rather a number of permanent and irrecoverable losses.

Poland had long ceased to be a tributary vassal state of the German king; none the less German municipal institutions, German right, and German colonisation had secured an entry. Even under Casimir the Great, who died in 1370, and Louis the Great, who died in 1382, the Polish state maintained a friendly attitude to the

**Poland
Friendly to
the Germans**

German nation and civilisation which passed its frontiers. When Jagellon of Lithuania became king of Poland in 1386, and the heathen Lithuanians adopted Roman Catholicism, German immigrants and German town rights were admitted to the newly converted country. The union, however, of these hereditary enemies placed the Teutonic Knights in a dangerous position. The Poles regarded the Order as an unlawful intruder and as the plunderer of Polish territory. They could not forgive the occupation of Pomerellen, the land of Kulm and Michelau; and the new state founded by the Order had cut off the approach to the sea.

Polish hostility had been less openly expressed, but the open animosity of the Lithuanians now led to an outbreak here. Before the time of the union of the Prussian and Livonian territories under the government of the Order, the Lithuanians had been an obstacle to its further extension. Even in the fourteenth century Christian Europe shared in the continuous wars against the Lithuanians by sending crusaders. Now, however, the Lithuanians had become Christians.

Foreign participation in the military enterprises of the German Knights immediately ceased, and the previous religious excuse for a continuation of the struggle was no longer possible, for on many occasions the religious war had been nothing more than a pretext. It was a struggle for power, and primarily for the possession of Lithuanian Samaitia, which advanced in a wedge-shaped form and divided the

**Polish
Support for
Lithuania**

two halves of the territory of the Knights. The Order had quarrelled with its subjects, who were weary of the burden of war, and was no longer supported by reinforcements of crusaders; but none the less it continued its struggle with the Lithuanians, who were now Christians, and eventually secured the disputed landmark of Samaitia. Lithuania was now, however, in enjoyment of the support of Poland. From the time of Casimir the

Great, the Polish army was well organised, and the Lithuanian prince, Witold, had rearranged the national defences, whereas the Order was obliged to enlist mercenaries for lack of other means of help. In the great battle of Tannenberg, on July 15th, 1410, the heavily armed Knights, trained for single combat, were overthrown by the vast hordes of light troops brought against them by the East.

The heroic defence of Marienburg by Henry of Plauen saved the Knights from immediate downfall, and a tolerable peace was made at Thorn on February 1st, 1411, which obliged the German rulers merely to renounce possession of Samaitia and Dobrzyn; but the Order never recovered from this blow, for the reason that domestic disruption had begun. The line of cleavage between the Brotherhood and its subjects became a yawning chasm which could no longer be closed. The landed nobility who yearned for the freedom of their Polish equals concluded treacherous alliances, the most important of which was the "Lizard League," and endangered the existence of the community, while

**Prussia's
Domestic
Differences**

the towns, led by Dantzig, were filled with commercial jealousy of the Knights and were merely awaiting the moment which would secure their independence.

The aristocracy of the towns and country united for common action. Henry of Plauen made an attempt to compose the domestic differences of Prussia by an organisation of estates, but his efforts failed. The bold reformer was deprived of his Grand Mastership in 1413, while the forces of decay attacked the Order itself. Knightly and spiritual discipline disappeared, while selfishness and lawlessness gained ground.

None the less the State of the Teutonic Order endured for a time, though its existence was embittered by domestic and foreign conflicts. A change for the worse began when the "Prussian Alliance" was formed at the Assembly of Marienwerder on March 14th, 1440; this was a union of Knights and towns against the Order. The Grand Master applied to the emperor, and Frederic III. issued a decree condemning the confederation, which then sent a letter of renunciation to the Order and offered the supremacy of Prussia to the Polish king Casimir IV. in 1454. The king graciously accepted the offer, and appointed as his representative



ONE OF THE STately CASTLES OF THE GERMAN KNIGHTS

Few chapters of history are more interesting to-day than the strange medieval story of the various orders of knighthood that flourished in Germany and sought to extend Christianity by the sword. The sheer love of combat and lust of power were greater driving forces to these medieval knights than any spiritual impulse towards the Christian life. In this picture the artist has given a realistic impression of a Knight's castle, admirably arranged for defence, every detail, to the place of the gable, as well as seen, carefully and ingeniously studied.

the leader of the opposition, Hans von Baisen. For thirteen years the civil war which the Knights carried on with mercenaries continued to rage. Even the Grand Master's castle in Marienburg was mortgaged to provide money for the mercenary troops, who were drawn chiefly from Bohemia, and who sold the mortgage with

other castles to the Polish king; many a noble family in East Prussia derives its descent from some ancestor who then gained wealth as a leader of a band. Eventually the Order was completely exhausted, and concluded a second Peace of Thorn on October 10th, 1466. Western Prussia became Polish; and Polish it remained until the partition of Poland (1772-1795). The Grand Master was obliged to do homage to King Casimir for East Prussia.

It was not until a century after the Peace of Thorn in 1466 that the fate of the Livonian territory of the Order was determined. The Teutonic Knights remained in existence even after the secularisation of 1525; at Mergentheim, in Würtemberg, the previous ruler of the Order assumed the title of Grand and Teutonic Master, and was thus styled until 1809, while in Livonia the Master of the army, who had been in any case for a long time independent, remained at the head. None the less, the prospects of the German nationality in this district were worse than in the Polish feudal state of Prussia. The only German elements in Livonia were towns and the nobility, who were chiefly Westphalians. In this district there had been no thorough peasant colonisation, and in every quarter a clannish peasantry of Letts and Finns had survived. The non-German elements felt for the Germans the slow hatred of the serf for his master; it was a hatred that foreboded no danger provided that no enemy gained a footing on Livonian soil. However, the Baltic territories were surrounded by

Where the Germans were Hated greedy neighbours, who regarded them as an easy prey; such was the attitude of the Swedes and Danes, the Poles and Russians. The only question was whether the Livonian Order would be able to make head against the divided forces of its opponents.

Apart from the hatred of the Germans entertained by the original inhabitants, there were other causes of friction which

facilitated foreign interference. There was, in particular, the quarrel which had continued since the days of Bishop Albert as to whether the Order or the bishop was the true master of the country, and the comparative equality in the forces of these two powers prevented the possibility of ending the struggle. The bishops, who were generally the weaker party, often attempted to secure their own preponderance by treacherous intrigues. The Order was also upon bad terms with the towns; Riga was itself often at variance with its own archbishops.

The Livonian towns also had commercial interests of their own, which divided them from the Hansa, and exposed them to the hostility of the Muscovites. When the Reformation came into the country, neither the episcopate nor the Order ventured upon any decided step, as had been done in Prussia, but remained isolated, with their outward show of dead Catholicism amid a Protestant population.

For a while the Livonian Order was able to enjoy prosperity, but after a considerable interval, Ivan IV.

The Last Battle of the Knights the Terrible, renewed the war with it in November, 1557, and the Knights in power were

once more in dissension as to whether they should buy Danish, Swedish, or Polish help at the price of submission. It was an event of decided importance when the Master of the army, Gotthard Kettler, applied to Poland. King Sigismund Augustus accepted the protectorate of the land of the Order and of the archbishopric, though at the price of the immediate cession of some frontier districts. However, the

Order was defeated in the battle of Ermes on August 2nd, 1560, the last occasion on which the banner of the Knights appeared in the battlefield. No alternative now remained. Livonia beyond the Dvina submitted to the king of Poland in 1561. The Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti of November 28th contains the constitutional arrangement by means of which the Order was able to maintain its existence as a separate organisation for another three centuries under foreign rule. George Kettler received Courland and Semgallen, with the ducal title as an hereditary fief dependent upon Poland, and made Mitau his capital. Esthonia with Reval had submitted to Swedish supremacy some months earlier in the same year, that is, in June, 1561.

RICHARD MAYR



THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH AND THE DEGRADATION OF THE POPES

CHARLES' kingdom of God was a unity which could not be maintained by his "pious" son Louis; it was broken into a plurality of nations. All who had the welfare of the Church at heart would naturally strive to preserve this unity, in spite of political disruption. The present task before the Church, the education of the half-civilised nations, could be performed only if it were hindered by no boundaries of nationality, if its power were everywhere the same, and acting by uniform means. Long ago the papacy had regarded itself as the centre of the universal Church, standing far above all political change. But how could these aspirations be fulfilled?

It was impossible that Church and State should advance upon separate paths, continually thwarting one another for the reason that their boundaries were coterminous. The idea which Charles the Great had so brilliantly realised was too splendid and too illuminating to admit this final possibility. The object now before the Church must be a new kingdom of God, with the Pope at its head. The Emperor Charles had formed a

**What the
Popes
Demanded**

kingdom of God and obliged the Church to serve him in its own sphere; the kingdoms of the world were now to serve the Popes for the same object. Not until this ideal was realised would peace and harmony reign, though it was not likely that the transformation would be completed without severe struggles. The theories of Charles had met with unanimous support, because they were in

harmony with the views already prevailing in the Frankish Church that the Church of the country should be subject to the ruler of the land. The Pope's idea overthrew these traditions, proposing, as it did, to secure the contrary object, the supremacy of the Church over secular princes.

**The Pope
Among
the Rebels**

Hence the great struggle was inevitable. And no less inevitable was a return to the theories of Charles; but as long as the whole ideal of the kingdom of God upon earth was not surrendered, the struggle would continue until the Church attained her goal.

The question then arose—who would support the papacy in this conflict. Even under Louis the Pious we can observe the terrible division which separated the friends of Church and State. When the emperor's sons, for the second time, took up arms against their father, the Pope is also to be found in the camp of the rebels. The bishops were divided in their attitude.

Some there were who consoled their conscience with the theory that the Pope acted as Christ's representative, on behalf of the peace of the Church; and to this extent the emperor was also bound to obedience to the papacy. Others gathered round their emperor, and sent a document to the Pope in which they reminded him of his oath of fealty, and declared that they would refuse him their fellowship should he decline submission to his master. The Pope himself was overthrown. But those Frankish prelates who regarded the papacy as the sole guarantee

for the unity of the Church advanced a number of claims on behalf of papal authority, which revived the courage of the Pope. In the Pope was centred all authority and the supreme power of the Apostle Peter; it was for him to judge, and to be judged of none. This theory becomes more definite and general among the West Frankish bishops when the actual division of the empire had taken place.

The Great Aim of the Church

There was an anxiety to see the Church and its bishops secured against the secular princes, and to make the Church a great and independent power; further, in order to secure general recognition for these views, the boldest and most far-reaching of all forgeries was performed. The new regulations devised under new circumstances to secure the prosperity of the Church were given the stamp of primitive laws. Three of these forgeries were produced. The first two, the so-called "Capitula of Angilram" and the "Collection of Capitularies of Benedict Levita," are pieces of bungling; but the third, "The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals," was a magnificent piece of effrontery.

This collection of ecclesiastical law, ascribed to Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, but concocted within the Frankish Empire, was increased by a number of false decretals, which were dated as belonging to the first Roman bishops. Nearly one hundred forged papal letters were inserted in the collection, apart from other well-known pieces of the same kind. Of these latter, one was the "Donation of Constantine," probably fabricated in the time of Pippin and already cited against him; the document asserted that the Emperor Constantine, when healed of leprosy by Bishop Sylvester of Rome, arranged that the bishop should be supreme over all priests in the world, that his chair should be superior to the emperor's throne, that senatorial honour and consular rank should be given to the clergy

Emperor as Squire to the Pope

who served the Roman Church, and that they should in consequence have the right of decorating their horses with white trappings. When the Pope in his humility declined to wear the golden crown the emperor served him as a squire, holding the bridle of his horse, and promised him the possession of all the provinces in Italy and the northern districts, transferring his own capital from Rome to Byzantium. Thus, what the

emperor was to be henceforward in the East, the Pope was to be in the West in virtue of Constantine's Donation.

In the case of the newly forged decretals we must distinguish between their intention and their actual influence. The object was the elevation, not so much of the papal as of the episcopal power. It was declared that according to the Apostle Paul no secular court had jurisdiction over a priest. Only the provincial synod could proceed against a bishop; neither the laity nor the inferior clergy could be admitted to the proceedings as plaintiffs or witnesses, though seventy-two witnesses were demanded. That the forcible expulsion of a bishop might be made impossible it was provided that no charges against a bishop should be considered until he had been completely restored to his rights and property. In order to preserve the episcopal power against secular violence principles were announced concerning the papacy which made it the "head of the whole world"; the papal chair was invested with a right of final decision in all ecclesiastical matters. Only the Pope could summon

How Fraud Elevated the Papacy

a synod, and all questions of difficulty must be submitted to him. The world at large was unaware of the fraud, and these falsifications thus actually contributed to give the papacy an unexampled elevation in the eyes of the public. We have a fine example here of the nemesis of history. To secure a desired standpoint for themselves the clergy assigned an immoral ascendancy to the papacy. But the Popes then used their superiority for the subjugation also of the clergy, and their yoke was heavier than that which lay princes had formerly imposed, and no treachery or deceit could avail to shake it off.

The first Pope who appealed to these false decretals as though they were recognised documents was Nicholas I. (858-867). He may be called the first mediæval Pope. He was also the first Pope who was not only consecrated but also crowned upon his accession; for he was the first to assume supremacy over the princes of the nations, in order to facilitate the exercise of his supremacy over the Church, and for this purpose he declared himself lord of the united kingdom of God upon earth. In his opinion the Christian Church was based upon the papacy; upon the existence of the papacy depended not only

THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH

the religious, but also the social and political order of the world. Within the Church the Pope was an absolute monarch ; his word was God's word, his action God's action. The synods could only execute the decrees of the Pope, while the bishops were merely his commissioners ; " their capacity is to be measured by their subordination to the papal chair."

The Pope Above Kings and Princes

The emperor and all other princes are concerned only with secular affairs. Hence there can be no secular judgment of the clergy, and secular laws can never bar ecclesiastical rights. Should the contradiction occur, secular law is thereby proved unsound, for even in purely political matters the princes were bound to fulfil the Pope's orders. To the Pope all the rulers of the earth must bow down. Hence a king who governed badly, in the Pope's judgment, was not a lawful prince, but a tyrant against whom revolt was obligatory. And, above all things, the emperor must never forget that his crown was given him by the Pope.

Nicholas ruled in full accordance with this theory. Emperors or kings, bishops or archbishops, might attempt to maintain independence of ideas or position, opposition might arise from the East or from the West, his own legates might prove incompetent to preserve his supremacy, but never did he diverge a hair's breadth from his principles. His victories were by no means invariably brilliant, but he always maintained his claims to be a ruler by divine right.

In accordance with these principles his successors devoted their attention to limiting the imperial power. Eventually they were able to confer the mighty crown of Charles the Great upon a Carolingian vassal, a duke of Spoleto. They had failed to consider that if the "protector" were no longer master his protection would disappear, though it was especially needed against the defiant Roman aristocracy, who were anxious to secure the temporal supremacy of the papacy. The rapid degeneration of the papacy became plain when it was no longer subject to the political and moral influence of the

Teutonic nationality. In the eighteen years between 896 and 914 no fewer than thirteen Popes were overthrown.

John X. had ascended the chair of St. Peter. As a deacon he had often been sent to Rome from Ravenna, where Theodora, the wife of a senator, had chosen him as her lover. In order to keep him about her person she secured his election as Pope. Another woman, by name Marozzia, succeeded in throwing him into prison. She had a "spiritual son," as she called him, by an earlier Pope, and this man she raised to the papal chair in 931. Her "secular son," Alberic, governed the city as patricius. She offered her hand to the treacherous and voluptuous Prince Hugo of Provence, who came to Rome hoping to secure the imperial crown through his wife. Their



POPE JOHN X.

He was elected to the chair of St. Peter through the efforts of Theodora, the wife of a senator, who had chosen him as her lover, and desired that he should be near her.

marriage was celebrated in the castle of St. Angelo, but Alberic, fearing for his position and his life as a result of this connection, roused the people to arms. The bridal couple were forced to let themselves down from the castle by a rope, and Alberic, who was appointed Senator of the Romans, imprisoned his mother. After a reign of twenty years, when he felt the approach of death, he convened in St. Peter's Church a meeting of the ecclesiastical and secular magnates of Rome

to recognise his son as the heir to his temporal power, and as the future successor to the papacy. Hence in no long time—in 955—this youth of fifteen years was able to unite the spiritual and temporal powers. This John XII. "loved," as an old chronicle states, "a multitude of women." His life was passed in hunting, play, and drunkenness. He is said to have conse-

Evil Life of Pope John XII.

crated a deacon in the stable, after offering a libation to the ancient gods at a dinner. The results that occurred were only to be expected when the papal crown became the plaything, not only of the nobles, but also of their mistresses. The influence of the papacy upon the Church outside the walls of Rome became practically non-existent, and every national Church went its own way. None the less these miserable or scandalous creatures of

wild factions or fair women did not hesitate to issue proclamations in the unctuous and lofty style of their predecessors. John X., who had been raised to the papacy by his concubine, did not hesitate to scold an archbishop who was famous for his faithful devotion to duty because he had conferred the gifts of the Holy Spirit

Decay of Religion in Italy

as though they were earthly property upon an unworthy recipient. Again, in a letter to another archbishop, he could boast of his personal prowess in battle and could speak of his inexpressible grief to hear of scandals from different parts of the world, by which he could not but be pained, as the cares of the whole world were incumbent upon him. As the news of the appalling degeneration of the papacy gradually spread abroad the reverence for sacred things was bound to diminish.

In Italy, where the papacy was before the eyes of the people, a rapid decay of religious life became obvious in this very period. The traditional ceremonies were indeed continued. This task being the sole reason for the existence of the clergy, the taste for education and science gradually but inevitably deserted them, and the ignorance of the Roman clergy became a byword among other nations. To the assertion of French bishops that science was practically unknown in Rome, the papal legate could reply: "The representatives of Peter and their scholars will have neither Plato nor Virgil for their masters, or any other philosophic cattle. Peter did not know everything, and yet he became the doorkeeper of heaven."

Together with this self-satisfied ignorance we may observe another tendency which turned to heathen authors for that satisfaction which had been previously found in religion. It was not the great and noble thoughts that were admired in these authors, but their heathenism and the shortcomings of their culture. Through

The Clergy's Terrible Degeneracy

enthusiasm for them and through appealing to their example, the more educated clergy degenerated into actual barbarism. The truest worldly wisdom was the unbridled enjoyment of life. Not only the laity, but Popes, bishops, and the clergy followed this tendency unashamed; even the centres of enunciation, the monasteries, were carried away by the movement. In Santa Maria di Farfa the monks poisoned their abbot, fought together,

divided the various properties of the monastery, took wives, reared up families, and plunged into a voluptuous life. The holy vestments for the Mass were turned into clothes for their concubines; bracelets and earrings were made from the altar vessels. The Christianity of Italy was on the point of extinction if no external help were forthcoming.

Among the Teutons the new faith had been received with deep feeling and religious seriousness. Here we may observe among the bishops a zealous desire to influence the people for their good, the spirit which supported the false decretals, and the ideas of supremacy entertained by a Nicholas; humble submission to, and veneration of, the Church was their object.

The sound system of education initiated by Charles the Great and his scholars was a barrier against that thaumaturgic spirit which had passed from the Græco-Roman world to the Frankish kingdom, and had become associated with heathen superstition. This tendency was able to develop unchecked under the successors

The Craze for Holy Relics

of Charles the Great. It was most zealously forwarded by the Church, which was anxious to secure the reverence of the people as the possessor of divine power and the guardian against all the powers of darkness. Every church and every monastery therefore attempted to gain possession of some relic. It seemed impossible to impress the rude minds of the people more deeply than by showing some supernatural power proceeding from these remnants of decay. The more preposterous the character assigned to these treasures, the greater their value. In one monastery was displayed at that time a piece of the cradle in which Christ had lain and the candle which had burnt at His birth, a piece of the wood of which Peter had wished to make three tabernacles upon the Mount of Transfiguration, and the milk of the Virgin Mary.

It must be said that the number of relics offered for sale increased so enormously that apprehensions of possible deceit began to arise. In those cases an attempt was made by a three days' fast to induce God to prove the genuineness of the saint's body by a miracle. The celebrations held upon the translations of relics resembled triumphal processions. The bands that joined the

THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH

procession increased at every stage of the journey, for the holy relic might perform a miracle at any and every moment upon the way. If no other miracle were to be seen, it often happened that after a heavy night's rain the heaven grew splendidly clear upon the morning when the relic was to resume its journey.

There was, however, something even greater than these relics of the saints, for the Church in her services had Christ her Lord present in person. The abbot Radbertus taught that in the Mass the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ by the words of the priest, and that in consequence blood was often to be seen upon the host, or that a lamb might be seen upon the altar. Great was the power that had been given to the Church; the simplest person, when once the Church had made him a priest, could perform this highest of all miracles, and bring down the lofty King of Heaven from on high. With what reverential awe must the people have celebrated divine service when at any moment Christ might show to the eyes of

The Church's Power over Evil Spirits

those present the mystery concealed beneath the forms of bread and wine. As a matter of fact, the attempt to withdraw the people from their faith in the old gods proved unsuccessful. They might indeed be persuaded to praise God the Father Almighty, and to renounce the devil and all his works; but they retained a firm conviction of the powers of those demoniacal spirits who filled the world.

There was no surer means of securing the reverence and obedience of the masses to the Church than by representing the Church as triumphant over the dark powers of evil spirits. Hence the people were taught to obtain consecration for the house in which they lived, for the spring from which they drank, for the bread which they ate, for the orchard and the field from which they gained their harvest. The first ears of corn, the first apples, the first grapes, eggs, cheeses, and meat were brought to the church that the blessing of the Church might preserve all from harm. It was thought well to say a blessing upon the dogs when the cattle were driven to the pasture, upon the bees when they left their hive, upon caterpillars and sicknesses, that they might pass away. The Church failed to appreciate the danger that the ignorant population might

modify these Christian uses and formulæ to the form of their old heathen magical rites, that the old heathen superstition might merely assume a veneer of Christianity. She also disregarded the danger that such action might cause Christianity to be regarded as nothing but a means of protecting mankind from earthly misfor-

**Development
of the
Confessional** tunes. Deeper minds must have hoped that a more spiritual conception of Christianity would take root in the future.

Many centuries passed before this time came, and when it arrived these distorted ideas were so firmly established that they have never been entirely extirpated.

The confessional was an institution that developed in the same direction. Everyone had now to come to confession. If all were not conscious of their sins, the priest was obliged to begin an examination, and to address the penitent in such terms as these: "Perhaps you do not remember all that you have done; I will therefore question you. Have you committed murder?" The result was inevitable; the conscience was certainly awakened to what was forbidden by God, but in such a way that people learned to regard their own sins without sorrow or shame.

The sense of penitence that transforms mankind was hindered, if not entirely destroyed, by this questioning, for the reason that such examination aimed merely at inducing men to confess the sins they had committed; that is, to confess where true shame would forbid their utterance. A knowledge of evil was thus produced, which, far from improving, rather deadened the conscience. The theory was that the penance imposed upon the sinner would deter him from a repetition of the offence, and therefore improve him.

But as the acknowledgment of sin, at which such confession aimed, brought no inward change, confessors found themselves obliged to modify the weight of their penances, because "in these times the zeal for penance is no longer what it was." A man, for instance, who might have been condemned by the old rules to bread and water for a year, was now commanded to fast in this manner only for one day in the week. Even so little as this often proved unattainable. Thus the time of penance was abbreviated, and the deficiency was filled by the saying

Lighter Penances in Favour

of psalms and other prayers. Or money might be paid in lieu of penance; and churches and priests were also included in the "pious purposes" for which such money was given. "The weakness of the penitent" was so far considered that performance of penance by a third party was permitted. Priests and monks were especially competent to act thus as proxies, and were rewarded with money by the penitent whom they thus relieved of his duties. Such a proceeding inevitably fostered the theory that man could buy back his sins from the Church, and that all he needed was to offer the Church his blind obedience.

When Alberic was ruling over Rome, religion in Italy had sunk to such a pitch that this far-seeing prince recognised the immediate necessity of a change. No help could be expected from the degenerate papacy, and he therefore appealed to the Cluniac monks. This order had been founded on Romance soil in Burgundy about 910, and was originally intended merely to reform the degenerate monastic system by the reintroduction of a strict Benedictine rule. It was obvious, however, that the reasons for the decay of the orders were to be found in the fact that they were not entirely independent of the temporal or episcopal powers.

Hence it was thought well that the Pope alone should have authority over the Cluniacs. At an earlier period individual monasteries had existed in isolation, and had consequently lost much of their power of resistance to foreign influence; all were now to form a congregation conducted upon uniform principles, living according to the rule of the Cluniac movement. From these beginnings naturally developed the great influence which this order exercised upon the history of the Church. If the Pope were to be the sole head of the order, and if only harm could be expected from the secular power, it was necessary to secure that no ecclesiastical power should have any influence in the Church except the Pope. At that period it was impossible to conceive any separation between the spiritual and secular spheres of the state, so that this order became the champion

of the papal programme as put forward by Nicholas I.

These zealous brethren were summoned by Alberic in 936, and in many cases they succeeded in arousing a sense of religion and a desire for improvement even in the papal court. This party, which was disgusted at the appalling prevalence of immorality, probably inspired the despatch of that embassy which asked the German king, Otto I., for help. Otto came to Italy, but declined to interfere in the government of the Church. He was anxious only to secure the secular subjection of the Pope to his own authority, and thus to remove any obstacle to the execution of his political plans. Hence when he was crowned emperor in 962 he left the Pope the secular power over Rome, but this he could exercise only in subordination to the emperor; in consequence no Pope could be hereafter consecrated until he had sworn allegiance to the emperor.



AN OPPOSITION POPE
Benedict V. was elected Pope on the flight of Leo VI., but when the latter was brought back and replaced in the papal chair, Benedict, the opposition Pope, was exiled.

The Pope, however, by his conspiracy with the emperor's enemy, Berengar, to whose sons he threw open the gates of the town, forced Otto to go further than he had intended. John even instigated the wild Hungarians to invade Germany, that Otto might be obliged to leave Italy. When the emperor marched upon Rome, John fled, and declined to appear when summoned to answer for his actions. The emperor, therefore, held at Rome a synod, over which it should have been the duty of the Pope to preside; and in accordance with the wishes of the people and clergy he deposed the unworthy John, and appointed Leo VI. Roman faithlessness obliged him once more to sit in judgment upon a Pope.

Popes Who Ran Away

The Romans had recalled the miserable John, and Leo was forced to flee. John then lost his life in the pursuit of a love intrigue, and Benedict V. was appointed to succeed him. Otto returned, overpowered the revolt, replaced Leo in the papal chair, and condemned the opposition Pope to exile from Italy.

Immediately after Otto's death desperate party struggles broke out in Rome; the prestige and influence of the papacy

THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH

disappeared entirely. In France, where the voice of the Pope had often been represented as that of God, the indignation excited by these disgraceful and protracted scandals was unbounded; men spoke without hesitation of the "human monster full of disgrace, empty of all knowledge of divine or human things, but none the less claiming supremacy over the priests of God"; they referred to the Pope as "the Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and acting as though he were God." They considered the advisability of separation from the Roman Church as prophesied by the apostle. It was Germany that came to the rescue of the papacy at the time of its deepest degradation. A synod consisting almost entirely of Germans broke the strength of the strong French opposition. German emperors gave German Popes to the Church and assisted in the work of its reformation.

Gregory V.—formerly Bruno, the son of the Duke of Carinthia—a cousin of Otto III., was the first German Pope; he was distinguished both for his intellectual powers and his strong character, and was firmly resolved to raise the Church from the depths into which it had fallen. Otto III., who was crowned emperor by the new Pope in 996, regarded himself as the head of Christendom. His theory was that the Pope should advance the general welfare, in subordination to himself, as one of the magnates of the empire. If synods were held, the emperor presided, taking the advice of the Pope and of those who were present. He issued "orders" to the Pope, while papal decisions were revised by him. It was a renewal of the theories of Charles the Great, provoked by the moral bankruptcy of an independent papacy. On the death of Gregory, Otto

bestowed the papal chair upon his former teacher, the famous scholar, Gerbert.

An open breach was prevented only by the close friendship uniting these two Popes with the emperor, for the divergence of opinions concerning the due position of the papacy was bound to lead to some rupture. After the deaths of Otto and Gerbert, the papacy again became a plaything in the hands of the Roman nobility, and lost all influence in consequence. In 1012 two rival Popes were in existence; one of these applied to the German king, Henry II., who recognised his adversary Benedict VIII. as Pope. In conjunction with Benedict, Henry attempted to reform the Church, but once again it was the emperor who took the initiative. Henry's high respect for the Church and his rich presents gained him



THE FAMOUS GERBERT
Famous as a scholar, Gerbert became Pope on the death of Gregory and took the title of Sylvester II. He is said to have introduced Arabic numerals and invented clocks.

the title of saint, but he insisted that the Pope should address him as "lord," and he appointed or deposed bishops. He was no less anxious than the Cluniac monks for monastic reform, but this he strove to secure by methods of his own. He wished to make the monks models of self-renunciation and piety, but still the servants of the papacy. He fought with the Pope against simony and the concubinage of the clergy. His object, however, was not to release the bishops and clergy from all connection with secular affairs, but to purify the spiritual office of its vices.



THE POPES BENEDICT IX. AND GREGORY VI.

Though only a boy of twelve years, Benedict was guilty of incredible vices; he was driven from office, but was subsequently restored to power. Gregory VI. bought the papacy from Benedict IX., but the latter continued to regard himself as Pope; Sylvester III. also claimed the papal chair, and thus there were three Popes at the same time.

The Church was, in fact, reformed, but the real reformer was the emperor, not the Pope. Strangely enough, we hear of no general objection to the theocratic position thus occupied by the emperor. In the cathedral of Mainz the archbishop could say to the new king, Conrad II., "Thou hast reached the highest dignity, thou art the representative of Christ," and in German circles

this saying met with cheerful approval. Conrad II. ruled the Church as his predecessors had done, but not with the same consciousness of duties imposed by his position, or with the same warm interest in ecclesiastical reform, though the necessity for this had again become imperative. Pope Benedict IX. was a boy

The Vices of the Boy Pope of twelve years old, but was distinguished for vices which are almost incredible at so early an age. When the Romans proposed to put an end to his excesses, Conrad proceeded to protect him, and Benedict for years was able to plague Rome by his tyranny and immorality. When the state of affairs became intolerable, he was driven out, and a new Pope, Sylvester III., was chosen. Eventually, however, Benedict's party won the day; he was able to return and continue his shameless life.

A well-meaning man, who was anxious to free the Church from this disgrace, bought the papacy from him, and placed himself upon the apostolic chair; this was Gregory VI. Naturally, such a character as Benedict IX. did not feel himself bound by the contract of sale, but continued to regard himself as the successor of Peter. Thus there existed at one and the same time three Popes, all in opposition. In vain the best of them, Gregory, attempted to draw Rome and the Church from the depths of her iniquity. Once again Germany brought help. A synod assembled in Rome, though without a summons from any Pope; it begged Henry III. to save the Church, and not in vain. The views of Charles the Great and Otto III., who had regarded the emperor as priest and king, were also shared by Henry; inspired by honest piety, he devoted all his powers to the reform of the Church.

The state of affairs was indeed appalling. The example given by Rome and its bishops had found imitators far and wide.

Appalling Condition of Rome As might had for so long been right in Rome, a general tendency had arisen throughout France and Germany to disregard human and divine right, and to seize any advantage that could be grasped. There was no security for private property, while robbery and bloodshed were the order of the day. The practice of prosecuting private quarrels had risen to boundless excess. The Christian world had now learned from the papacy to regard the

spiritual calling as a distinction which guaranteed earthly success. Simony had become general. Anyone who desired an ecclesiastical office was prepared to pay for this source of revenue, while every patron was anxious to make capital out of these privileges; at the same time, there was not the smallest consciousness of the contemptible nature of this practice. Even the "saint" Henry II. had shown no hesitation in accepting money from the applicants who demanded ecclesiastical posts.

In France the Cluniac monks had succeeded by strenuous efforts in securing the observance of the Truce of God, which, at any rate, gave a short breathing space between incessant feuds and quarrels. In Germany, Henry III. secured even greater results. By example, requests, and orders he forced the nobles to respect the general Land-peace which he had proclaimed; he then declared war upon simony. He had no intention of surrendering his right to fill up vacant bishoprics, nor did anyone demand so much of him; it was not until a later date that public opinion ventured

Spiritual Robbery in the Church to brand this as simony. He renounced all profit, however, which might accrue to him in consequence of these rights. On his pilgrimage to Rome he held a synod at Pavia, and uttered these impressive words to the audience, who had all secured their ecclesiastical offices by purchase: "From the Pope to the doorkeeper, every ecclesiastical rank is stained by this spiritual robbery." So deep an impression was made upon those present that they begged him for mercy and forgiveness, in fear that they would all lose their posts. A general order was then issued that henceforward no spiritual office or dignity was to be acquired by purchase.

The next task was the salvation of the papacy, which was now claimed by three co-existent Popes. This schism was ended in 1046 by the synods of Sutri and of Rome. All the Popes were deposed, and Henry invited the Romans to choose a new one. They replied: "Where the royal majesty is present, our rights of election do not exist." The German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was presented to the papal chair, under the title of Clement II. From his hand Henry received the imperial crown. The Romans conferred upon their emperor the patrician power, and with it the right of appointing

THE DARK AGES OF THE CHURCH

the Pope. So great was the joy at the services which the emperor had performed for the Church that the strongest ecclesiastics showed no indignation at the cession of these high rights to the emperor, but regarded his powers as a divine reward for his efforts in "snatching the Church from the jaws of the insatiable dragon." The

**Emperor
as Church
Reformer**

time was to come when a papal election would be declared accursed if conducted by other powers than those of the Church; but it was necessary also to provide that this new manner of election should make the advance of immorality impossible. Would that such men as the papal nominees of Henry III. had invariably been appointed! His next appointments were the Germans, Poppo of Brixen (Damasus II.), Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), and Gebhard of Eichstätt (Victor II.). Under the emperor's orders they co-operated with him in the task of church reform.

The revival of the imperial power and the reformation of the Church was accompanied at that time by a resumption of missionary activity, which had been almost entirely dormant since the death of Charles the Great. With this revival of missionary zeal, marked as it is by a somewhat secular and political character, we may observe also a renewal of intellectual activity, though not immediately obvious in the theological sphere. The famous poem "Waltharius," composed by Ekkehard of St. Gall about 927, heralded a new era in literature. In a short time theology made a tentative advance. Notker Labeo of St. Gall, who died in 1022, composed a number of translations and commentaries on the books of the Bible in a language chiefly German; we still possess his commentary on the Psalms. William, the abbot of Ebersbach in Bavaria, compiled his famous commentary on the Song of Solomon. In France the master of the cathedral school of Rheims, Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., was a famous figure.

It is, however, remarkable to observe the peaceful manner in which these two tendencies co-operated, while aiming at a revival of religious influence; there was the imperial tendency, based upon

the theories of Charles the Great, and the papal tendency, originating with the Cluniac reforms. The condition of the Church cried so loudly for improvement that help was accepted from any quarter, no matter what the nature of its ultimate object. Even religious movements wholly foreign to the German nationality commanded the respect of Germans, provided that they implied the renunciation of the prevailing godless spirit.

It perhaps was a consequence of Cluniac influence in Italy that many, in horror of the immorality of the age, abandoned the world and took refuge in asceticism to atone for the sins of their contemporaries. Romuald, who belonged to the family of the dukes of Ravenna, founded the hermit order of the Camaldulenses in 1018. The holy Nilus lived as a hermit in Lower Italy, clothed in a black

goatskin, going bareheaded and barefooted, and eating nothing but a fragment of bread every few days. Peter Damiani practised self-mortification by psalm-singing, an expiation which relieved the sinners of the world from centuries of penance; his friend Dominic, as a result of incessant practice, was able to rain blows upon his back with such incredible rapidity that he did penance for a century in six days. Romuald, like Nilus, was visited by



POPE CLEMENT II.

To cleanse the papacy of its villainess, all the three Popes were deposed in 1046, and the German bishop, Suidger of Bamberg, was elected, under the title Clement II.

the Emperor Otto III. and revered as an angel of God. In the garb of a penitent the powerful emperor prostrated himself before the hermit, and lay beside him upon his hard rush couch; it seemed that he would gladly have remained with Romuald as a humble monastic brother.

Such facts teach us that the momentary supremacy of the German over the Roman Church was but external, based upon the degeneracy of the latter, and that the spirit of the German Church was entirely Roman. This spirit, if carried to its logical consequence, leads to the theories of Nicholas I. The papacy and the Roman Church were saved by the German emperors.

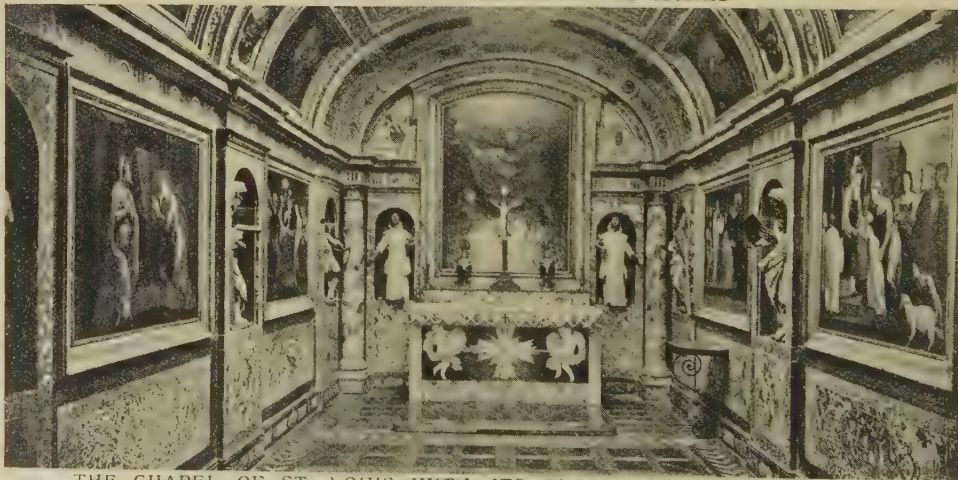
The return which Rome made for this rescue from the slough of despond was a revival of its claim to the blind obedience of all human beings, the emperor included.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE



THE HUMBLE REFECTORY OF THE MONKS



THE CHAPEL OF ST. LOUIS WITH ITS ELABORATE WALL-PAINTINGS

VIEWS OF THE CONVENT OF THE GRAND CHARTREUSE



ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MONASTIC ORDERS

WHEN Bishop Bruno of Toul entered his palace at Rome, after having been nominated by the emperor to the Holy See, he announced to the clergy and the people that he had come to them at the emperor's desire, but would gladly return to his own country if he were not confirmed in the papal chair by their free election. Hildebrand, who was entirely inspired by the Cluniac spirit, had been willing to accompany him to Rome only upon the condition that he should not regard himself as Pope by imperial appointment, but should also seek legal election in Rome. In this way Leo IX. became Pope on February 12th, 1049. Further developments entirely corresponded with this beginning; Hildebrand became the adviser and guide of the Popes until he himself secured that dignity.

His objects were the logical continuation of the theories of Nicholas I. The Pope was the head of the Universal Church, and the clergy in every land must therefore be his subordinates. The secular princes were also bound to serve him, as the body serves the soul. It was an intolerable distortion of the system proclaimed by God if princes were to have any power over the Church—if, for instance, they were able to give away ecclesiastical offices or to appoint Popes. They received their powers solely from the Church, as the moon derives its light from the sun; the Pope was thus the representative of Christ upon earth.

Hildebrand was well aware that the practical application of these theories would provoke a fearful conflict, and he therefore prepared indefatigably for the struggle. The chief necessity was to revive the prestige of the papacy. Leo X. travelled throughout Christendom in person, holding synods, consecrating churches, pronouncing decisions, and giving blessings. To restore the reputation of the clergy, the struggle against simony and ecclesiastical

immorality was renewed. Upon the accession of Henry IV., who was a minor, Hildebrand ventured to reorganise the method of electing to the papal chair. The Lateran Council under Nicholas II. ordained in 1059 that the purely ecclesiastical college

of the Roman cardinals should elect the Pope. The question then arose as to what became of the chartered imperial rights; and upon this subject a sentence was added, which was such a masterpiece of diplomacy that it is difficult even at the present day to say exactly what it means—"without prejudice to the respect due to our beloved son Henry."

Money, however, was needed for the war, and Hildebrand therefore reorganised the finances of the Roman Church. As he needed allies, he invested the princes of the wild Normans, who had constantly been excommunicated, with wide districts of Italy, which naturally were not his to give, and made them swear allegiance in these terms: "I will help thee to retain secure and honourable possession of the papacy, the land of St. Peter, and the princely power." In Northern Italy he entered into an alliance with the Pataria, a revolutionary movement directed against nobles and clergy, and with their help broke down the resistance of the powerful Archbishop Theobald of Milan, so that henceforward "the obstinate cattle of Lombardy" were the vassals, not of Germany, but of Rome.

At length Hildebrand ascended the papal chair as Gregory VII., on April 22nd, 1073, and it was then possible to begin the struggle for the unlimited freedom and supremacy of the Church. He declared his sole intention to be the extirpation of simony. But by simony he understood not only the selling, but also the conferment, of an ecclesiastical office by a temporal lord. At the same time the appointment of a bishop was by no means a purely ecclesiastical

**New Pope's
Hatred
Of Simony**

**What the
Pope
Stood for**

matter. Since the days of Otto I. the episcopacy was also a purely secular office, involving all the rights and duties of a secular prince. Hence, it was not likely that the secular power would immediately release from their feudal obligations these secular lords exercising territorial rights, merely because they were clergy or bishops; it was even less likely that they would be quickly surrendered to another power and to the sole supremacy of the Pope.

There would be few subjects and but little influence remaining to secular sovereigns if these bishops received their power from the Pope, and not from the king. If Gregory wished to secure that the bishops should receive their offices from himself alone, there was but one possibility open—the bishops must resign all secular power and supremacy and become mere ecclesiastics. This simple idea, however, did not occur to him, for he was anxious that the bishops should remain princes. In his view, the Church required wealth and power to rule as she should. Even as she possessed the papal states in Italy, and could make the Normans her vassals, so should every bishop possess some secular power with which to serve the papacy and to defy the secular ruler, if occasion arose; for this reason, again, no ecclesiastic should take the oath of fealty to a secular lord.

Such a struggle would have been hopeless if opened by a weaker man than Gregory VII., who was blindly enthusiastic for the justice of his aims, and would have beheld the ruin of the world unmoved provided that his own objects were retained thereby. This victory he hoped to secure through the magical power of the words spoken to Peter, "What thou loosest on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Gregory considered that this promise enabled him to depose kings, to relieve

subjects of their oath of fealty, to decide all quarrels as he would, "to take from any and to give to any the possessions of all men, to make illegality legal, and legality eternal wrong." These means, indeed, made it possible to continue the struggle between the empire and the papacy for more than thirty years; it was a struggle which entirely paralysed

Germany, and for a long time secured the predominance of the Romance peoples in Europe, while it also brought terrible pressure to bear upon consciences. Henry IV. was reduced to beg for absolution for three days as a penitent at Canossa in 1077. These means, however, did not secure victory for the Pope, and Gregory was reduced to an exile's death.

Gregory's ideas, however, were steadily disseminated by the Cluniacs, both elsewhere and in Germany, where Hirsau

in the Black Forest had become a central point of this tendency. The extent of the papal prestige could be seen in the fact that Urban II. placed himself at the head of the Romance countries to liberate the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels, and induced thousands to cry, "It is God's will," at the Council of Clermont in 1095; it is evidenced by the

half-million of Crusaders who set out for the Holy Sepulchre with the Pope's blessing, and by the Pope's ability to declare the newly acquired kingdom, with its capital of Jerusalem, an ecclesiastical fief. It must be said that the

struggle between Pope and Emperor was steadily renewed.

Henry V., whom the Pope had chosen and raised to the throne against his father's opposition, had no intention of showing his gratitude for this infidelity by blind obedience. Eventually peace was concluded by the Concordat of Worms in 1122. The temporal possessions



THE POPE LEO IX.

Raised to St. Peter's chair in 1049, this Pope held a synod at Rheims, in defiance of the wishes of the king of France; there he appointed and removed French bishops, and declared that the Pope was the sole primate of the Universal Church.



THE CELEBRATED HILDEBRAND AND INNOCENT II. Pope Gregory VII. was the celebrated Hildebrand, the champion of the papal supremacy over secular princes, while Innocent II. was an opposition Pope, elected in 1130, who fought hard for the supremacy.



ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER

and powers of the bishops were differentiated from their ecclesiastical office; the latter was conferred by the Church through consecration, and the former by the emperor through investiture with the sceptre. Thus, the Church and the State were placed upon an equality; henceforward ecclesiastical supremacy was the sole prerogative of the Pope, and the emperor had nothing to do with ecclesiastical affairs. But it was questionable whether this peace could be anything more than an armistice, whether all future German emperors would agree to this complete surrender of the theories of Charles the Great and Otto III., and whether Rome would be contented with what she had gained. The demands of the papacy were far more comprehensive; not only was the Church to be entirely

College presented Christianity with two Popes in the year 1130. The rivals waged a bloody conflict for the supremacy; and on two occasions the German emperor, Lothair, was obliged to appear in Italy to secure the preponderance of Innocent II. Lothair's victory confirmed the Romans in their convictions that the imperial aspirations of the papacy deprived them of peace, and that peace could be restored only if the Church abandoned this struggle for wealth and power and returned to her original poverty, while the people took political power into their own hands. It was impossible, in view of the past, to feel reverence for papal authority; Gregory VII. and his friends had constantly supported, and indeed instigated, revolt and revolution.



HIRSAU, A GREAT CENTRE OF POPE GREGORY'S CLUNIAC IDEAS

Pope Gregory VII. engaged in a long and strenuous struggle for the supremacy of the papacy, and though for a time he was victorious, in the end he was defeated, and he died an exile's death. His ideas, however, were disseminated by the Cluniacs, in Germany and elsewhere, and Hirsau in the Black Forest became a centre of this tendency.

free from temporal power, but she was also to be a universal and world-wide ruler. When Gregory and his helpers had once proposed this ideal as a solution of all difficulties, and had secured for it a wide acceptance, the Concordat of Worms could never imply a final peace.

The succeeding events seemed as though intended to demonstrate to the papacy the folly of these aspirations to world-wide power. The papacy could not even maintain its authority in Rome, or secure itself from self-destruction, without the help of Germany. That purely ecclesiastical corporation which had been entrusted with the papal elections in order that a decision might be inspired by the spirit of God and not by that of the world was unable to agree. The Cardinals'

With burning words Arnold of Brescia preached, in his native town, the life of poverty led by Jesus and His apostles, asserting that wealth and worldly power in the hands of the clergy were nothing less than sin. The movement broke out in Rome itself, under Eugenius III. (1145-1153). The secular power was to be taken from the Pope and entrusted to the hands of the Roman senate, while the papal state was to be made a Roman republic. It was not, as before, the constant disturbances of the nobles, but the people, that inflicted this deadly blow upon the Pope. Arnold of Brescia came to Rome. He swore fidelity to the Roman senate and the republic, and fulminated against the ambition of the clergy and the Pope, who was no

shepherd of souls, but a man of blood, and the torturer of the Church. The Pope could find no other means of safety than the recognition of the Roman republic.

Even those bitter experiences failed to bring the papacy to its senses, and beyond the frontiers of Italy it continued to claim supreme sovereignty. In order to com-

plete the organisation of a brilliant Crusade in 1147, the Pope did not hesitate to interfere with private property, and trampled underfoot the imperial rights in reference to episcopal appointments. The Decretum of Gratian, the great ecclesiastical law-book, was compiled under this Pope, and in it the claims of the papacy, which had been so often and fiercely disputed, were represented as legally established. It was no wonder that the great Hohenstauffen, Frederic I., made a

further attempt to crush these papal ambitions for supremacy. "From whom has the emperor his dignity, if not from the Pope?" was the question asked by the papal legate, Roland of Siena. Frederic replied, "By means of the Empire God has raised the Church to the head of the world. Thus standing

at the head of the world, the Church is attempting to destroy the empire. This is to us intolerable, for we owe our crown only to the gift of God."

In the year 1159 the College of Cardinals had again elected two Popes, and Frederic, as

German emperor, then claimed to decide the legality of the election. Alexander III., his old enemy Roland, against whom he decided, was recognised by France, Spain, and England, and the German bishops felt as though cut off from the rest of Christendom. The defeat of Legnano, which the defiance of Henry the Lion inflicted upon him in 1176, forced

the emperor to the unwelcome step of concluding peace with Alexander in 1177. The supremacy of the German Church was gone for ever.

At the same moment the prestige of the papacy was greatly advanced by a second victory. Henry II. of England proposed to govern the Church of his country in the old fashion, and issued the Constitutions

of Clarendon to limit the privileges and jurisdiction of the English clergy. Thomas Becket had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry in 1162, and swore obedience to the Constitutions. Afterwards, however, he did public penance for his oath, and was solemnly released by Alexander. The subsequent murder of Becket only ensured the prompt triumph of his cause. The Pope in 1172 declared Thomas a saint and martyr. The king was forced, by popular opinion

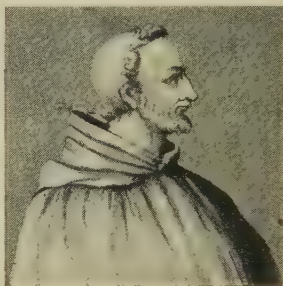
and by his sons, to undergo in 1174 a humiliating penance at the grave of the man who had thwarted his plans.

Thus the papacy had broken down the resistance of the Teutonic nations; and, when it had reached the zenith of its power, Alexander III. convoked a brilliant third Lateran Council in 1179. The council

decided among other points that the clergy could never be brought before a secular court, and that Church property should be taxed only with the consent of the bishops and clergy, and only in extraordinary cases; these innovations were intended to

separate the Church from political life, and to preserve its wealth unimpaired.

While the Church was thus rising to supreme power under its head, the papacy, a new series of events provoked the question whether it would invariably succeed in maintaining its predominance in religious thought, which was its peculiar sphere. The signs of a



THE POPE EUGENIUS III.

During the reign of this Pope, which lasted from 1145 till 1153, an important movement broke out in Rome. The secular power was to be taken from the Pope, and, to save himself, he recognised the republic.



THE ONLY ENGLISH POPE AND ALEXANDER III.

Hadrian IV., who was appointed Pope in 1154 and died five years later, was the only Englishman that has ever occupied St. Peter's chair. He issued in favour of Henry II. of England the celebrated Bull which sanctioned the conquest of Ireland. Alexander III. was one of the greatest Popes of the Middle Ages, and showed his power in many ways.



revival of religious individualism began distinctly to increase.

Since the Franco-Germanic world had become outwardly Christian, the work of religion had for centuries consisted merely in driving back the remnants of heathenism and in securing a general outward adoption of Christian doctrine. Even during the time when literary impulse found expression in religious work, as under Charles the Great, such work consisted essentially in the mere repetition of early Church tradition. Occasionally some slight indication of an independent appropriation of Christian teaching appeared, as in the "Heiland," but the complete assimilation of this great inheritance was yet very far distant, and any such flashes speedily disappeared.

religious feeling. Its development in the Teutonic world follows the reverse order of that visible in the old Church. In the beginning the circle had widened from the individual believer to the national Church. In the Middle Ages the national Church is the beginning, and the gradual progress to individual belief the conclusion.

The first tendency observable within this process of development does not shrink from revolt against the Church. From the beginning of the eleventh century heretics constantly reappear; they are found in the dioceses of Chalons, Liège, Arras, Orléans, Turin, the Netherlands, in Brittany, and in Goslar. Especially in Southern France did Peter of Bruys inveigh against the Church and all its institutions, asserting the true



MEETING BETWEEN THE GREAT POPE ALEXANDER III. AND THE DOGE OF VENICE

The papacy reached the zenith of its power during the latter part of the twelfth century, when the great Pope Alexander III. sat in St. Peter's chair. In 1179 the Pope convened a brilliant Lateran Council, which conferred on the Pope alone the right of canonisation, and drew up the laws under which the election of the Pope is still governed.

During the eleventh century, however, new characteristics come to light. It is as though a child, as yet capable only of imitation, had become a boy, able to ask himself questions upon what he was taught or upon the difficulties he felt. Until the year 1000 Christianity was essentially corporate, but after that date it becomes personal. Its manifestations are of very various character. In one case we find, as it were, a boy who consciously attempts to break away from the guardianship of his parents; in another case, one who does not renounce their leading, but would at the same time advance upon paths of his own; again, one who consciously follows his parents' lead for the first time. The common element, is, however, in every case the beginning of personal

Church to exist within the heart of the believer. At last, on a strict fast day, he made a heap of shattered crucifixes, upon which he cooked meat. For this he was thrown into the flames by a raging mob in 1137. His place was taken by the monk Henry and his "Petrobrussians," whose efforts were so successful that St. Bernard was forced to confess, "the churches are without people, and the people without priests." Unusually widely disseminated were the Cathari, who rejected the Old Testament, the sacraments, pictures, crosses, and relics. Petrus Waldus was inspired by nothing but a spirit of revolt against the Church, when fear for his salvation led him to give up all his property, to study the Bible, and to found a union in 1177, the members of which were

to renounce the world and private property, and to go through the country preaching repentance. However, the religious independence attained by himself and his friends enabled them, when the archbishop prohibited their preaching, to appeal to the Bible text that people should fear God rather than men; they were so

The Miracle at the Communion wholly out of sympathy with the Roman spirit that their appeal to the third Lateran Council was rejected, while their strength enabled them to disregard this supreme decision.

A second tendency becomes more clearly obvious in the opposition of Berengar of Tours to the views of Radbertus, which had gradually gained a universal acceptance. Radbertus held that the bread and wine of the Communion were transformed into Christ's body and blood. Berengar asserted that only truth could prevail in the Church, but that truth was not secured by ecclesiastical office or a Church council, and here his anti-Roman spirit is manifest. He further asserted that whatever was unintelligible to reason was impossible, and he also acted as though he considered commonsense his own peculiar possession. This is nothing more than the first appearance of the aberrations, often repeated at a later period, which are caused by the desire for religious independence. These first principles, however, proclaimed him a dangerous opponent of Roman teaching.

It is remarkable that Berengar's doctrine of the Holy Communion met with the approval of Cardinal Hildebrand, who attempted to protect him from his fanatical opponents. When, however, the Roman synod condemned the freethinker as a heretic in 1079, Pope Gregory VII. immediately sacrificed his own convictions. The condemned man attempted to appeal to a conversation which he had held with the Pope a short time previously. The

Freethinking "Heretic" Silenced Pope ordered him in a voice of thunder to fall to the ground and confess his error. The truths actually considered as such by the Church were less important to the imperialist ideas of the papacy than the necessity of uniformity upon questions of belief.

The fate of this man who had attacked the existing doctrine at one point only must have induced others to conceal their special opinions. Many erroneous views

on Church doctrine existed, as is shown by the next scholar who was unable to silence his independence, the great dialectician, Peter Abelard. He regretted that so many rejected the Christian teaching, and was yet more repelled by its defenders, who demanded simple submission to Church authority. He therefore declared that what could not be proved could not be accepted, and attempted in consequence to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, rejecting as wrong or unimportant all that his reason could not grasp. His opposition to Church doctrine was generally concealed. For instance, in his dialogue between a philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian, he compared the different religions together, but carefully avoided the inevitable inference from his investigations that the substratum of truth in heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity was ultimately identical. He also was expelled from the Church by the Council of Sens in 1141.

A third tendency is manifested by those who remained faithful to the Church and her doctrine, but either in theory or practice displayed a personal conviction previously unknown. In the early Church sin was generally considered an irreparable defect, and the chief question therefore was in what manner this defect could be remedied, and how the strength of virtue could be imparted to the sinner. When the Teutonic spirit began personally to grapple with Christian truth, the results acquired were wholly different. The "Heiland" represented God as the great and benevolent lord of the heavens, to whom mankind owed obedience. Sin was now conceived as a debt to God, and, according to Teutonic views, such a debt necessitated expiation and atonement. Upon such theories is based the famous work of the scholastic Anselm of Canterbury, "Why did God become Man?" (*Cur Deus Homo?* 1198). Man cannot make atonement for his sins; the burden of his unfaithfulness is too great. Hence God became man in Christ, and this divine Man performed what no mere man could do, and voluntarily gave His blameless life to wipe out our debt. As this attempt had been inspired by a personal feeling of guilt, so, too, the sense of personal forgiveness might arise.

These are new lines of thought foreign to Rome. The mystical Bernard of Clairvaux makes the same attempt by other methods.

Hitherto fear had been announced even among the Teutons as the normal attitude of the Christian towards God; but Bernard makes love the centre of his theory—the love of God which condescends to man, and the love of man which can rise to God. In prayerful joy his looks and thoughts hang upon the Christ as the sacrifice of love: "All hail, thou bleeding Head!" His desire is to show love of Christ, not only for what He did for us, but also for the sake of the Man who could do so much. In correspondence with this mystical interpretation, the actual progress of the world is represented as a second manifestation of the love of God. What freedom and what independence did the individual Christian gain through such beliefs!

Bernard is also in agreement with the ideal of ecclesiastical supremacy, and regards the Pope as the head of Christendom. When the struggle broke out again between Pope and Emperor he helped the papacy to victory. With no clear consciousness of the inconsistency, he ascribed claims of supremacy to those who were bound to God by love. In consequence he

**Bernard
and the
Cistercians**

was himself able to intervene in all ecclesiastical movements, and could even offer serious advice and stern exhortation to the Pope. This new tendency he communicated to the order which his initiative made influential, that of the Cistercians, which he entered in 1115 with thirty companions. In contrast to the Cluniacs, who had already become worldly minded, in spite of their original seriousness, these monks were to live in the strictest renunciation. Quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired equally by the love of Jesus, were to fill their lives. Bernard also attempted to bring the laity into this sanctuary. The institution of a lay brotherhood, which already existed in embryo, was further developed in this order.

At that time arose a large number of orders pursuing different objects. These were so many manifestations of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. The religious community of Grammont, founded by Stephen of Thiers, was to follow no human rule, but the threefold law of the Gospel—poverty, humility, and patience. Bruno of Cologne attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders in his foundation of the Chartreuse, which

he planted in an almost uninhabitable mountain gorge. To this retreat he was driven by indignation at the unspiritual character of the Church. The Carthusians, or the monks of Chartreuse, were even denied the consolation of conversation.

When the preacher of the Crusade, Robert of Abrisel, had roused the enthusiasm of large numbers of men and women, who were incapable of crusading effort, he united them in the Order of Fontévrault, in

**Birth of
the Knightly
Orders;**

in which enthusiasm for the Holy Land was replaced by enthusiastic veneration for the Virgin Mary. Lay brethren who served in the hospital connected with the monastery combined to form Hospital Orders, among which that of St. Antonius was best known. From crusading enthusiasm rose the knightly Orders of the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, in whom German chivalry was combined with Catholic monasticism and the service of Christian love. As the mysticism of Bernard found the highest flight of faith in the most humble and self-sacrificing love of Christ, so these orders regarded the most distinguished proof of knighthood as the service of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, the help of the sick and miserable—a further proof that the fundamental ideas of Christianity were being reconceived. The Premonstratensians attempted to raise the secular clergy from their degradation, and thus to improve their spiritual efficacy among the people.

At such a period the expansive powers of the Church inevitably resumed activity. They may also have contributed to the Crusades. The Church sent Saint Vicelin to work among the Wends of Holstein, a labour carried out with unspeakable trouble and constant disappointment. The Church raised a crusade against the Abodrites of Mecklenburg, and when this effort proved abortive,

**Bishop
Otto the
Missionary**

inspired the Cistercian monk, Berno, to sow the seed of Christianity with unwearying effort upon this hard ground. The Church again induced Bishop Otto of Bamberg to undertake his missionary journeys to Pomerania.

The problem then arose whether the hierarchy would interpret these as the signs of a new period. Would they join the movement towards personal religion and recognise that movement as largely a

protest against their methods and their aims? Or would they continue to regard the outward sovereignty of the world as their supreme object, and thus for ever lose the opportunity of leadership in their true religious sphere?

Once again it seemed as though supreme power was to fall, not to the papacy but to the empire. Henry VI. (1190-1197), a son of the great Barbarossa, became master of the whole of Italy. Homage was done to him by Cyprus, Armenia, and Antioch; the Greek Empire and the Mohammedan princes of North Africa

by no common ambition or selfishness; he had no love for the world, or desire for power as an end in itself. His thorough mediæval piety led him to despise the world and to renounce its joys; and if he sought supremacy, it was because the consciousness of his responsibilities impelled him to give the miseries of the world some show of godliness. He succeeded where Gregory VII. had failed, and where Alexander III. had been only half successful. Innocent was indeed a favourite of fortune.

The widow of Henry VI. feared that her son, who was only three years old, could



THE CISTERCIAN MONKS AND THEIR SIMPLE METHODS OF LIFE

At the beginning of the twelfth century there sprang into existence quite a number of ecclesiastical orders, these being indications of the awakening spirit of religious individualism. Bernard of Clairvaux was drawn to the order of the Cistercians, and, with thirty companions, entered it in 1115. These monks agreed to live in the strictest renunciation, and their lives were to be filled by quiet contemplation and busy effort, both inspired by the love of Jesus.

paid him tribute. Westward he proposed to extend his supremacy over France and Spain, eastward over Syria and Palestine. His achievements and plans were then suddenly destroyed by death, and a few months later the papal chair was occupied by a man who seemed designed for imperial rule; this was Innocent III. His intellect was as keen as his will was powerful, while his foresight was not inferior to his tenacity; he never hesitated in the pursuit of his objects, and he showed no fastidiousness in his choice of means. His imperialism was inspired

not retain possession of his Sicilian inheritance without some powerful ally. She therefore accepted the kingdom as a papal fief and made the Pope guardian of her son. After her death Innocent wrote to the boy that he might thank the Lord who had given him a better father in place of his earthly parent, and a better mother—namely, the motherly care of the Church. When the Germans desired a man at the head of the empire, some electing Otto of Brunswick and others Philip of Swabia, the Pope declared that as he had the right of conferring the

ZENITH OF THE PAPAL POWER

imperial crown, he was also bound to scrutinise the election of a German king, and, in the case of a doubtful election, to decide whether one of the rivals or a third should receive the crown. He declared in favour of Otto, and his legates proclaimed the excommunication of Otto's opponent. Innocent's position became desperate as Philip's power steadily increased. However, the murder of this opponent extricated the Pope from a difficult situation in 1208. But now Otto, though previously compliant,

of Meran, the daughter of a German duke. The Pope laid the whole of France under an interdict, declaring to his legate that the affair, if properly conducted, would redound to the credit of the apostolic chair. France was forced to yield, and the king to make an outward show of submission. Upon the death of his beloved Agnes he was deeply grieved by the illegitimacy attaching to her children, and the Pope then declared them legitimate, exercising his power by way of consent, as he had formerly shown it in refusal.



THE DEATH OF ST. BRUNO OF COLOGNE

The founder of the Order of the Chartreuse, Bruno of Cologne, attempted to surpass the strictness of all previous orders; and, planting his convent in a mountain gorge, he retired to it, driven there by the unspiritual character of the Church.

attempted to recover the ecclesiastical rights which he had surrendered to secure the crown. Innocent excommunicated him, and relieved his subjects of their oath of allegiance. Frederic, the son of Henry VI., who was now a youth, promised the Pope all that he desired, and Innocent therefore placed Frederic on the throne in 1212. Thus the proud family of the Hohenstauffen became subject to the papal chair.

Philip Augustus of France had divorced his wife Ingeborg, and married Agnes

King Alfonso IX. of Leon also experienced the power of the Pope on his marriage with his niece. King Sancho I. of Portugal, who had defied an archbishop, was reduced to obedience. King Pedro II. of Aragon voluntarily declared his kingdom to be a papal fief. The Bulgarian prince Kalojoannes petitioned Innocent to grant him a crown. The Pope decided cases in Hungary, Sweden, and Norway.

In England a dispute had broken out concerning the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Innocent declared the two elections to be null and void, summoned the electors to Rome, and forced them to appoint a third candidate, his friend Stephen Langton. Furious at this interference, King John of England swore by the teeth of God that he would hang Langton as soon as he set foot upon English soil. Innocent drew his usual weapon; he laid the kingdom under an interdict, the king under sentence of excommunication and deposition, and finally assigned his country to the king of France, promising great benefits to the latter and to his army, such as had formerly been assured to the Crusaders. John then crawled to the foot of the cross, and, not content with yielding the point in dispute, surrendered his land to the Holy See, to receive it again as a papal fief. The promises made to the French king naturally no longer held good;

Philip would never give so much as had been obtained from John. The princes were as puppets in the hands of the Pope. He was able to triumph even over the Greek Church, which had proved so refractory towards the successor of St. Peter. The host of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople and founded the

The Latin Empire Founded

Latin Empire in 1204; and Innocent could rejoice that, after the destruction of the golden calves, Israel had returned to Judah. These victories of the papacy over the temporal powers were accompanied by an extension of its ecclesiastical prerogatives. Ecclesiastical legislation, which had formerly belonged to the synods, fell more and more into the hands of the Pope. He decided individual questions of administration and right, while lawyers who had been trained in Roman jurisprudence instructed the Pope to regard every papal decision as a precedent of binding force in future cases.

Innocent completely severed the old ties which had united the German Church and the crown. Otto, and afterwards Frederic, had sacrificed all their ecclesiastical rights in order to secure the crown. They renounced the regalities and the "Jus Spoliorum," and left Rome entirely free to receive appeals and issue citations; they gave the cathedral chapters the exclusive right of electing bishops, and recognised the canonical objections which the Pope raised to such elections. Hence Innocent was able to exercise an unquestioned right of scrutiny and confirmation in the case of episcopal elections. He was able to establish the rule that if he rejected an election as uncanonical, application must be made to him for a second candidate, or "*postulation*," and that when rival candidates were elected, the decision should lie with him. In consequence it was possible for him to concede the postulation, or make his own appointments conditional upon such promises as the oath of obedience to the Pope. Nor was it only over the bishoprics that his power extended. For a considerable time previously the Popes had been in the habit of recommending candidates more or less

definitely to individual bishops for posts in their gift. Innocent claimed this right as one founded upon "the plenitude of the ecclesiastical power" (the right of provision), and extended his claims to include the power of disposing of the reversionary interest to posts not yet vacant (right of expectation).

Formerly candidates for ecclesiastical office were obliged to make payments to the secular lords as owners of the churches in question; now that this "simoniacal" practice was abolished, they were obliged to pay the Pope. The difference between the two institutions consisted solely in the fact that dues had now to be paid upon all business communications with the Curia, and that in certain cases these reached an extraordinary height, but were no longer known

as simony. Clerical freedom from taxation, with its consequent and entire independence of political life, was regarded by Innocent as insufficiently secured by the arrangements of Alexander III. Innocent announced that exceptional and voluntary contributions of the clergy to the expenses of the state required papal permission before payment. On the other hand, he claimed the right of taxing the whole of Christendom for his own purposes, and actually used this right in support of a crusade.

Innocent displayed to the eyes of the world his unexampled power and supreme dominion on the occasion of his great Lateran Council in 1215. More than four hundred bishops had accepted his invitation, together with eight hundred abbots, many princes, lords, and ambassadors from kings and republics. In the midst of this brilliant assembly the

The Great Splendour of the Pope

Pope occupied the throne as the representative of God upon earth, in splendour such as Rome never beheld before or since. After his death, in 1216, the struggle for the supremacy broke out again between the Hohenstauffen and the papacy, and the result was that Conradin, the last of the Hohenstauffen, ended his life upon the scaffold in 1268.

The missionary activity of the Church was in proportion to its supreme power.



THE POPE INNOCENT III. A man of keen intellect, powerful will, and thorough piety, Innocent III. was inspired neither by selfishness nor by love of the world, and he succeeded where some of his predecessors had signally failed.



CISTERCIAN

CARTHUSIAN



BENEDICTINE



CLUNIAC

MONKS OF VARIOUS MONASTIC ORDERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

For this age the peaceful preaching of Christianity seemed too slow a process. Crusades were organised against the heathen Livonians, and the Order of the Knights of the Sword was founded in Riga to crush any opposition to the Church. The conversion of Prussia was accompanied by massacres, and appeals were

Massacres at the Conversion of Prussia made for the help of the Teutonic Order. This appalling struggle continued for fifty years, annihilated a large proportion of the rightful owners of the country, and ended with the supremacy of the Teutonic Order over Prussia.

The intellectual weapons of science were employed with equal vigour in the service of the Church. Ecclesiastical science may be compared with those Gothic piles which then arose, which seem to remove their stone material from the influence of gravitation, forcing it to rise majestically so high, though with full solidity and coherence; so also ecclesiastical science was combined and built into systems, into that scholasticism which comprehended all human thought and knowledge, all speculation and contemplation, within a magnificent system intended to protect Church doctrine from doubt or opposition. It seemed impossible that the world should doubt when such a system showed the necessity or the rationality of all that the Church would have men believe. "See," cries Richard of Saint Victor, "how easily the intellect can prove that the Godhead must be a plurality of persons, neither more nor less than three in number." Another thinks it possible to prove the doctrines of the Church by strict logical treatment, even to such as do not recognise its authority—to Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics. This science also proved, by the mouth of the famous Thomas of Aquinum, who died in 1274 [see page 47], that salvation was to be found only in the

Peerless Position of the Pope Church from her priests and sacraments, beneath the shadow of the Pope. The Pope decides the nature of Church doctrine. He is above all princes, and as the governor of Christ can depose them and relieve all subjects of their allegiance. Otto of Freising writes at this date: "The kingdom of Christ seems at the present time to have received almost all the things promised to it, with the exception of immortality."

Now, however, that the Church had attained these long-standing ambitions, we have to ask, what was the nature of its inner life? The question may be answered by examining the decrees passed in that famous Lateran Council. The council considered that it was necessary to draw up a confession of faith, and to enforce measures of the utmost cruelty for the extermination of the countless heretics who had appeared in the Church. It considered the decree inevitable that every man who had not confessed his sins to a priest at least once a year should be excluded from the Church, and given dishonourable burial after death. Though the Church can rule the world, she steadily loses her hold upon souls. Though imagining that all is subject to her as a matter of faith, her faith is yet rejected. This is more than a chance coincidence. The foundation of faith begins to shake beneath the superincumbent structure of temporal power. The claims of the apostolic power and of its servants have become presumptuous, the manner of their assertion too often intolerable, and the proofs adduced too threadbare. The people

What the "Heretics" Aimed at turned in numbers to the heretics, who desired no earthly supremacy and no earthly riches. The apostles of the Cathari and the wandering preachers of the Waldenses led a truly apostolic life of humility and poverty. In Southern France, where the Cathari were generally known as Albigenses, from the little town of Albi, the princes and lords of the country belonged to their congregation almost without exception. In this quarter the Church had been almost supplanted by the sectaries; these same enemies of ecclesiasticism had overrun Italy, and were predominant in Spain and in the Netherlands. About the middle of the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux, and other devoted servants of the Church, had spoken in favour of a method that should "bring back the wicked to repentance by patience and long suffering," and not by the sword. Such characters as Innocent III. could not possibly doubt that, as the Church was certainly called to rule the world, her opponents could claim no right of existence. His legate, Arnold of Cîteaux, was sent to France, and summoned the king and nobility to a crusade against the heretics in 1208. Thousands were slain by this army, and

in the single town of Béziers 20,000 are said to have perished in one day. In 1215 the heretics were by no means exterminated, and the Lateran Council, therefore, issued a decree that all temporal lords should purify their lands of heresy on pain of excommunication and deposition, and that episcopal commissaries were to examine and to exterminate heretics. The world-wide power of the Church was unable to exist without the Inquisition.

Not only the Church, as such, but Christianity itself, was menaced by a different movement, which appeared sporadically; this was a tendency to freethought widely disseminated, especially among the educated classes. The origin of the tendency is not far to seek. There is no greater menace to the power of faith than the use of it by its chief exponents to support interests purely secular, especially when, as in that age, the Church based all belief upon authority, and made doubt of her authority a sin of infidelity, while upon the other side a yearning for independent religious conviction had arisen in many minds. In high-sounding

Inconsistent Teaching of the Popes

religious phrases the Popes had excommunicated prince after prince, had preached on one day the duty of revolt against an emperor, and on the next the necessity of rebellion against his opponent, with a persistence that aroused suspicion. The scholastic philosophers had attempted to make the creeds an acceptable system, but those appeals to reason which they brought forward could bring conviction only to minds still convinced of ecclesiastical authority.

Eventually a host of new impressions overwhelmed men's minds. The Crusades had brought a knowledge of the East, and the West had learnt to know the "infidel" Mohammedans. It was observed with surprise that they were by no means morally bad, and were, in this respect, even more to be respected than many Christians. Hence, it seemed possible that the uniqueness of Christianity existed solely in the imagination of the Church. The different religions appeared like identical rings, each of the owners of which were merely foolish in regarding his own as the only genuine example. More was learned of the philosophy of the "heathen" Aristotle, and study produced admiration. The works of the Arabian

philosophers became known, especially those of Averroes, who died in 1198, and the systems of the Jewish philosophers which had arisen under their influence. In consequence, questions hitherto unknown came into prominence and shattered the traditional beliefs.

At the University of Paris this tendency to freethought was openly manifested.

Religion only for the Lower Classes

So early as 1207 Amalric of Bena was obliged to renounce heresies of this nature; and, as he was supposed to have derived them from Aristotle, Innocent III. prohibited the study of this great philosopher's scientific works. In the year 1240 the bishop and chancellor of Paris were obliged to oppose the teaching of Averroes, which had made its way to the university. Averroes had taught that while religion was indispensable for the masses, it could represent supreme truth only in symbolical form, whereas philosophy possessed such truth in its purity. Philosophical teachers attacked theological truths, and, when called to account, proceeded to explain that heresy was an ecclesiastical conception, but that philosophy had no connection with the Church, and that religion need not be taught to students, as it existed only for the lower classes.

Under the protection of this theory the teaching that God created the world out of nothing was explained to be sheer nonsense. Organic life had developed from inorganic matter. The world was governed, not by God, but rather by a rational necessity, or by chance. Attacks were also directed against the ethical system which had hitherto held the field. The monastic theory was unnatural, and genuine morality was not impaired by the influence of material life. The shortness of life should rather teach men the enjoyments of its benefits. The satisfaction, for instance, of the sexual instincts was, in any case,

Emperor Despises Pope and Church

a moral desire, and the strictness of the marriage laws was senseless prejudice. A further centre of freethought would, perhaps, hardly have been discovered had not a renewed struggle between Pope and emperor brought it before our eyes. Frederic II., who had grown up as the ward of the Pope, and had been educated as a blindly devoted son of the Church, learnt to despise both Pope and Church. He regarded the different religions as so many conflicting theories of equal truth

or falsehood, and was accustomed to mock at Christian doctrine with confidential friends. The epigram about the three impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mohammed—which is ascribed to him by his enemies, may not be historical, but his life clearly showed the laxity of his religious views. It was a matter of total indifference to him whether a man was Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian. He chose Arabs as his high officials, carried about a harem in the Mohammedan style, and studied the philosophy of Averroes by preference.

The Church had now to deal with these premonitions of the downfall of Christianity. She began by drawing the reins tighter and insisting upon Easter confession to secure the ecclesiastical control of every individual. The same council made the doctrine of transubstantiation a dogma. For the glorification of this miracle performed by the Church the festival of Corpus Christi was instituted in 1264. The Church ordered that the Sacrament should be adored by all whom the priest might meet in the street when he was bearing it. In the Communion the cup was reserved more and more for the priests. The Church, however, made no inquiries into actual belief, demanding only submission. Innocent III. had laid down that the confession of true faith was not a primary necessity, but only the admission of readiness to agree with the doctrine of the Church, and that this "implicit" belief existed in cases where a man's belief might be erroneous, if he were not aware of the error. What more could the Church do to make actual faith superfluous and to exterminate real Christianity?

The Church, however, was unable to annihilate Christianity; the real religious sense of a true personal belief had been too widely awakened. At this moment such believers became conscious of the necessity for a religious revival.

It was in the year 1209 that Giovanni Bernardone, better known as Francis of Assisi, heard at Mass the lesson from St. Matthew's Gospel, which relates how Jesus sent out His disciples to preach the Gospel, without gold or silver, without shoes or staff. Deeply moved, he abandoned his possessions, and announced to others the peace which he had found in poverty and in trust in God. His complete renunciation of the world, his fiery love for God and man, made a tremendous impression at that moment.

A number of associates like minded with himself gathered round him; these he sent out "to preach to mankind peace and repentance for the forgiveness of sins." For their benefit he drew up a rule upon the principles which Jesus had laid down for His apostles. He attempted to secure its confirmation by the Pope, but Innocent felt that the spirit of Petrus Waldus was working here. He feared that a refusal might drive this fiery enthusiast into opposition, as had happened in the case of Waldus. He resolved to wait a while before confirming the rule, but gave the missionaries permission to continue their labours. Within a few years the brethren of Francis penetrated into one country after another, and inspired a movement of mighty power. Many who were unable themselves to travel and preach repentance formed in 1221 the fraternity known as the "Brothers of the Repentance of St. Francis"; these were the Tertiaries, the third Order, corresponding to the female

Order, the Clare Sisters, founded in 1212 or 1224.

Francis was a true son of his Church, and diverged from its doctrine in no single point. His object, however, was not to unite men with the Church, but to lead them to personal holiness. He did not even desire to found an Order; the union which he founded was only a means to an end, and was intended to



ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

Deeply impressed, in the year 1209, by the example of Christ, St. Francis abandoned his possessions, renounced the world, and went forth to lead others into the peace he had found in poverty and trust in God.

From the statue by Luca della Robbia



THE PASSING OF A GREAT SAINT: FRANCIS OF ASSISI ON HIS DEATH-BED

help his object of planting Christian humility by his example in all hearts wherever possible. The movement, thus working for religious independence, might be a considerable menace to the Church unless it were organised and confined within ecclesiastical boundaries. The danger was recognised by Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Pope Gregory IX; he succeeded in making the free union an order with a novitiate, with irrevocable vows, and with a chief elected by a general chapter.

Convents now arose in different countries; the brothers devoted themselves to preaching and to the spiritual care of the people. To increase their competency for this purpose they founded schools, and Franciscans soon occupied professorial chairs in Paris and Oxford. The papacy, now fully secularised, attempted to unite the Order firmly to itself, and therefore granted it great privileges; in consequence, the Order acquired wealth. All this was opposed to the theory of the founder, who in his enthusiasm for poverty and frugality regarded beggary as an honour. The result was violent quarrels within the Order concerning this change of the old rule. We cannot, however, assert that it would have been more efficacious if a lack of organisation and property had laid it open to every chance influence.

In any case the influence of the Franciscan order has been infinite. Some of its members attempted to use German as a

literary language, desiring, like David of Augsburg, who died in 1271, to disseminate among the people that mystical piety once the special monopoly of scholars. Others, by popular and stirring sermons, succeeded in turning misguided humanity from dead ecclesiasticism to a real reformation of life. Berthold of Regensburg travelled from Switzerland to Thuringia, from Alsace to Moravia, attracting everywhere congregations so vast that no church could contain the multitude of his hearers.

Many marched with him for days from place to place, in order to hear a repetition of his earnest warnings. Under the influence of his words deadly enemies embraced one another, mockers began to pray, and many restored their unrighteous gains to those they had defrauded.

Almost at the same time a second mendicant Order arose, founded by St. Dominic; its object was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church. This order also founded a female branch and a

lay brotherhood of penitents. To it Gregory IX. in 1232 entrusted those special inquisitorial courts which he instituted for the extirpation of infidelity. Previous to 1179 we have seen the movement of personal religion among the more intellectual classes; the following period saw a movement towards the liberation of personal Christianity from submission to the hierarchical system, in which the papacy involuntarily helped.



FOUNDER OF DOMINICANS
St. Dominic was the founder of a mendicant Order, the object of which was to bring back by preaching and spiritual care the heretics alienated from the Church.



THE ARREST OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. BY THE SOLDIERS OF KING PHILIP OF FRANCE

Remarkable for his diplomatic cunning and passionate recklessness, Pope Boniface VIII. engaged in a long struggle for supremacy with King Philip IV. of France, and when the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope laid an interdict upon France, and removed the whole clergy of the country from office. He was preparing to go even further, but on the very day when his Bull excommunicating and deposing Philip was to be proclaimed, he was apprehended at Anagni by the king's emissaries. Boniface was released a few days later by the inhabitants of the town, but the experience had so broken his health that he died a few months afterwards.



DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER AND THE EARLY DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

IN the year 1294 the papal chair was occupied by Boniface VIII. He was a man of great boldness, of extraordinary diplomatic cunning, and remarkable for his passionate recklessness. When Philip IV. (the Fair) of France proposed, on his own initiative, to tax Church property, in order to carry on war against England, the Pope threatened with excommunication and interdict, in his Bull "clericis laicos" in 1296, all who should pay or exact ecclesiastical contributions without his permission. The king revenged himself by prohibiting "the exportation of precious metal from the country," while the clergy in England who refused to pay a tax on account of the Bull were threatened with outlawry by Edward I. It was impossible for the Pope to dispense with his income from France, and he therefore proceeded to explain away the force of his Bull. Philip considered that so compliant a Pope was a suitable arbitrator to decide his quarrel with England.

How Boniface Filled His Purse

Boniface, however, decided as the supreme judge upon earth, and against the king, who thereupon declined to submit, and burnt this Bull at his court. Boniface, recognising that a decisive struggle was now inevitable, resolved both to advance his prestige and to fill his purse. He issued a decree of jubilee for the year 1300, proclaiming that all who should visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome during that year, for confession of sin and penance, should receive "the most plenary absolution of all their sins." The result showed with what general confidence the papal supremacy was still regarded. The streets of Rome were not wide enough to contain the masses of the believers who flocked into the city. Enormous sums flowed into the Pope's treasury.

In full confidence of victory, he sent to Philip a French bishop, by whom the king considered himself so insulted that he imprisoned the envoy and accused him

of high treason. The Pope replied by a prohibition, forbidding the king to exact any taxes from the Church, and, in 1301, by the Bull "ausculta fili," which contained the claim, "God has placed us above kings and kingdoms." Philip replied, "Your illustrious stupidity

The Pope's "Illustrious Stupidity"

should know that in secular matters we are subject to no one." In order to secure the national support he summoned to the States General not only the deputies of the nobility and clergy, but also those of the towns; and the consciousness of nationality was now so vigorous throughout the nation that the assembly solemnly declared the French kingdom independent of the Pope.

Carried away by the tide of his passion, Boniface, in 1302, issued the memorable Bull, "unam sanctam," an open proclamation of the papal theory regarding the Church and the temporal power. "When the apostles said, See, here are two swords, that is to say, within the Church, the Lord did not reply, It is too many, but It is enough. Hence there are two swords in the power of the Church, the ecclesiastical and the secular. The one is to be used for the Church and the other by the Church; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and warriors, but at the order and permission of the priest. By the evidence of truth the spiritual power must include the secular and judge it when it is evil. Should the supreme spiritual power go astray, it will be judged by God alone, and cannot be judged by man. Moreover, we declare, assert, determine, and proclaim that submission to the bishop of Rome is absolutely necessary for all men to salvation."

France Under the Papal Ban

When the French nation and the clergy supported their king, the Pope removed the whole clergy of the country from their office. He prepared a Bull threatening the king with excommunication and

deposition, and relieving his subjects of their oath. On the day, however, before the solemn proclamation of this Bull, the king's emissaries made their way to Anagni, the Pope's summer residence, and took him prisoner, that he might be brought before a court. The inhabitants of the town set him free some days afterwards,

**What Dante
Wrote
About Rome**

but the experience had broken his health, and a few months afterwards he died. No one moved a finger to save the honour of the papacy. Dante wrote: "The Church of Rome falls into the mire because the double honour and the double rule confounded within her defile herself and her dignity." In France the national excitement continued; the nation was not content to defend the king's procedure with the pen. For Philip's justification

the Pope, whom death had taken from the struggle, was to be prosecuted by a general council. The enemy, though defiant before, had lost their heads in excitement at the sudden fall of this bold Pope.

His successor used every conceivable means to pacify the king, and upon his death in the following year the cardinals expended no less than ten months in the choice of a successor. Eventually the French party, who looked for safety in compliance, won the day, and a French archbishop was chosen. He resisted the requests of the Italian cardinals; and, instead of proceeding to Rome to ascend the chair of St. Peter, he remained in France. In the year 1309 he took up his residence in Avignon.

The seventy years' exile of the papacy now begins. It was a voluntary exile; the Pope and cardinals preferred to live under French protection. But a profound impression was made upon the Christianity of that age by the fact that the Popes no longer resided in Rome. It must be remembered that the proof of the Roman Bishop's superiority to all bishops and of his supremacy over all secular beings centred in the fact that he occupied the chair of Peter. It might be supposed that the tradition of Peter's occupation of the Roman chair for twenty-five years was a fable invented to convince mankind

of the papal claims. Because Peter had been Bishop of Rome, the Pope must be all that Peter had been. In the eyes of those who believed that the evidence of papal primacy was provided by the Biblical texts, the papacy and Rome were indivisible. If Popes could reside elsewhere, they must themselves have lost their belief in the superiority granted by Christ and handed down by the apostle princes. It was not likely that the common people would believe it, and the idea emerged that the papacy did not exist by right divine.

The absence of the papal Curia from Rome also produced a second effect. The revenues accruing from the States of the Church became uncertain, and in some respects ceased entirely. New taxes became necessary, and within fifteen



POPE JOHN XXII.

The year 1314 witnessed the double election to the German throne of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria, and the interference of this Pope led to much trouble.

years the French kings paid no less than three and a half millions of guildens. This French papacy, however, generally preferred splendour and luxury to economy, and some new sources of income had therefore to be provided. In the first place, more must be paid by the countless numbers who applied to the Curia for dispensations, privileges, and powers of every kind. With most astonishing dexterity the papal rights were extended to include patronage and ecclesiastical appointment, and enormous sums were demanded for institutions or confirmations.

Special sources of revenue were also reserved to the Curia, such as the property

left by a bishop at his death, the income of vacant livings until their re-occupation, the first year's income of any benefice which amounted to more than four and twenty guildens.

**Unworthy
Methods of
the Papacy**

Many archbishops were obliged to pay ten thousand guildens for their confirmation, and during one year the Curia exacted more than 175,000 guildens from the archbishopric of Mainz—more than £500,000 of our money.

Such blood-sucking was bound to arouse discontent with the papacy, and still more with the unworthy methods which were often employed to extort the largest possible sum. It happened, for

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

instance, that a man might have paid to secure the reversion of a post, but a second candidate offered more than the first and received the assurance of preference, while the first thus lost his money. The poet Petrarch published a terrible indictment of the condition of the papal court. "All hopes are based on money; for money is heaven opened, and for money is Christ sold. The hopes of a future life are regarded as a fable, and the teaching of hell as a fairy tale. Unbridled sinfulness passes as nobility and lofty freedom. The more shameful a life, the greater its fame. These greybeards plunge into shame as if their whole reputation consisted in gorging, drinking, and in the disgrace which follows on such vices, and this is known not only to me, but to the nation also." In addition to these facts the Pope, residing near France, was by no means free. The world was already aware of the extent to which this power, which claimed to bind and to loose all others, was itself in bonds to the French monarchy, to such an extent indeed that it could not even contrive to protect the rich and powerful order of Templars from the king's avarice.

The Pope indeed forbade the continuance of the prosecution of the Templars, which had been begun with the prison and the rack. But he was even forced publicly to declare that the king had proceeded against the Templars, not for selfish motives, but in pure zeal for the Church, and was finally forced to pronounce the dissolution of this unfortunate order.

The part which the papacy played in this revolting transaction was the more likely to lower its prestige when it boldly proceeded to assert its old claims to predominance against other princes, and thereby plunged the whole of Germany into unspeakable misery. In the year 1314 took place the double election of Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic of Austria. Pope John XXII. declined to regard either as the legitimate sovereign until he had given his papal decision. When Lewis took his adversary prisoner, John

forbade any member of the German Empire to give obedience or support to the "usurper." The king's counter declaration, that his position depended entirely upon the choice of the electors, was answered by the Pope with excommunication; when the king appealed to a general council an interdict was proclaimed on all persons and districts which should remain faithful to Lewis.

During this struggle, which brought unspeakable confusion to men's consciences, many personalities appeared in opposition to the Pope, whom no one would have expected to find against him. Though the Franciscans now possessed and enjoyed great property, they wished to retain their reputation of complete poverty in contrast to other orders. They, therefore, declared that they held the property of the order only in

usufruct, and that the right of ownership belonged to the Pope, while they solemnly proclaimed the opinion that their models, Christ and His apostles, held no rights of ownership in their common possessions.

This assertion, which aroused the envy of the Dominicans, was condemned by the Pope. The chief of the order, Cesena, and the great scholar of the order, Occam, protested against this decision

and fled to the German king, Lewis. They accused the Pope of heresy, and their friends publicly preached that John was no Pope but a heretic. As they enjoyed the prestige of apostolic poverty, their words found special reverence among the people. In the end the order gave in its submission; but these years of bitter conflict undermined the papal prestige to the most dangerous degree.

No small impression was made upon higher circles by the fact that clever authors attempted to reduce the Church and the papacy to their proper sphere, and that the boldness of their attempts increased. Marsiglio of Padua declared in his "Defensor pacis" that the papacy was the chief disturber of the peace, through its interference with constitutional rights.



THE LEARNED SCOTUS

The new tendency of theological thought found an able exponent in John Duns Scotus. The Franciscan Order sent him to Cologne to found a university, where he died.



OCCAM THE SCHOLAR

A pupil of the learned John Duns Scotus, the great scholar Occam prepared the way for the downfall of the prevailing scholastic system by the doctrines he taught.

that the supremacy lay, not with the Church, but with the nation or with the ruler of its choice, and that this extended over the servants of the Church. The Church was not the hierarchy, but the Christian nation represented in councils. An even greater impression than that produced by these radical theories of

Signs of Revolution in the Church

natural right was made by the writings of the Franciscan, William of Occam. He broke the ground for the coming revolution in the Church by his teaching that the creed and the welfare of the Church are the supreme law. Hence, in cases of necessity the traditional order of the Church must give place to a new organisation. Hence, also, every prince and the most simple layman, if only possessed of the true faith, can acquire extensive rights over the Church. Neither the hierarchy nor the papacy is secure against downfall; on the contrary, true faith confers the right of argument with the Church. Hence a council, though by no means infallible, is competent to sit in judgment upon the Pope.

These ideas are closely connected with the new tendency of theological thought, and this again runs parallel with the development of the papacy. As the supremacy of the Church in political life disappears, so does that confidence with which it claimed to rule public opinion through ecclesiastical science. A revolt against intellectual tyranny becomes manifest. The schoolman, John Duns Scotus, who died in 1308, asserted that there was no logical proof for the existence of God or for the Trinity. His pupil, the above-mentioned Occam, differentiated between natural and religious knowledge, between science and faith, and thereby prepared the downfall of the scholastic system. He definitely rejected that realism—using the term in its philosophic sense—which had dominated science during the

The Church and Christian Morality

period of ecclesiastical supremacy either sought or secured. Universals had been considered as the only reality, and the individual had been thrown into the background. Hence that general conception, the Church, had been regarded as the reality, while the individual and the detailed decisions of human laws and of Christian morality were regarded as unjustifiable when such a view seemed likely to promote the welfare of the whole—that

is, the Church. After the time of Occam nominalism revives, which teaches that the universal is only a mere name, *nomen*, or abstraction. The only reality is the individual thing. Hence the individual believer may be of greater importance than the hierarchy, which represents the whole Church, and the papacy is thus conditioned by the individuals who form the Church.

We must not forget that, during the fourteenth century, Popes constantly secured obedience in political questions by placing wide districts under an interdict for long years at a time; in this way they made it impossible for the Church to satisfy such religious instincts as still survived in the people, and the religious consequences of this procedure are perfectly obvious. If the religious spirit did not disappear entirely, it steadily broke away from ecclesiastical authority and struggled for independence. It was no mere coincidence that exactly at that time a desire for vernacular translations of the Bible arose among the people. This was a need that had already been experienced by the heretics divided from the Church.

Bibles Burned at Metz

To a question of the Bishop of Metz, Innocent III. had replied that attempts on the part of the laity to interpret the Scriptures were culpable presumption; in order, however, not to alienate such men from the Church by excessive strictness, they might be left with the Bible translations in their hands, provided they were not thereby seduced to a lack of reverence for the apostolic chair. In Metz, the translations of the Bible were thereupon confiscated and burnt; and a series of councils prohibited the publication of the Bible or of any theological books in the vernacular.

Now that the prestige of the papacy was sunk to a low ebb, men began to look for some other basis even within the Church. With the desire for personal faith arose also a popular tendency to draw immediately upon that source of truth which Occam had praised as a supreme authority. In the most varied districts men proceeded to translate the whole Bible, or individual books of it, into the vernacular tongues. In the year 1369 the Emperor Charles IV. prohibited "all books in the vernacular dealing with holy Scripture," but was unable to prevent the satisfaction of this desire when once it had been felt.

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

The individualist tendency of Christianity is also evidenced by the widespread spirit of mysticism in the fourteenth century and by the new manner in which it was put forward. Notwithstanding the horror felt by strict churchmen of religious writings in any other language than Latin, which was intelligible only to scholars, souls were now led to communion with God by means of the vernacular tongues. Abstracted from outward things, absorbed in self-contemplation, the soul was to find God and to rejoice in His presence. Such was the teaching of the profound master Ekkehard of Hochheim near Gotha, who died in 1327; "God's being is to our life." Summoned before the Inquisition, he was forced to declare his renunciation of those errors ascribed to him. Such, too, was the teaching of the influential preacher, John Tauler of Strasburg, who continued to preach although the Pope had interdicted him. His teaching was followed by the pupil of Ekkehard, Henry Suso of Ueberlingen.

These men did not attempt to contradict Church doctrine, but they involuntarily represented the Church as superfluous, and this view received greater emphasis from those who possessed any theological training and drew their spiritual nourishment from these mystical writings. As a substitute for that communion which they missed in the Church, they formed associations, calling themselves "the friends of God," and regarding themselves as the only true Christians, who might hope by their prayers to avert the judgment threatening the Church.

In the convents of nuns a similar visionary tendency became obvious. The famous Margaret Ebner, in the nunnery of Medingen, near Donauwörth, described the manifestations vouchsafed to her, and continued a zealous correspondence with her spiritual friend, Henry of Nördlingen. By their efforts the "spiritual manifestations of grace" of St. Mechthildis were published in the High German language. This mysticism found acceptance, as may be easily understood, among many of those men and women who had been given separate houses to secure their social position, in which they worked, or from which they went out to work, for their daily life—the so-called Beghins and Beghards. Possibly the first foundations of these unions—on the Lower Rhine

about 1180—may have been inspired by a religious idea of renunciation. In any case these half-monastic unions of pious souls, removed from the strict discipline of the monastery, ran the danger of becoming conventicles and of cherishing a mystical piety more or less repugnant to the Church. Hence the Church found it

Where the Mystic Sects Flourished advisable to take proceedings against them more than once. The desire for Christian liberty and freedom from authority rose to open hostility to the Church in the sect of the "free spirit." From the outset of the thirteenth century a strange fusion of freethinking and enthusiasm had existed in France, and now began to grow with great rapidity. The theory was that the free spirit of man knew no superior authority: man was God, even as Christ was. His actions were performed as a result of inward divine freedom, which hence raised him above all rules and prescriptions. Work was not fitting for him, and all belonged to him, so that he might take what he would. These mystics wandered in bands, making life insecure by their translation of these principles into practice. The sect was especially numerous in Switzerland, and on the Rhine as far as Cologne; it also appeared in Upper Italy and Bohemia. Its members were persecuted by the Church, which merely confirmed their opposition; nor could the Church alleviate this malady, being herself sick unto death.

The friends of the Church began with greater impetuosity to demand the return of the papacy to the chair of St. Peter; and at length Gregory XI. re-entered Rome in the year 1377. After his death, in the following year, a new election brought yet greater misery upon the Church than the exile of the papacy had produced. The newly appointed Pope proposed to attack the disorders prevailing in the Curia. The French cardinals

Two Popes who Cursed Each Other then left the city and elected a Frenchman, who again took refuge in Avignon, under the ægis of the French king. Two representatives of Christ thus existed in opposition, and the allegiance of the national kingdoms was divided between them. The one cursed the other and all his adherents, so that the whole of Christianity lay under an interdict. Whenever a Pope died, Christianity hoped for the conclusion of the schism; but on every



THE PALACE OF THE POPES AT AVIGNON, BUILT IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The seventy years' voluntary exile of the papacy from Rome began in the year 1309, when the Pope and cardinals, preferring to live under French protection, took up their residence at Avignon. According to prevailing ideas, the papacy and Rome were indivisible, and the withdrawal of the Popes from the headquarters of all their predecessors profoundly impressed the Christianity of the age. When at last, in 1377, Gregory XI. re-entered Rome, the trouble was by no means over. After his death there arose two rival Popes, one of whom, a Frenchman, took refuge in Avignon.

such occasion a new election continued this miserable state of affairs. Even those who cared little for the honour of the Church and the papacy groaned under the results of this disruption.

There were two papal Curias to maintain, and their extortions were far more exacting than ever before. A papal official of that period, whose business it was to register the requests sent in to the Curia, wrote, "There is no demand so unrighteous or absurd that cannot be granted for money." It seemed that the papacy would leave no stone unturned to destroy the proud Gregorian theory of its divine supremacy and its inviolability.

The consequences were inevitable, for the spectacle of two Popes excommunicating one another led men to ask whether there was no higher authority in the Church than the papal power. The world resounded with complaints of papal oppression, and it seemed that the papal power must be limited, and Christianity secured against further malpractices. A

General Council might possibly bring salvation. The scholars of the Paris University, especially Gerson, vigorously championed this hope of safety.

The immediate necessity, however, was the reformation of the Church in head and members alike. The ecclesiastical and religious conditions which had arisen beneath the guidance of the Church in the last forty or fifty years were absolutely indescribable. The local clergy had degenerated, owing to the sale of spiritual posts to utterly unsuitable candidates, and to the practice of plurality, which made extortion easier. Episcopal organisation was completely shattered, as a steadily increasing number of ecclesiastical institutions and fraternities purchased from the papacy the right of exemption from episcopal supervision and jurisdiction; an increasing number also demanded what they considered to be their rights from the Curia, and secured them if they paid highly enough. For thirty years this miserable schism was endured with all its

DECLINE OF THE PAPAL POWER

consequences, until the world gained courage to break with the theories concerning the unlimited nature of papal supremacy.

In March, 1409, the much-desired council was opened at Pisa. Neither of the Popes was present, and both protested against the illegality of the council. Gerson, however, was able to convince the assembly of the principle that a council could represent the Universal Church even without the presence of a Pope. For centuries general councils had been nothing more than the Pope's obedient tools; opinion now ventured to ascribe supreme authority to the council. The two Popes were deposed and a new appointment was made—Alexander V. The deposed, however, had no idea of resignation, and each of them enjoyed the support of several princes and peoples. Christianity thus possessed three Popes, a "papal trinity," as the mocking phrase ran, and was broken into three camps. Alexander V. prorogued the council for three

years in order to prepare thoroughly for the necessary reform, and meanwhile ecclesiastical affairs remained in a state of confusion.

All hopes of a reformation seemed to have gone for ever in the year 1410, when John XXIII. became Pope. He had begun

his career as a pirate. By the sale of indulgences he had amassed such wealth that he was able to enlist an army, to conquer Bologna, and to rule as a bloody despot and a shameless voluptuary. He was also pointed out as the murderer of his predecessor on the papal throne. The council for which the world was calling was not to be expected from this Pope; and in consequence the old theory was revived that the emperor was the protector of the



THE PIRATE POPE

Beginning his career as a pirate, John XXIII. became Pope in 1410 and amassed considerable wealth.

Church. By a fortunate turn of affairs, John was forced to flee from Rome and take refuge with Sigismund. In his complete helplessness he agreed to a council upon German soil, and this was summoned by Sigismund, as "protector of the Church,"



THE STATE ENTRY OF POPE JOHN INTO CONSTANCE FOR THE FAMOUS COUNCIL
Forced to flee from Rome, Pope John took refuge with the Emperor Sigismund of Germany, and was compelled to agree to a council upon German soil, which Sigismund, as "Protector of the Church," summoned for November 1st, 1414, at Constance. The Council of Constance thus met as a synod under a Pope. Thwarted in his attempt to maintain the theory of his inviolability, the Pope fled from Constance, thinking that this step would deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action. But the council, holding its power to be from God, deposed the Pope.

for November 1st, 1414, at Constance; John's invitation followed.

Thus the Council of Constance met as a synod under a Pope. Relying upon the large number of Italian bishops dependent upon himself who were present,

Pope John Deposed at Constance John attempted to maintain the theory of his inviolability. It was then resolved that the voting should be, not by heads, but by nations; that is, that each one of the four nations present should be regarded as a whole, and that scholars and royal ambassadors should also have seats and votes. In order to deprive the council of its jurisdiction for further action, the Pope fled from Constance. The council responded by resolving that it represented the Universal Church upon earth, and derived its power immediately from God; that everyone, including the Pope, was bound to obey it, and that everyone who refused obedience was to be duly punished, whatever might be his rank. John was deposed. One of the two remaining Popes voluntarily resigned, and the third was abandoned by his previous adherents. In this way the schism came to an end.

It was indeed a remarkable change of ecclesiastical theory. Since the third century, when Cyprian had regarded the episcopate as representing the unity of the Church, the councils which incarnated that unity were formed of bishops. In the Western Empire the Bishop of Rome had then advanced and made good the claim that the whole Church was incorporated in himself, and that he alone could conduct and confirm synods.

Now the council had again asserted its superiority to the Pope, and it was a council formed by no means exclusively of bishops; the princes, as the heads of the laity, had their official votes in it. Individualism thus invaded the theory of Church government; but the idea that the whole could command the individual was still as powerful as of yore. This synod demanded with the same decision that blind obedience which the Pope had previously required. Religious toleration was as yet an inconceivable

idea. This is only too clearly proved by the decisions of the Council of Constance upon the burning doctrinal questions of the day.

From the year 1376 John Wycliffe of Oxford had publicly opposed the papacy and its extortions. He had begun the struggle in the interests of his nation, but in the course of it he was led beyond the limits he had proposed. It seemed impossible that a hierarchy, degraded by its lust for worldly honour, wealth, and power, with its Pope in Avignon, or its two or three Popes, could be the Church of God. The Church could consist only of those who were found worthy of eternal salvation—the predestined. The Popes of the schism showed by their behaviour that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, but to that of Antichrist. It was impossible that the will of such a hierarchy could pass as the law of the Church.

"The divine law," the holy Scripture, must decide all, and commands discordant with this law, even if originating with the Pope, were illegal. For this reason Wycliffe began his English translation of the Bible in order that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing in the Church. On the authority of the Bible he rejected transubstantiation, auricular confession, confirmation,

and extreme unction, the worship of saints, images and relics, the pilgrimages, brotherhoods, and indulgences, and, in particular, the worldly power and possessions of the clergy.

According to the Bible, tithes and alms were to be the priest's sole source of maintenance. The king, as the supreme ruler after God, was to take from the clergy all that was not theirs by God's law. To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wycliffe sent out his "poor priests," who constantly travelled, preaching as opportunity served them; he also sent out laymen, who were given full powers by God Himself, but by no bishop. In this way the religious movement rapidly spread. The University of Oxford was horrified by Wycliffe's attacks upon the orthodox doctrine of the sacrament, and



WYCLIFFE THE REFORMER

John Wycliffe publicly opposed the papacy, and made an English translation of the Bible that the laity might be inspired to correct the evils existing in the Church.

**Wycliffe's
"Poor
Priests"**

people, Wycliffe sent out his "poor priests," who constantly travelled, preaching as opportunity served them;



THE REFORMER, JOHN WYCLIFFE, SENDING OUT HIS BAND OF "POOR PRIESTS."

The religious movement initiated by Wycliffe quickly spread throughout England. By his published writings the reformer was able to influence all classes, and through his "poor priests," who are shown in the illustration, his doctrines found many adherents. To provide for the spiritual needs of the people, Wycliffe sent out these men, who travelled over the land and preached whenever and wherever the opportunity arose, thus winning many adherents.

forbade such criticism. He was able, however, from his parish of Lutterworth, to influence high and low by the number of his published writings. He ended his days in peace in 1384; it was not until 1399 that the reaction began, with the help of a new ruler placed upon the throne by the superior clergy, and Lollardry was ruthlessly suppressed.

This fire, however, had already lighted a mighty conflagration in Bohemia. A new religious spirit had been aroused in that country by zealous archbishops and by Waldensians and other heretics who had migrated thither. These were reinforced by powerful preachers who fulminated against religious indifference and dead ecclesiasticism, and against the secularisation of the clergy. Of these the chief were Militsch of Kremsier, who died in 1347, and Matthias of Janof. The papal schism had induced these latter to arrive at Wycliffe's theories independently. They asserted that only the Church of Antichrist had been divided, that the true Church

was the community of those predestined to salvation, and had not been influenced by the schism. Matthias also shared the veneration of the English reformer for the Bible; and German Bohemia in that age was zealously occupied with the task of Bible translation. Manuscripts are still in existence which once belonged to the citizens of Prague or Eger. One of these German psalters is not derived from the Latin Vulgate, but is taken directly, or indirectly, from the original Hebrew. In Bohemia was also composed the German Bible, which appeared in fourteen editions after the invention of printing. Another German text exists in the shape of the Wenzel Bible, which is famous for its illustrations, and was composed about 1301 for Wenzel, the Bohemian king and German emperor.

The marriage of the daughter of a Bohemian king with Richard II. of England in 1382 promoted a vigorous interchange of thought between the universities of Oxford and Prague. Many Bohemian



POPE ALEXANDER V.

An enemy of the reform movement, it was through his influence that over two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings were burned in the palace on the Hradschin in Prague.

students brought Wycliffe's ideas and writings home from England. Master John Huss founded his first lectures—after 1396—upon Wycliffe's writings. The leaders in this religious movement were almost exclusively Czechs; thus the whole movement gained a national character. This desire, however, for national independence was

Huss the Disciple of Wycliffe primarily anti-Roman, and aimed at liberation from Rome. When King Wenzel desired to induce the Bohemian Church to promise subjection to neither of the two disputing Popes he was supported only by Czechs and not by the Germans; he therefore determined that the Germans in the university should have only one vote, the Czechs three, and in consequence more than two thousand German teachers and students left the town in 1409. Huss now became rector of the university, which was entirely Czech, and his reputation steadily increased, in spite of the many attacks upon him.

The archbishop, inspired by the new Pope, Alexander V., now interfered, and burnt more than two hundred volumes of Wycliffe's writings in the court of his palace on the Hradschin in Prague. He excommunicated Huss and his adherents; and when this measure was answered with scorn, violent measures were taken to place the city under an interdict. The excitement increased, and the efforts of King Wenzel at pacification proved fruitless.

In order to save the honour of the Bohemian Church, Sigismund invited Huss to appear personally before the Council of Constance, and promised him a safe conduct in his own name and in that of the empire. With foreboding of evil, but ready for death, Huss set forth, and after a few weeks his opponents in Constance

Sigismund's Broken Pledge were able to take him prisoner, notwithstanding the promise of safe conduct. Sigismund's anger blazed up; he ordered that the prisoner should be immediately released, and threatened to break open the prison. He was told that any measures of his which might hinder the efficacy of the council would result in its immediate dissolution. This he was anxious to avoid at any price; he therefore sacrificed the witness of the truth and

his royal word in the cause of the reforms for which he hoped from the council. Thus it was possible to proceed with the accusation of heresy; and the fate of Huss was decided in May 1414, when the council issued their condemnation of Wycliffe.

The trial of Huss brought out the deep difference between himself and the fathers of the council to an extent of which he was himself hardly conscious. He asserted that he could not recant until he had been convinced of the erroneous nature of his doctrine. He was told that a recantation would lay no blame on him, but upon the superiors who demanded it from him. The main point of difference was the question whether a man had a conscience of his own, or whether he should allow his conscience to be ruled by other men and by the Church. Huss thought differently from the council; he had an independent personal conviction of religious faith, and this he rated higher than his life. Though he was no profound thinker, no pioneer of a new doctrine,

Reformers Perish at the Stake and in some respects inferior to Wycliffe, this fact has made him the hero of a new epoch and a martyr. The men who, led by Gerson, had been the most violent opponents of the unlimited power of the papacy, and most anxious for a so-called reformation, did not hesitate until they had silenced for ever this exponent of a true reformation. On July 6th, 1415, he perished at the stake, a fate shared by Jerome of Prague in 1416.

The judges of Huss made a great mistake when they thought that these tokens of strong Catholicism would enable them the more certainly to secure a permanent reformation. The appointment of a new Pope was delayed, as they feared that attempts at reformation might be thus frustrated. However, through the influence of political powers, the Italians and cardinals who were opposed to reform succeeded in carrying out a papal election. The friends of reform thought something had been achieved when the new Pope was pledged to carry out the reforms and to reassemble the council after a definite period, which was first fixed at five years.

The election of Martin V., in November, 1417, brought the Great Schism to an end.



APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

MURMURINGS OF THE COMING STORM

POPE MARTIN V. was a prudent and kindly character. He saw that every nation had its own special views upon the subject of reform, which were generally conditioned by the nature of its immediate dependence upon Rome. This fact he was able to explain to the council. He induced them to abandon as impossible any promulgation of general principles, and to rest contented with separate concordats for each nation. These concordats consisted in fair promises on the side of the Pope, and in the abolition of certain flagrant abuses. In some cases they secured the papacy in the possession of new privileges. Moreover, by the decree of the council they were concluded not permanently, but only for five years.

The council was dissolved in April, 1418, and an actual reformation was as far distant as ever. The old disgraceful practices soon resumed their prevalence at the papal Curia. After two years, a German from Rome wrote, "Every action of the court at Rome is cheating, greed, and pride"; and another wrote, "Livings are sold in Rome as publicly as pigs at market." The general hopes were set upon the council to be summoned after five years. The Pope convoked it in 1424 at Pavia, transferred it to Siena before proceedings began, and dissolved it speedily. Christendom felt itself cheated; the indignation of the lower clergy and the people increased. Pope Eugene IV. was obliged to promise to summon a council in Basle in 1431.

The first step of this council was to invite the adherents of Huss to Basle for negotiations. The martyrdom of Constance had aroused the Bohemian movement to wild fanaticism, the outward sign of which was the demand of the cup for the laity in the Communion service. Wenzel expelled the priests who dispensed the Communion in both kinds, *sub-utraque*

specie, from which phrase came their title of Utraquists; they then fled to a mountain, which they called Tabor, and the people flocked to them in bands of excited enthusiasts to prepare for battle by receiving the Communion. A social movement

Victories of the Hussites was amalgamated with that for religious reform. An end was to be made of all tyranny, and a furious storm broke upon the churches and monasteries. At the desire of Sigismund, Martin V. summoned the whole of Christendom to battle with these heretics. But the crusading army sent against them was utterly defeated, and the Hussite forces devastated the neighbouring territories with fire and sword. Their invincibility made them the terror of the West; and a fresh crusading army, accompanied by the cardinal, who had been appointed president of the council at Basle, was annihilated. Christianity breathed a sigh of relief when the more moderate of the Hussites professed their readiness to negotiate with the council.

The Pope, however, was irritated that the council should attempt to conclude an independent peace with the heretics whose destruction he had demanded, and thus to claim the government of the Church. He therefore dissolved the council, which, however, referred with great decision to the principle that a general council was supreme even over the Pope. The council passed the most sweeping measures for the limitation of

The Pope Compelled to Yield the papal power. In 1433 they concluded peace with the Bohemians, conceding the four demands which the Hussites had advanced in 1420, though in a mitigated form; these were the cup for the laity, free preaching of the Word of God, the reformation of the clergy, and the restoration of the Christian discipline. The Pope was eventually compelled to declare

his order of dissolution null and void, in a Bull drawn up by the council itself. His legates were forced to swear that they would work for the honour of the council, would submit to its decrees, and would help to secure its triumph. Thus the council triumphed over the Pope.

However, in the consciousness of this triumph the council was unable to act with moderation.

It cut off from the papacy most of the existing sources of income, or appropriated them to itself, so that the Pope could reasonably ask how he was to keep up his court for the future in accordance with his dignity, or to pay his many officials.

Many, moreover, who had derived their incomes from the former financial position of the papacy were irritated with the council. The council, indeed, seemed determined to appropriate the Pope's position, as it issued dispensations of marriage, granted absolutions and gifts of tithes, interfered in purely secular affairs, and disposed of the electoral dignity against the decision of the emperor.

The Greek emperor was at that moment anxious to secure the help of the West in order to save his empire from complete destruction by the infidel, and for that reason proposed to enter upon negotiations for union with the Western Church; the Pope thus secured the transference of the council to Ferrara on the ground that he desired to spare the Greek ambassadors the task of crossing the Alps. The majority of the synod declined to surrender their freedom of movement by removal to Italy, and finally proposed the deposition of the Pope. The fact,

however, that the Pope had secured from the Greeks a recognition of his apostolic supremacy over the whole of Christendom considerably strengthened his prestige, and by concessions of every kind he was able to bring one prince after another to his side.

The Council of Basle entirely forfeited the general sympathy by its action in

electing an anti-Pope, Felix V. in 1439. It seemed that the result of this council was merely a new schism. Hence the nations attempted to secure the reforms determined at Basle, though they did not break away from the Roman Pope. Felix V.



POPE EUGENE IV. AND THE ANTI-POPE FELIX V.

In 1439 the Council of Basle deposed Pope Eugene IV. and set up an anti-Pope in the person of Felix V. This produced a new schism, general sympathy being against the council in its action. Felix voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449.



voluntarily resigned, and the council was finally dissolved in 1449. All who knew the nature of the papacy were bound to admit that the last remnants of the success of the anti-papal movement would soon disappear. The "reformation" was not inspired by purely religious motives. Though entirely justified, it was chiefly selfish reasons that had inspired its action and hindered its performance.

Towards the close of this period, about 1450, a feeling of bitter disappointment was shared by all who had the welfare of the Church at heart. All attempts at improvement had failed, all hopes of a reformation had passed, and



THE POPES PIUS II. AND SIXTUS IV.

One of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle was Aeneas Silvius, but as the power of the council dwindled he receded from his former attitude and turned a zealous supporter of the papal chair. He became Pope, as Pius II., in 1458. Sixtus was a patron of art and learning, and built the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.



the end of the world was thought to be at hand; thus all complained with one voice in bitter disappointment. Every pious soul felt assured that existing conditions could no longer continue.

The papacy had completely defeated the desire for a reformation, whether ecclesiastical or anti-ecclesiastical. It had also lost all sympathy with the religious

movement. The process was thus complete which had begun nearly a century before ; the papacy was no longer conducted upon one principle, but was guided solely by motives of self-interest, which appealed with varying force to different Popes, for unity of effort disappeared when the principles were swept away. Upon one point only were the Popes agreed—that a reformation ought to be averted.

Enea Silvio de Piccolomini (Aeneas Silvius) had been one of the most successful opponents of the papacy at the Council of Basle. As the power of the council dwindled, he became an equally zealous adherent of the papacy in 1445. In his new career he steadily gained ecclesiastical honours, until he secured the papal tiara

in 1458, as Pius II. He wished to revive papal supremacy according to the old models ; not, however, with the intentions of such men as Innocent III., who really thought that the only salvation for souls consisted in general submission to Peter. Pius was inspired by purely secular ideas. He was in the position of a prince wishing to revive the departed glory of a crown which he had inherited. It was his destiny to learn that he was aiming at the impossible, and that the general lack of confidence in the papacy was now invincible. He condemned the "accursed abuse that men should be driven by the spirit of rebellion presumptuously to appeal from the Bishop of Rome to a future council," and he found that men revolted from every one of his unpopular rules by means of such appeals. He took the utmost trouble to organise a crusade against the Turks, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453 ; but Christendom declined to follow him. For the same purpose he founded new orders of knights, but these soon disappeared.

Paul II. had signed a document before his election pledging himself to continue the war against the Turks, to maintain strict morality, to convoke a council of reform, and to carry out other measures ;

when his elevation had made him supreme head of the Church, and had thus given him power to loose whom he would, he immediately released himself from his promises. The Church owed to him the profitable innovation that the jubilee, originally intended to celebrate the outset

of every new century, should be celebrated every twenty-five years. Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) did not employ the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict to advance his secular aims ; but apart from this he was undistinguishable from the ordinary run of immoral and faithless Italian princes. He improved his finances by instituting brothels in Rome, which brought him in a yearly income of

80,000 ducats. Innocent VIII. had so many illegitimate children that popular humour spoke of him as rightly called the father of his country. While he was inspiring Christendom with lofty words to fight against the infidel, he kept in imprisonment an enemy of the sultan who had fled to the West, instead of placing him at the head of a crusading army, for the simple reason that the sultan paid him 40,000 dollars a year for this service. His successor, in 1492, was the Borgia Alexander VI., who died in 1503, the father of five illegitimate children, a



THE GREAT SAVONAROLA

Its wickedness obvious to every eye, the papacy became the scorn of all who desired to see religion in its purity. But the voice of the humble Dominican friar, Savonarola, was raised in protest against the evils of his time.

man whose treachery and cruelty were a byword. Alexander had secured his election by bribery of the cardinals, but his greed extorted their money with such rapidity that they were forced to flee or succumb to his exactions ; in either case their treasures came into the Pope's possession. He hoped to subjugate the whole of Italy to his family, and he did not shrink from concluding an alliance with "the hereditary enemy of Christianity" against "the most Christian king" of France.

A further attempt at reformation was ventured. The Dominican friar, Savonarola, created a profound impression in Florence by his preaching of penitence, and succeeded in founding a republic in

which God was to be the sole king. His brilliant success afforded some prospect of a purification of the whole Church, and he therefore attacked the well-spring of the evil, Rome, and its disgraceful Pope, Alexander. The Pope consequently excommunicated him and placed Florence under an interdict. In 1498 Savonarola and his most faithful friends were hanged as "persecutors of the holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burnt. This was a second disappointment. However, in his cell the martyr gained so firm a conviction of evangelical theory that Luther was able to republish the work which he had composed on the eve of execution. Immediately after his death, Savonarola's writings were so eagerly printed and read that, in 1501, the Pope considered it necessary to place them on the Index in order that "only such seed should be sown in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth as would provide spiritual food for the souls of the faithful."

Once again the princes gathered courage and demanded a council; complaints of the shameless extortion of the Curia had become too loud and too universal. The result of these noble efforts was the issue, in December, 1516, of the Bull "Pastor æternus" at the Lateran Council opened in 1512; this document appealed to the infamous Bull of Boniface VIII. (Unam sanctam), and asserted, "he who does not hear the representative of Christ shall die the death." The Roman bishop has sole authority over all councils." The ambitions which Christendom had cherished for centuries were now to all appearance completely destroyed. Geiler of Kaisersperg, whose death occurred in 1510, preached "there is no hope of improvement in Christianity, therefore let every man hide his head in a corner and see

that he does and keeps God's commandments that he may obtain salvation."

The same council considered it necessary to pass a resolution forbidding any doubt to be cast upon the immortality of the soul. The spirit of free thought, which had existed among the educated classes of Christianity for nearly three centuries, had reappeared, and was manifested principally in the form of pure enthusiasm for classical antiquity.

In the fourteenth century, the general authority of the Church had collapsed; the spiritual power of its head had been shattered by the exile of the papacy and

the schism, and the ecclesiastical science of scholasticism was fading, while the religious spirit became more individual. In Italy at that time men's minds were no longer satisfied by the mediæval ideals of submission to authority and renunciation of the world; they therefore turned to classical antiquity, to the enjoyment of that personal freedom and that appreciation of life which are prominent in those memorials of the past.

The new culture, the Renaissance and humanism, advanced steadily, and were carried to the north of the Alps by the Councils of Constance

and Basle, while the invention of printing facilitated their wider dissemination. A spirit long extinct was thereby revived, the spirit of historical inquiry, especially and naturally into the history of the Church. This was a tendency which was conscious neither of its true impulses nor of its final results, and was for these reasons pursued without preoccupation. Almost all the Popes who ruled in the last decades of the Middle Ages allowed themselves to follow the movement without reserve. No one suspected that they were driving the ship of St. Peter towards the whirlpool



THE CELL OF SAVONAROLA

The reformer advanced the cause of pure religion by his writings as well as by his impassioned preaching. He was also an earnest student, and his prior's cell at the monastery of St. Mark in Florence was the scene of tireless study as well as of prolonged and fervent prayer.



THE BURNING OF THE VANITIES: A SEQUEL TO THE PREACHING OF SAVONAROLA.

It was not to be expected that the zeal and enthusiasm of Savonarola would go unchecked. Thrice he was summoned to appear before the Pope at Rome, but he would not obey the papal commands. In 1496, the Pope in vain offered him a cardinal's hat if he would change the tone of his sermons. The above picture illustrates an event of 1497—the burning in Florence, by the order of Savonarola, of all the “vain and unholy things” which could be collected in the city—fancy dresses, personal ornaments, pictures, sculptures, books, and such-like objects.

Reproduced by permission of the artist, F. W. Topham

of destruction. Yet in this land where humanism originated a tendency soon arose which made it an extraordinary danger to the mediæval Church and to all true religious spirit. When a Church demanded blind credence for its every

The Roman Church in Danger

assertion, and had founded its power upon so many falsifications, its very existence was menaced by men who, like Laurentius Valla, who died in 1457, studied the New Testament in the original, and showed the inaccuracy of the Latin Vulgate used by the Church. He and other investigators showed the falsity of the "Donation of Constantine," on which Popes had based their power for centuries, demonstrated by the words of the apostles themselves the fabulous nature of the supposed composition of the "Apostles' Creed," which was generally believed, and cast doubts upon the False Decretals, which were the props and foundations of ecclesiastical law as a whole. It was a danger, also, to the prestige of a Church which had long been honoured by countless numbers as a teacher provided with infallible power, when ecclesiastical Latin was compared with the language of the ancient authors, and its barbarisms held up to scorn.

The intellectualism of the time, in its enthusiasm for classical literature, entirely adopted this spirit and appropriated the heathen theories of life, with results that might have been expected, and are especially obvious among the Italian humanists. They secretly renounced their allegiance to the Church and to religion, and abandoned themselves to the most shameless sensuality. In order to avoid any inconvenience that might result from declared infidelity, they announced their readiness "to believe everything that the Church believed"; one of them said jestingly among his friends that he would even believe in a quadruple unity of the Godhead to avoid a death at the stake. Popes and their servants, in view of such disbelief, had every reason for forbidding doubt

upon the immortality of the soul, and for continuing the traditional piety of language in the composition of their decrees, seeing that they derived their living from Christian belief. It may be imagined how appalling were the results of such sayings as were reported of Popes like Leo X., who said, "Truly the myth of Christ has brought in much gain."

What, again, were the effects when Christendom read the writings of such a man as Poggio, who lived in close friendship with eight Popes as apostolic private secretary at the Roman court, and composed the "Facetiæ," which, with incredible frivolity, glorified sensual pleasure, and poured cynical mockery, not only upon individual monks and priests, but also upon the general aversion from common sins. This work was first printed in the Holy City, ran through some twenty-five editions, and was translated into many foreign languages. The author could boast of its circulation in Italy and France, Spain, Germany, and England, and even further. The great majority of the educated classes, who had long been in doubt as to the truth of Church doctrine, were now forced to break entirely with Christianity by their acceptance of the general view of life which inspired classical literature. Others, who were not



THE IRREVERENT POPE LEO X.

Piety was at a low ebb among the representatives of religion in the fifteenth century, and that unbelief had secured a firm hold is illustrated by the saying of Leo X., that "truly the myth of Christ has brought in much gain,"

inclined to abandon the faith of their fathers, in spite of their classical enthusiasm, were forced sooner or later to admit the duplicity of their intellectual life; and eventually their beliefs in authority and in the renunciation of the world gave way before the joyfulness of paganism with its love of life. In

Germany the powers of personal piety were as yet too strong to admit the introduction of so great a change. The leaders of German humanism admired the classics chiefly for their educational influence. But here also is heard the mockery of the representatives of the Church of the scholastic form in which their doctrines were expounded, and of

THE APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION

the monks who had realised the Christian ideal according to mediæval theory. Even in Germany a divergence from the dominant ideas of the Middle Ages appeared in many circles. A solution of their difficulties was to be found, not in submission to authority, but in individual freedom; not in renunciation, but in appreciation of the world. A new theory of life and a new epoch had arrived, and religion, which still wore its mediæval dress, had to be remodelled.

doctrines of the Church, and others to throw an exaggerated emphasis upon truths which these men had not entirely denied. Some pleaded earnestly for personal and mystical piety; this was to be shown in a practical manner and not expended in speculation, for which the age was too serious and the excitement too intense. They began to form corporations of a semi-monastic nature, such as the "Brothers and Sisters of the Common



THE MARTYRDOM OF SAVONAROLA AND HIS COMPANIONS

The doom of Savonarola, though delayed, was sealed at last. Taken prisoner, he was tried for heresy and sedition, and under the daily cruelty of his torturers he made every admission which they desired of him. On May 23rd, 1498, Savonarola and other Dominicans were hanged as "persecutors of the Holy Church," and their bodies were afterwards burned. The scene of the martyrdom was in the square outside the Palazzo Vecchio, or the palace of the Florentine guilds, where Savonarola had once supreme authority, and where he passed his last night a captive.

The danger was lest men should reject religion in their scorn for its tattered garments.

It is not, however, the educated classes alone that make history. Notwithstanding the evils of the Church, the faith of the German nation remained unimpaired, though new views were to be found even among the lower classes. Men came forward to attack particular

Life," an order originated in the Netherlands by Gerhard Groot. In their opinion poverty and beggary were no longer sacred. They wished to work for their living and to influence others; not to be satisfied with mere ecclesiasticism, but to improve or to produce personal religion. The most famous work of this school, the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis, disregards the whole fabric of the

ecclesiastical system, urging that a man should sacrifice all to gain all, and should deny the whole world to win God.

Even among those who still clung to the Church and her institutions we can observe a peculiar dissatisfaction, which was simply a repetition of the mediæval yearning for religious certainty. Numbers

An Age of of brotherhoods were founded, which obliged the members to perform an enormous amount of devotional exercises, and enabled them to share an infinite wealth of prayers, almsgiving, masses, dispensations, and services, with the object of securing their personal salvation as far as possible. Crowds thronged to the miraculous images of the saints, to bleeding wafers and to relics, the veneration of which brought full indulgence. Thus on one day no fewer than 142,000 pilgrims entered Aix-la-Chapelle. The Church showed the

utmost readiness to satisfy the desires of the German people for some guarantee of salvation. Extraordinary miracles were related of sick men healed, of raining of crosses, of nuns marked with the stigmata. Indulgences were issued in increasing numbers. The foreign pilgrims in Rome received an indulgence for 14,000 years when the heads of the princes of the apostles and the handkerchief of Veronica were shown. Indulgences were to be procured by visiting certain churches, by repeating certain prayers, and by payment of money. Anyone who died in the uniform of a Franciscan or with the scapular of the Carmelites was removed from purgatory to paradise in a short time.

The very fact that the Church was obliged continually to increase the extent of these favours proves that the prevailing desire for religious satisfaction and peace could not be thereby satisfied; so does the mass of religious writings which were now spread abroad by the art of printing. Up to the year 1522 there appeared fourteen editions of the Bible in High German and four in Low German, many books of sermons, countless works of edification, sometimes of great length, sometimes of contracted form. Especially popular were the books dealing "with the art of making a good death."

The movement of revolt against the Church was also apparent among the pious. The Church made it her duty to oppose by force these premonitions of reform in doctrine. Thus the writings of John of Wesel were condemned to be burnt, and the author was immured in a monastery. A more dangerous portent was the popular contempt for the representatives of the Church and their ideals, and the manifestations of bitter anger against the clergy and monks. If proverbs reflect popular opinion, those of this age are certainly portentous, such as "To keep the house clean, beware of monks, priests, and pigeons"; or "When the devil can find no servants for his purpose, he makes use of a monk"; or, again, "Monks have two hands, one to take and the other to keep." In fact, the morality of the clergy had sunk to so appalling a depth that many, and



THOMAS À KEMPIS
Born in 1379, he wrote various books of meditations, and is known principally by his "Imitation of Christ," the most famous work of the school to which he belonged.

in particular certain princes, attempted more than once without success to introduce a moral reformation.

In the year 1476 it seemed that violence was about to break out. In the village of Niklashausen, in the Tauberggrund, a shepherd, Hans Böhm, preached with wild enthusiasm against the immorality of the clergy, not sparing the Pope himself. The people came to him in masses from the Hartz Mountains to the Alps, and 70,000 are said to have listened to his message in one day. On July 13th thousands of his excited followers were to gather round him with arms; but before he could carry out his attempt at founding a republic free from priests, he was imprisoned, and ended his life at the stake. In the year 1514 a bloody revolt broke out in Würtemberg, raised in the name of Poor Kunz.

Helpless State of the Church This was suppressed, but the fire continued to burn in secret, no less ominously. The Church was utterly incapable of recovering the fidelity of those she had alienated, or of satisfying the desires of her friends. The best that she could give was inadequate to satisfy this age, which disregarded mediæval ideals, and if Christianity should fail to adapt itself to new conditions, its complete rejection seemed inevitable. **WILHELM WALTHER**



"THE VIGIL": A KNIGHT OF THE MIDDLE AGES DEDICATING HIS ARMS TO THE SERVICE OF CHRISTIANITY

From the painting by John Pettie, R.A., in the National Gallery of British Art



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES THE BEGINNINGS OF THE KINGDOM UNDER THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY

THE first of the French rulers of the Carolingian family, Charles the Bald, preserved the external unity of his state, but during the thirty-four years of his reign was greatly occupied by the invasions of the Northmen and by quarrels with the East Frankish kingdom. So early as 841, the Danes had advanced to Rouen, conquered the town and carried off the inhabitants, from whom they exacted a tribute. Some fifteen years later—in 857—they reached the outskirts of Paris. In 858 they were granted a strip of land extending from the mouth of the Seine as far as the capital. They then seized Meaux, but were forced by King Charles to evacuate West Francia. Notwithstanding occasional defeats in the open field, they steadily renewed their raids, especially after the death of Charles, in 877, when France was divided by the quarrels of factions.

The grandson of Charles, Louis III., conquered the invaders in January, 881, at Saucourt in Picardy, a victory glorified in the old High German "Ludwigslied"; but in 882 they captured Laon. In 884 they again invaded France, made Amiens the base of their plundering raids, and were to some extent pacified by a payment of tribute, while a band was engaged in the conquest of Louvain. In the following year they were defeated by the united forces of the West and East Frankish armies under the command of King Charles the Fat at Louvain. They were, however, able to besiege Paris, which was defended

from November, 885, to the autumn of 886 by Count Odo of Anjou. Eventually they were bought off by a monetary payment. These disturbances did not cease until the modern Normandy was conferred as a duchy upon the Norman Rollo, together

Death of Charles the Bald with the hand of the Princess Gisela, in 911. Shortly before the death of Charles the Bald, the West Frankish Empire entered

upon a period of apparent prosperity. After the death of Louis II., the last of the three sons of Lothair I., on August 12th, 875, Pope John VIII. invested his uncle with the position of emperor, which had been thus left vacant, and the nobles recognised him as emperor on Christmas Day, 875. However, his two journeys to Rome brought little reputation to Charles, for the Lombards adopted an attitude of coolness towards an emperor who ruled by favour of the Pope. His attempt, in 876, to secure the coveted province of Lotharingia, upon the death of his brother Lewis the German, proved a failure; he was defeated at Andernach, on October 8th, by the nephews of Lewis the German, Carloman and Louis the Younger.

Upon his death, on September 5th, 877, the favourable moment had arrived for the crown vassals to assert their independence. Their homage was offered to his son Louis II., the Stammerer, only upon the condition that he would acknowledge himself as an elected king. In 878 Louis succeeded, at Fouron, to the north-east of Visé on the Mass, in securing a reconciliation

with the East Frankish Louis the Younger, as both rulers were threatened by the growing power of the papacy.

Upon the death of the Stammerer, on April 10th, 879, a number of the clergy desired to unite the two Frankish kingdoms in the hands of Louis the Younger, but the majority of the nobles firmly supported

Success of Charles the Fat

his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman. It was not until their premature deaths, in 882 and 884, that the last son of Lewis the German, Charles III., the Fat, came into possession of the empire of Charles the Great. Rarely has a ruler been so conspicuously successful with so small an expenditure of energy. In February, 881, the imperial throne was offered to him by Pope John VIII.; his supremacy was recognised in Italy, and King Boson was forced to renounce his claims to the imperial dignity and to Upper Italy.

Similarly Duke Wido II. of Spoleto, the opponent both of Charles and of the Pope, was deprived of his fief in 883, and restored to favour only in 885. The basis of these successes was a close connection with the Pope. The latter regarded the emperor as a protector against the Saracens, who were settling in Lower Italy, and even plundering the states of the Church; but the alliance implied subjection to the greater power of the Church.

Only a strong military ruler could compel the respect of the self-asserting nobles. They deposed Charles at Tribur, on the Rhine, in November, 887, but were by no means united among themselves, and the old opposition between the east and west empires broke out afresh. One party desired the appointment of Arnulf of Carinthia, an illegitimate nephew of Charles, while the majority of the West Frankish nobility supported Odo, the brave defender of the capital against the Normans, who had adopted the title of Count of Paris and Duke of Francia (Isle de France). Arnulf was

The Empire in a State of Disruption

obliged to recognise his appointment. For ten years Odo ruled with energy and decision; however, his kingdom, like the East Frankish Empire, was in a state of disruption. In Lower Burgundy Boson was ruling, and was succeeded by his son Lewis III., and afterwards by his vassal Hugo. Upper Burgundy, the country beyond the Jura, had an independent ruler in King Rudolf I., who died in 912.

In Italy Berengar I. of Friuli, Wido of Spoleto, Hugo and Rudolf II. of Burgundy were struggling for the mastery with varying success. On February 22nd, 896, Arnulf secured the imperial throne and the supremacy over Rome and Italy; this, however, was lost to his house upon the accession of his son Lewis, known as the Child, in 899.

Throughout this general confusion both the great vassals and the Popes had secured the mastery of the royal power. There was a possibility of replacing the broken power of the French Empire by a papal theocracy which should include all nations in an iron net and overcome all other forces, ecclesiastical and temporal. This seductive prospect could not fail to arouse the ambitions of individual Popes, whose secular power had already involved them in political quarrels. During the party struggles between Louis the Pious and his sons, the project was set in circulation in a collection of councils and papal documents ascribed to Bishop Isidore of Seville. At the close of the ninth century these forgeries reappeared in the

Papal Power Supported by Forgeries

episcopate of Rheims. They contained a forged donation of the Emperor Constantine, bequeathing Rome and Italy to Pope Sylvester I. (314-335); the origin of the papal patrimony in the presentations of the French kings was one that did not correspond with papal ambitions.

On the basis of some sixty forged letters and decretals ascribed to Popes during the first four centuries of the Christian Church, the papal power was represented as absolutely unlimited, and all bishops as unconditionally subject to it. The Pope alone had the right of inducting, transferring, and deposing bishops. Metropolitan bishops could consecrate their subordinate provincials only as papal plenipotentiaries; the Pope could convoke councils and confirm their conclusions. The ecclesiastical functions of the crown were not so much as mentioned.

This comprehensive but purely ecclesiastical position provided the Popes with full reason for interference in wholly political matters, to secure their spiritual interests. Such was the action of Gregory IV., who joined the side of the revolted sons against the Emperor Lewis. Nicholas I. (858-867), who was the first to make full use of the forged decretals, represented



THE TWELVE KINGS OF FRANCE FROM THE YEAR 840 TILL 996

himself as the supreme judge upon earth, against whose decision there was no appeal. The power thus conferred upon himself was used only to protect Christian morality and religion. A synod summoned by him to Rome condemned the immoral proceedings of Lothair II in 865, annulled the opposite conclusions of the

Supreme Authority of the Popes

Frankish episcopal synods, removed the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves, as they had permitted the king's adultery, and threatened all disobedient bishops with excommunication. His successors, especially Pope Innocent III., interfered at a later date in royal matrimonial affairs in similar fashion.

The inadequate criticism of that age was unable to discover the reality of these forgeries, and would indeed have forgiven them, as the principle of the pious fraud had often been put into practice in the early Christian Church by tampering with canonical and non-canonical letters and writings. These decretals encouraged Pope John VIII. (872-882) to give away the imperial throne as he pleased, and to act as arbitrator in disputes concerning the succession and other matters of the kind. The Popes of the tenth century, however, were too weak and degenerate to advance such high claims, apart from the fact that they were hard pressed and hampered by Italian claims to the crown, by Arab pirates, and by the Byzantine emperors. Otto the Great was therefore able to administer ecclesiastical affairs as independently as Charles the Great, and to make the papacy the footstool of his power. The offensive measures of Nicholas I. were not resumed until the time of Gregory VII.

As the Pope claimed to bestow the imperial crown according to his will and pleasure, so also the great vassals assumed the right of electing the king, without reference to the principle of hereditary

How the Kings were Elected

succession, while in compacts, which preceded the election, they secured their privileges and their territory, making their own possessions independent and diminishing those of the king. The West Frankish Carolingians, who occupied the throne of France after the death of Odo, were Charles the Simple (898-929), Louis IV. (929-954), Lothair (954-986), and Louis V. (986-987); these were not the foremost among the nobles with equal

claims, but rather the inferior and powerless members of the class, and entirely dependent upon the good or bad will of their vassals.

As under the degenerate Merovingians the Carolingian family rose to power and eventually seized the throne, so now we may mark the rise of the family of Robert of Anjou, who had fallen in battle in 867 against the Normans; the Odo mentioned above was his son, and their descendants rose to supreme power in France first in fact and afterwards in name. Odo's brother, Robert, had already made an attempt and been crowned at Sens in 922; he had fallen fighting against the mercenary forces of Charles at Soissons on June 16th, 923. He had a large following among the nobility, and was father-in-law of Duke Raoul of Burgundy; hence his party chose his son-in-law to succeed him. However, his son Hugo, after the death of his brother-in-law, raised the Carolingian Louis IV., surnamed d'Outremer, to the crown, and enthroned him at Rheims.

Hugo's efforts were directed to extending the power of his dynasty and to weakening the royal prestige; in course of time he considered that the royal title would naturally fall to the most powerful of the vassals. Hence he secured from the king the grant to himself of the title of Duke of the Franks. His father had already been margrave of three marks and also possessed the county of Maine. These possessions were increased by Louis' successor, Lothair, so that a contemporary, the later Archbishop Gerbert of Rheims, could write that Hugo was the actual master of France, and this he was in practice between 948 and 950. Lothair's position was assured only in Aquitaine, where his son Charles had married the widow of the duke. Both Hugo and Louis married sisters of the German Otto the Great. Hugo died in 956, two years after Louis.

These phantom kings of the West Franks were guilty of the greatest impolicy through their interference in the affairs of the German Empire; they ought rather to have consolidated their weak forces against their all-powerful vassals, and to have secured the friendship of the house of Robert and of the powerful Norman dukes. Louis IV. had already quarrelled with his brother-in-law Otto, and his



THE CROWNING OF HUGH CAPE AS KING OF FRANCE AT RHEIMS IN 987

With the event represented in this illustration a new dynasty sat upon the throne of France. The last of the French Carolingians passed away in the person of Louis V., and when the next heir, his uncle, Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne it passed to Hugh Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia. The country was much unsettled when the crowning ceremony at Rheims was performed by Archbishop Adalbert on July 3rd, 987.

successor Lothair III. (954-986) attempted to secure possession of Lorraine, the apple of discord between the East and West Frankish rulers, on the basis of a claim that the provinces had been a personal possession of Otto, and not one which he could bequeath. For this purpose he advanced into the duchy with 20,000 men, surprised Aix-la-Chapelle, and turned the eagle of Charles the Great, which was placed upon the palace, towards the west as a sign that this ancient capital of the empire now belonged to France. The Emperor Otto II. marched at the head of his troops upon Paris, which, however, offered a brave resistance under the son of Hugo of Francia, the later ruler of France. The German king therefore contented himself with striking up a hallelujah with his army on the heights of Montmartre, after which he retreated, pursued by Lothair's troops as far as the Aisne.

**The German
Army's
Hallelujah**

In the year 980 Lothair proposed an alliance of peace and friendship with the German king. He was greatly afraid that this ruler might make common cause with the disobedient French vassals. Lothair, therefore, renounced his claim to Lotharingia at the conference of Chiers. However, when Otto II. had died, upon the threshold of old age, in 983, Lothair renewed his claims and attempted to secure the guardianship of Otto III., who was still a minor. Neither attempt, however, proved successful. His son Louis V., who was given the undeserved nickname "Le Fainéant" (the do-nothing), continued a show of imperial power for one year.

After the death of Louis V., the last of the French Carolingians, the next heir, his uncle Charles of Lorraine, a vassal of the German emperor, failed to secure the throne of France, which passed to Hugh Capet, the son of Hugo of Francia; he possessed not only the wide territory of his family but also connections by marriage with Burgundy, Aquitaine, Normandy, and Vermandois. He was crowned in Rheims by Archbishop Adalbert on July 3rd, 987. The country was in a state of disturbance; agricultural and civil prosperity was at a low ebb; the people were subject to the oppression of the powerful lords and of the royal demesnes; practically nothing remained to the crown save Laon. Now began a period of constitutional order, of legal

**Hugh Capet
Crowned
at Rheims**

protection, and of renewed prosperity for the people belonging to the middle classes. The deposition of the lawful king was not so easy a task for the Capets as it had been for the Carolingian Pippin. The old royal house possessed many adherents among the nobles, while the new dynasty lacked the support of the higher ecclesiastical powers. With the help of the nobility who remained faithful, Charles of Lorraine seized Laon, which for the last century had been the capital of the kings and the centre of France. The coronation city of Rheims, the archbishops of which had been more or less independent since the beginning of the ninth century, also came under the ecclesiastical supremacy of Arnulf the Carolingian after the death of Adalbert.

The views then prevalent among the French clergy were hostile to the secular power and to its supremacy over Church affairs. The powerful Count William of Auvergne, who had been made Duke of Aquitaine by Odo of Anjou, had founded a monastery in 910 at Cluny in the northern part of the Cevennes. By the terms of the foundation charter the monastery was to be independent of all secular or episcopal power, and was to choose its superior by independent election; even the Pope was prohibited from any interference or diminution of its foundation, and was allowed to exercise no influence upon the election of the abbot. The monastery attained great prosperity under its second abbot, Odo (927-941), and at that time during the fasts some 17,000 poor were fed. Naturally, this isolated foundation joined the papacy against the secular and episcopal powers, and defended that unconditional supremacy of the Pope over the secular rulers which Hildebrand afterwards secured.

**Where the
Pope's Power
was Limited**

The special opponent of Cluny was Bishop Arnulf of Orleans, the president of the synod of 991, which assembled in a church near Rheims to decide the succession to the archbishopric of that city. King Hugh naturally did not wish to leave this ecclesiastical metropolis in the possession of his political opponents, who had indeed sworn fidelity to him, but had placed the Carolingian Charles in possession of Rheims and Soissons. The synod was now to decide whether Arnulf could be removed from his office by the vote of the West Frankish clergy, or only by the



THE BISHOP OF LAON SWEARING ALLEGIANCE TO CHARLES, DUKE OF LORRAINE
 When Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France he found the country much disturbed. Among the most powerful of the new king's enemies was Charles, Duke of Lorraine, who seized Laon, which for a century had been the capital of the kings and the centre of France. In this illustration we see Charles making Adalbéron, Bishop of Laon, swear fidelity.

decision of the Pope. The latter view was championed by all the adherents of the Cluniac doctrine, and appeals were made to the false decretals. Bishop Arnulf then delivered a violent speech upon the immorality of the ruling Pope, John XV., whom he compared with Antichrist. He did not venture to maintain the falsity of the decretals, the main foundation of the papal claims; even Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, who had defended the episcopal power against the papal supremacy about 860, during the time of Nicholas I., did not venture upon this step.

The King's Way With Opponents

However, King Hugh and his ecclesiastical supporters induced the synod to agree that Arnulf should voluntarily resign his archbishopric, and that the learned Abbot Gerbert should be his successor. Hugh Capet having meanwhile treacherously imprisoned Duke Charles, who died in captivity, had thus disposed of two of his main opponents. In contrast, however, to the time of Pippin, not only the papacy, but the strict religious party among the clergy and the national enthusiasm inspired by Cluny, supported his opponents. Archbishop Gerbert found his position in Rheims extremely difficult. Mass was deserted when celebrated by himself, and no one would sit at his table, while he was actually menaced upon his journey to a council of the French bishops in 995. Otto III. contrived to relieve him of this untenable position by making him spiritual adviser at court in 997, and in 999 he became Pope Sylvester II.

King Hugh attempted to secure the favour of the clergy by confirming ecclesiastical possessions and privileges; on the other hand, he showed no hesitation in retaining his royal privileges, especially where the right of interference in ecclesiastical matters was concerned. The state over which he ruled was in a

Divisions of the Frankish Kingdom

period of even greater disruption than under the weak Merovingians, or during the last century of the nominal Carolingian rule. He was not even the sovereign power in his own crown domain, the Isle de France: one record of doubtful authenticity speaks of him as possessing only five towns—Paris, Orléans, Etampes, Senlis, and Melun. The whole of the Frankish kingdom was divided, not only into a number of larger and practically

independent fiefs, but also into a quantity of secondary fiefs and smaller estates, the holders of which had formed close federations with one another. Seigneuries, châtellenies, baronies, vicomtés, and other forms of feudal possession were recognised. The vassals had resumed their power of independent administration, and only insignificant lords managed their own properties. Every village had its intendant or administrator, while larger estates were supervised by an official known in the north as *prevost*, and in the south as *bailli* or *vignier*. The great duchies and counties had their own legal codes and law courts.

Language itself was broken into different dialects. The chief groups of these were the Frankish, Norman, Burgundian, Picard, and Lotharingian or Walloon, apart from the special Provençal language in the south. Every dialect had thrown out offshoots, and was in no case strictly confined to geographical boundaries. Hence, the only uniform ecclesiastical and official language was Latin.

The unfree classes suffered severely under the exactions of numerous petty tyrants, especially during the eleventh century, when a period of commerce began to supplant the old régime of self-sufficing estates. The oppressive demands of the overlords, which were added to the former obligations of forced service, often drove the subject peasantry into armed revolt. Trade and commerce and the prosperity of the middle classes were largely impeded by the quarrels and raids of the nobles. It was difficult for the feeble power of the king to enforce the obedience of these domineering lords, each of whom had his own castle or fortified capital, and his own retainers or military comrades. It was especially impossible for the crown to assert its rights within the greater fiefs, which, as in the time of the later Merovingians and Carolingians, had secured an independence that was complete in actual fact and partially recognised by law.

Such, in particular, was the case with the duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine, and the provinces of Lower and Upper Burgundy, which since 933 had been united to form the kingdom of the Arelate, and did not revert to the German Empire until 1032–1034. The duchy of Brittany stood entirely outside of the French constitutional union. In

938 it had replaced the original federation of Armorica, which was at first independent, and had been then subdued by Charles the Great and afterwards by the Normans. The counties of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse were in a similar position; Lorraine, with Metz, Toul and Verdun belonged to the German emperor, and Provence to the Spanish county of Barcelona.

The object of the Capets was to restore the shattered political unity, to replace feudal tyranny by law and order, to extend the crown demesnes, to advance the middle classes at the expense of the nobility, to secure their ecclesiastical powers and the independence of their bishops at the expense of the papacy, and to make their elective position hereditary; towards these purposes they were helped by a variety of circumstances. The great feudal lords were constantly at variance among themselves, and were accustomed upon such occasions to appeal to the arbitration of the king. It would have been dangerous for them to set an example of infidelity to their own vassals by showing too open a contempt for the fealty which they owed to the crown, the more so as the subject vassals would have found a ready protector in the king. The clergy needed the help of the crown against the oppression of the rapacious lords, and also appealed to the arbitration of the crown in the case of territorial disputes. They also supported the crown by a natural community of interests against the aggression of Rome, which threatened their traditional privileges. In particular, the communes which began to rise in and after the eleventh century looked for the protection of the king if they were to maintain the rights and privileges which they had bought from the greedy nobility.

The Days of the Clergy's Oppression

In their efforts to make their succession hereditary the Capets could not venture to infringe the electoral rights of their vassals, for the result might have been a revolt with which they could not have coped; they therefore adopted the device of appointing and crowning the eldest son during their lifetime and acknowledging him as co-regent. In this way the crown descended from father to son for more than three centuries. The main care of the new rulers was naturally the restoration of domestic

peace, which was disturbed by the continual feuds and raids of the nobility. For this purpose they readily accepted the help of religion and the influence of the Church. Since the dissolution of constitutional and social order throughout the French kingdom, the clergy had endeavoured to supply the defects of

Powerful Weapons of the Church secular law by ecclesiastical decrees. At the synod of the diocese of Poitiers in 989, the curse of God was uttered upon all who should plunder or even threaten churches, clergy, or poor. Excommunication or exclusion from Church fellowship, and interdict or refusal of the Church sacraments, were the weapons used against evildoers who broke the peace. National calamities helped these efforts at pacification. Between the years 1031 and 1034 France was devastated by a famine, and the desperate inhabitants sought consolation from those who dispensed the Church's favours. The Church seized this opportunity to add to their penances an oath to refrain from robbery or violence, and to found brotherhoods of peace, which soon became armed federations against all discordant elements, especially against the enemies of the churches and monasteries. Such federations were preceded by priests bearing holy banners who blessed their enterprises.

After these preparations, it was possible in 1040 for the clergy in Aquitaine to proclaim a general Peace of God (*Treuga Dei*; *Trêve de Dieu*), which was to last every week from Wednesday evening to Monday, and in 1041 was extended in Burgundy to include the season of Advent and the greater festivals. The monastery of Cluny and the bishoprics of Arles and Avignon were the centres of that beneficent work which protected the poor and the unfree from destruction, secured trade and commerce, agriculture and prosperity, and saved the French nobility

Beginning of the Crusades from degenerating into unchecked brigandage. With the beginning of the Crusades the priests assumed control of these humanitarian movements. At the Council of Clermont in November, 1085, Pope Urban II. proclaimed a general peace for the purpose of leading a united force of Christians to battle against the infidels. At a later date, the Peace of God was recognised by the canon law, and was transferred to secular legislation



THE EARLY KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF CAPET, FROM 996 TILL 1322



FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

THE REIGN OF THE GREAT ST. LOUIS AND FRENCH KNIGHTHOOD IN THE CRUSADES

THE first three successors of Hugh Capet, Robert II. (996-1031), Henry I. (1031-1060), and Philip I. (1060-1108), are distinguished only for their lack of importance, while their governments are marked by no great events. All three were involved in constant struggles with the Norman dukes, until these latter found room in England to develop their ambitions and their pride. Philip I., who was distinguished only for his bodily size, came into conflict with the papacy through his divorce of his legal wife.

The first king of the house of Capet of importance in the general history of the world was Louis VI. (1108-1137); he was a capable ruler and a prudent politician, guided, moreover, with great skill by his chancellor, the Abbot Suger of St. Denis. The policy of Louis was directed to extending the power of his dynasty as far as possible at the expense of his

The First Great Capet King vassals. He availed himself of their revolts to confiscate as many as possible of their estates. This fate overtook in particular certain marauding knights on his own demesnes of the Isle de France, who had been plundering Church property. Louis in consequence received the title of "eldest son of the Church." He came into close contact with Pope Calixtus II., whom he supported against the Emperor Henry V., and was afterwards immortalised in the legendary chronicles of the clergy as a miracle worker who relieved sufferers from leprosy, etc., by laying his hand upon them. Like every other king who desired to secure his own position and that of his country, he occasionally quarrelled with his own clergy and with those of Rome, but these differences invariably ended in reconciliation. In his dealings with foreign countries—for instance, in the quarrels concerning the succession in Flanders and England, where two of his vassals were fighting for

the crown—he supported the rights and position of France.

His most important achievement, however, was his attempt to secure the succession in Aquitaine, which was practically independent, by the marriage of his son Louis VII. with Princess Eleanor. Such success as this son attained, when the time of Louis VII. came for him to rule, was due entirely to the teaching of Abbot Suger. This man, who had been named by historians the mediæval Richelieu, persuaded his master to grant rights and privileges to the rising towns, raised the prestige of the royal courts, improved and reorganised the treasury, and gave an impulse to art and science.

During the inglorious crusade of Louis VII. in 1147 his kingdom was torn by faction, and would have collapsed had it not been for the energy of Suger; Louis also committed the incredible political folly of divorcing his wife, who was certainly unfaithful, but none the less a valuable possession, and driving her with her property of Aquitaine into the arms of the heir to the English crown, Henry of Anjou, in 1152. The future ruler of England already held the French territories of Anjou, Touraine, Normandy, and Maine, and this marriage brought him Guienne, Poitou, Auvergne, the Limousin, Périgord, Angoumois, and Gascony, so that he was in possession of the whole of Western France. These lands he held indeed as the nominal vassal of the king of France, but the

How the King Found Revenge relationship was unmeaning in view of his greater power. Louis VII. revenged himself for the cunning with which he had been overreached by joining the revolted sons of Henry II. and fostering their rebellion for twenty years. Victory, however, eventually remained with his enemy. The credit of liberating France from its English fetters belongs to his far more

important son and successor, Philip II. Augustus, a ruler who combined military with diplomatic capacity. His main object was to increase his financial power and to secure the unity of the kingdom. As these objects could not be obtained by peaceful negotiations, he was obliged to spend twenty-six of the forty-three years

**Philip the
Liberator
of France**

of his reign in war (1180-1223). He emancipated himself from the influence of his mother, Adelaide of Champagne, and of her brothers, and he speedily put aside his political adviser, Count Philip of Flanders. His enemies largely played into his hands by their dissensions. Like his father, he allied himself with the sons of Henry II. of England, and secured the homage of the second in age, Geoffrey, Count of Brittany.

The haughty Richard Lionheart also did homage to him as a vassal before his accession to the throne, as Philip Augustus had threatened to wrest from him his hereditary domains with the help of the nobility of Poitou. On the death of Henry II., in 1189, Philip found Richard a dangerous adversary by reason of his adventurous spirit and his military capacity; he therefore attempted, in 1190, after the fall of Jerusalem, to reduce him to impotence by joining with him in the Third Crusade; he went on this expedition rather to keep an eye upon his enemy than to support him.

However, after the capture of Acre, Philip deserted his English ally and reappeared in Paris at the end of December, 1191. Notwithstanding his oath to abstain from hostilities against Richard, he invaded his French possessions. The misfortune of his captivity in Germany prevented Richard from offering resistance. After his liberation and a further series of struggles Pope Innocent III. secured a five years' peace between the two kings on January 13th, 1199; Richard died on April

**England
and France
at Peace**

6th. Philip had formerly been in alliance with Richard's brother and successor, John Lackland, against the captured king.

John was now, in 1202, summoned by his feudal lord, Philip, to justify himself upon a charge of complicity in the murder of Arthur of Brittany, his nephew—posthumous son of his elder brother Geoffrey. John declined to recognise this unusual judicial procedure and did not appear. He was then declared to have lost his

fief in France, and all the English possessions were reconquered as far as Guienne (1204-1206). To these extended domains of the French crown were added, either by conquest or by inheritance, Vermandois, Valois, Artois, and the district about Amiens. Preparations for the incorporation of Brittany were made and completed by the end of the fifteenth century through the marriage of a step-sister of the murdered Arthur with a cousin of Philip.

John was fully occupied between 1208 and 1212 with Pope Innocent III. and his own refractory vassals, and was obliged to abandon the last of his French possessions. When he had been freed from the Pope's interdict, by accepting England as a papal fief on May 15th, 1213, he brought together against Philip a large confederacy which had been already formed in 1212; it included Otto II. of Brunswick, who had been sole German emperor since the death of Philip of Swabia in 1208, Count Ferrand of Flanders, and various nobles of North France. However, on July 27th, 1214, Philip won the most brilliant victory of the century

**The Great
Battle at
Bouvines**

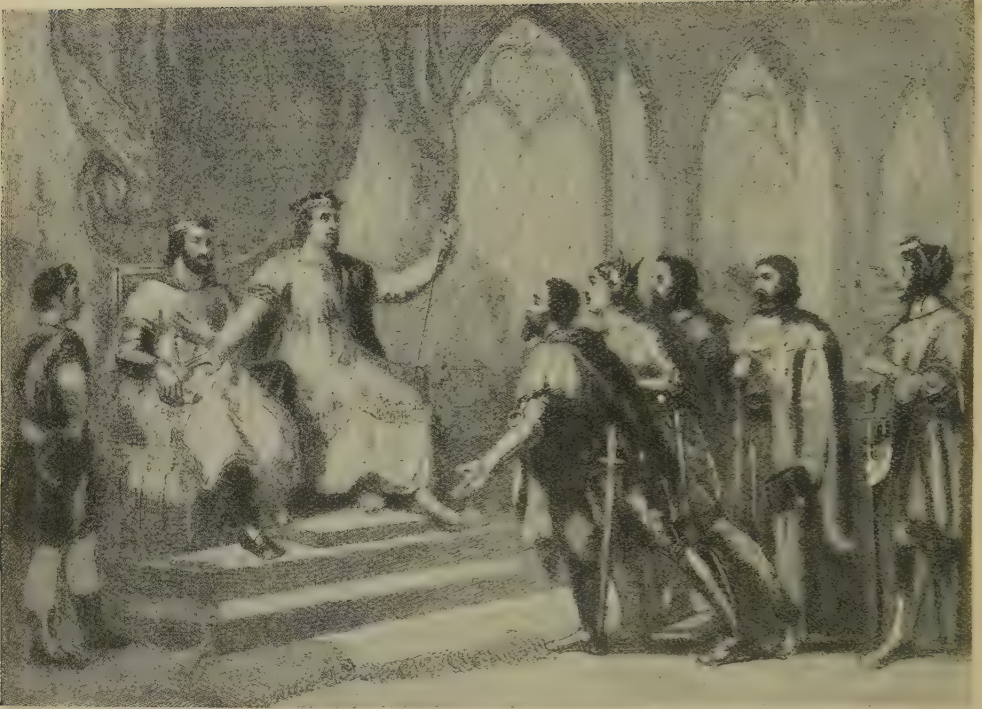
over Otto II. and the Count of Flanders at Bouvines, a village between Lille and Tournai, while his son, Louis VIII., drove the English ruler and his French allies out of Poitou and Brittany. Louis even crossed to England in May, 1216, at the invitation of the barons who were in revolt owing to John's repudiation of Magna Charta, and declined to be intimidated by the papal interdict. King John died on October 19th. Louis then returned in the following year without securing any definite success, as he was unable to keep command of the sea. As in the time of Charles the Great, the want of an adequate fleet was severely felt.

Meanwhile a further extension of the French dynastic power had been planned, though it already reached from the mouth of the Loire to the borders of Flanders. In Southern France a reformation had been in progress from about 1173, which threatened to undermine the foundations of the Catholic Church. A merchant of Lyons, Pierre de Vaux, or Petrus Waldus, had founded a sect the members of which travelled after the manner of Christ and His apostles, preaching and living upon the charity of pious adherents, and proclaiming to



LOUIS VII. DISTRIBUTING GOLD AND SILVER TO THE CHURCH AND THE POOR

This king of France saw his kingdom torn by faction during the inglorious Crusade in which he engaged in the year 1147, and it was due mainly to the energy and resource of his chancellor, the Abbot Suger, who has been called the mediæval Richelieu, that he maintained his position. He had certainly some reason to think well of the Church.



ST. LOUIS MEDIATING BETWEEN HENRY III. OF ENGLAND AND HIS BARONS IN 1264

From the painting by Georges Rouget in the Museum of Versailles

the people the downfall of the degenerate visible Church, and the triumph of the invisible Church—that is, of their own community. They rejected the sacraments, with the exception of juvenile confession, while forgiveness of sins they considered

The Rapid Spread of a New Sect

as secured only by the grace of God and not by ecclesiastical absolution. The sect was distinguished by enthusiasm, by actual poverty, by popular origin and intellectual power, and succeeded in securing a large number of adherents by preaching, reading of the Scriptures, devotional exercises and confession, and even the celebration of the Communion; it was soon disseminated throughout Italy, Spain, and Germany. It based its teaching upon the New Testament and upon certain sections from the patristic writings in a translation composed by Waldus, the text of which contained interpolations directed against the Church; the Pharisees, for instance, being described with allusions which could refer only to the Romish clergy. As the sect laid especial claim to priestly powers, the papacy was deceived by the hope that it might become an ecclesiastical order of

monks. It was excommunicated in 1184, and missions were sent out to oppose its seductive teaching.

The Manichæan sect of the Albigenses, which about the same time spread over the whole of Southern France, possessed a powerful protector in Count Raimond of Toulouse; he was a knight fond of outward show, ruling over fifty towns and one hundred vassals. Peter of Castelnau, one of the legates of Innocent III., was murdered in January, 1208, by a feudal vassal of the count; in consequence the passionate and energetic Pope threatened Raimond and his territory with an interdict. A crusade was preached against the Albigenses, in which Count Raimond was forced to take part to avert the threatened punishment of the Church. Ambition, greed,

and the hereditary hatred of the half-Teutonic North Frenchman, which had never died out, brought together a large number of knights for the expedition against the Romance inhabitants of Southern France, under the banner of Simon, Count of Montfort, whose family belonged to Hainault. Philip Augustus himself sent troops, but his suspicions of

Rome prevented him from taking any official part in the war of extermination. Montfort had more than 50,000 at his disposal, and the strongholds of the heretical nobles fell into his hands one after another. Toulouse itself was threatened with devastation, as the count hesitated to surrender the heretics of his capital.

A wave of cruel and exterminating fanaticism passed over the Church; Innocent would have been glad to save the count, but dared not exert his influence against the fanatical Montfort and his rapacious followers. Raimond lost his territory in 1213. It was taken over by Montfort as a papal fief, and the next Count Raimond was left in possession only of a narrow stretch of country.

After Montfort's death, in 1218, his son Amaury resigned his claims to Louis VIII. in 1226, as he found his position difficult to maintain. Raimond succeeded in saving only the

**The Crown
Territory of
the Capets**

smaller portion of his father's inheritance, notwithstanding his vigorous resistance. The county was united with the French crown in 1271, after the death of Alphonse of Poitiers, a brother of Louis IX., who had married Joanna, the daughter of Raimond. Thus the crown territory of the Capets extended from the River Seine to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The careful calculations of Philip Augustus had proved correct; in the expectation that this valuable territory must eventually fall to himself or his dynasty, he left the discredit of the heretic war to the Church, and secured the spoils for himself. The remainder of

French Fiefs for the English King the English possessions in France except Bordeaux and Gascony were conquered by Louis VIII. (1223-1226). Louis IX., who was anxious to secure a permanent peace, and was tired of the hazardous game of war, gave back the districts of Limoges, Saint-onge, Agen, and Quercy as fiefs to the English king, Henry III., though he retained the majority of the former English possessions, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine. Eventually Philip the Fair, in a war with England, in which he was supported by the Scotch, recovered almost the whole of the ceded territory in 1297. A federation of England with the Flemings and the Empire was formed by King Edward I. of England, on the model of the arrangements of 1214 and of the scheme which had been arranged in 1278 with Rudolf of Hapsburg; this, however, collapsed owing to the carelessness of the German king, Adolf of Nassau, in 1297. Philip the Fair, however, suffered a fearful defeat in his struggle



PHILIP AUGUSTUS ASKING THE BLESSING OF GOD UPON HIS TROOPS

against the democratic citizens of Bruges and Ypres in the "battle of Spurs," at Courtrai. He owed it rather to his diplomacy than to his victory of August 18th, 1304, at Mons-en-Pevèle that he was able to secure the Peace of Athis-sur-Orget in June, 1305, with Count Robert of Béthune, the successor of Guy of Dampierre; under this arrangement he retained Lille, Douai, and Béthune as guarantees. The royal demesnes in France proper had previously been extended, during the reign of Philip III., by the addition of the counties of Valois and Auvergne, in return for which the Venaissin was ceded to the papacy in 1271. The attempt of this warlike ruler to recover Sicily for his family by a war with Aragon in 1285 remained fruitless; his uncle, Charles of Anjou, had been expelled from the island by the "Sicilian Vespers" in 1282.

Unfortunately, the Capets weakened their great and consolidated crown demesnes by cutting off appanages for the younger princes, of whom there were eight during the second half of the thirteenth century. They allowed the occupants of these appanages to carry on an independent foreign policy, and consequently to involve the crown in wars with other states.

The Capets avoided the mistake which the last Carolingians had made in continually seeking quarrels to their own disadvantage with the more powerful German Empire; they were indeed sufficiently occupied at home with refractory vassals and other neighbouring powers, and aimed rather at alliance than at hostility with the wearers of the imperial crown. In diplomatic relations we find the French kings figuring as the subordinate or secondary party until the downfall of the imperial power, after the time of the Hohenstauffen, provided them with an opportunity for wresting fragments from the neighbouring empire. Robert I.

and Henry I., the two immediate successors of Hugh Capet, maintained friendly relations with Germany. Robert, in conjunction with the Emperor Henry II. and Pope Benedict VIII., proposed a union for universal peace, the prototype of our modern Triple Alliance. The two secular rulers met at Ivois, on the Chiers, in August, 1023. The German supremacy over Lorraine was recognised afresh on the side of the French, but the

peace proposals came to nothing, as the Emperor and the Pope died in the following year. The acquisition of Burgundy, after the death of the childless King Rudolf III., in 1032, was facilitated for the German Emperor Conrad II. (1033-1034) by the French Henry I.; both rulers had a common enemy in Odo of Champagne, who attempted to extort from Henry the recognition of his own hereditary right, and to secure his claims upon Burgundy against Conrad by force of arms. These good relations remained unimpaired even with the emperor Henry III., whose consort, Agnes, belonged to the house of Aquitaine; for the Duke of Aquitaine, William, was also one of Odo's enemies. Dissension threatened to break out when Godfrey II., or the Bearded, sought the protection of the French king after his rights in Lower Lorraine had been infringed by Henry III.; but the difficulty was averted by the imprisonment of the Lorraine claimant in the Giebichenstein at Halle, on the Saale, in 1045.

The French kings were clever enough to avoid interference in the long quarrel of Henry IV. with the Popes. On the other hand, the support given by Louis VI. to Pope Calixtus II. against Henry V. nearly led to a rupture between the two kingdoms. However, the fidelity to their king of the French vassals, especially of Thibaut of Blois, the growing strength of nationality, and the increasing opposition to Germany, so intimidated the despotic emperor that he refrained from hostilities in 1124. In general the efforts of the French kings to avoid interference in the continual struggles for supremacy between the emperors and the Popes show great political tact, as they thus avoided strengthening either one or the other power.

Such was the policy followed by Philip Augustus when excommunicated by Pope Innocent III. in January, 1200, for the reason that he declined to sacrifice his mistress, Agnes of Meran, to his second wife, Ingeborg of Denmark, who had been legally divorced; he refrained from interference, though this ambitious Pope was then at war first with Philip of Swabia and then with Otto IV. The war was brought about solely by the family relationship of the Guelf Otto with the royal house of England; it ended with the victory of the French at Bouvines. St. Louis also supported the passionate

**How the
Capets were
Weakened**

**The Political
Tact of the
French Kings**

**Peace
Proposals that
Failed**



KING LOUIS IX. OF FRANCE A PRISONER IN THE HANDS OF THE SARACENS

Leading a great army to the Holy Land, Louis IX. fought valiantly against the infidels, but the Crusaders were overwhelmed by the enemy, and the French king fell into the hands of the Saracens, who obtained a large sum for his ransom.

From the painting by Cabanel in the Panthéon

opposition of Pope Innocent IV. to the Hohenstauffen Frederic II. only so far as to offer his mediation, and to secure some assistance for his policy from the Council of Lyons, which excommunicated Frederic in 1245.

Philip the Fair was the first ruler who attempted to secure the advantage of France at the expense of the Germans. Like King Albert I., who then refused recognition to Rome, Philip was an opponent of Pope Boniface VIII.; and though during the lifetime of Adolf of Nassau he had joined the Hapsburg side, he met the German king in December, 1299, in the Val de l'One, near Toul, to conclude a marriage between his sister Blanche and Albert's son Rudolf, who was to inherit Austria. The German king was anxious to secure the imperial succession to his firstborn son, and Philip the Fair was therefore brought into close and profitable relations with Germany.

Philip also maintained a show of good relations with the successor of Albert, Henry VII., after the hopes of his brother Charles of Valois had come to nothing. The Luxembourg ruler, who was half a Frenchman, was anxious to find some support against the Hapsburgs, that he might accomplish his coronation journey to Rome undisturbed; he therefore offered, in 1310, to receive from Prince Philip V. homage for the palatine county of Burgundy, which had been already taken by France, though he did not renounce his claim to the town of Lyons, which belonged equally to the empire and had been occupied by French troops. None the less Philip secretly attempted to disturb Henry's plans in Italy through his relation Robert of Naples and the Gueff adherents of Pope Clement V., who was entirely dependent upon him, and practically a prisoner in Avignon. In the case of the Crusades the Capets adopted a waiting attitude, as they had done in their relations with the German Empire, although three French rulers participated in these world-stirring events. The Crusades were instigated primarily by French or semi-French chivalry, but certainly not by French kings. Such names as Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, the Norman Boemund II. of Tarentum, Hugo of Vermandois, Stephen of Blois the elder, Robert of Normandy, are

conspicuous among the leaders of the First Crusade. King Philip I. at that time refrained from participation (1094-1096), as his unlawful marriage of 1092 had brought him a new sentence of excommunication. The credit of the enthusiasm which inspired this and the two following Crusades belongs to the papacy. It was by the personal intervention of Pope Urban II., at the Council of Claremont in the late autumn of 1095, that the Crusade was organised.

The French monarchy took but a secondary part in the Second Crusade, of 1147, as in the first. Eugenius III., through the mouth of the ecclesiastic Bernard of Clairvaux, induced two of the most powerful princes of Europe, the Emperor Conrad III. and King Louis VII., to undertake a joint expedition to the Holy Land. Conrad was reluctant and hesitated; but Louis was anxious to relieve his burdened conscience. In a quarrel with one of his bishops, imposed upon him by the Pope and his protector Thibaut of Champagne, Louis had burned 1,000 men in the church at Vitry, that is to say, in sanctuary. Affairs in the Holy Land were highly critical. Edessa had fallen in 1144, and Jerusalem was threatened. Moreover, the enthusiasm for this high cause was beginning to fade. The descriptions given by returning Crusaders of their dangers and privations could not but discourage others and shatter their dreams of the enchantment of the East. When King Louis himself had taken the Cross he begged in vain the Abbot Bernard to inflame the masses with his powerful oratory.

In the meanwhile, however, various noble and ignoble motives brought many thousands together from France alone. As in the First Crusade, the difficulty of feeding and disciplining so large a number was the main cause of the enormous losses. In Nicea, Louis, with his ill-disciplined army, met the haughty and much weakened German Emperor, Conrad III., who was regarded with suspicion by Byzantium. Conrad, however, fell ill, and soon returned as an uninvited guest to Constantinople, with the greater part of his remaining troops; the others were deserted by the French and put to the sword by the Seljuks. Instead of conquering Edessa, Louis hastened to Jerusalem to do penance. There he met Conrad in April, 1148, who

**Royal
Matrimonial
Schemes**

**Leaders
in the First
Crusade**

**Crusades
Without
Enthusiasm**

FRANCE UNDER THE EARLY CAPETS

had been ordered to return to Byzantium, and the two kings resolved to march upon Damascus. Strengthened by North German and English pilgrims, their army numbered some 50,000 men. However, when the siege of the great town proved fruitless, Conrad returned home in September, 1148, and Louis in the spring of 1149.

The Third Crusade, of 1189-1192, which brought the rulers of England, Germany, and France into the Holy Land, and ended the life of the Emperor Frederic I., was the work of Pope Clement III. He had reconciled the quarrel between Richard Lionheart and Philip II. Augustus, and induced the Hohenstauffen, who were again on good terms with the papacy, to

export and import trade to the rising commercial powers of his country. This dream, which reminds us of the projects of Bonaparte in 1798, soon vanished.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the Mamelukes and their "Greek fire," Louis captured Damietta in 1249, but was cut off from his army and taken prisoner in the Nile delta on the retreat from el-Mansura. He and some of his nobles were able to buy their freedom for the enormous sum of one million besants (£400,000); the common people were forced to choose between apostasy and death. Louis spent four years in Syria, calculating upon divisions among the Mohammedans and reinforcements from Europe. At length



PHILIP AUGUSTUS BEARING THE BODY OF HIS FATHER LOUIS VII., TO BURIAL

make the Crusade. The diplomacy of the French king on this occasion has been already examined.

Zeal for Christianity may have been the motive actuating St. Louis IX. when he undertook the Sixth Crusade, in 1248, at the head of numerous nobles and their retainers. He spent the winter of 1248-1249 in Cyprus in uncertainty concerning the object of his expedition, and was induced by an embassy of Christian Mongols to make his adventurous attempt upon Egypt. He immediately considered the possibility of founding a French empire upon the ruins of the local Ayubite government, of conquering Syria from this base, and so of securing for the dangerous feudal nobility of France a new sphere for ambition and enterprise, and opening a new area for

he returned home with a few faithful followers. The flower of the nobility had perished in this wearisome adventure. Previously the enthusiasm for the Crusade had fallen so low that Louis had caused crosses to be sewn upon the coats of his vassals to pledge their participation in the Crusade by this deceit; desire to see the wonders of the East now disappeared entirely.

Once more, in 1270, Louis undertook the Crusade known as the Seventh. Its object, the conversion of the Emir of Tunis, may have attracted him no less than the thought of extending the South Italian kingdom of his brother, Charles of Anjou, to African soil. After spending some weeks in Africa, with little or no fighting, Louis, like many of his near relatives, fell a victim to the climate on August 25th.



THE LAST OF THE OLD CAPETS AND THE CAPTURE OF THE PAPACY

CHARLES THE GREAT had organised the ecclesiastical affairs of his wide realm in an autocratic spirit, and had made laws as he pleased ; he had also been supreme over the papacy and the Church. After his death the weakness of the later

The Forged Decretals of the Papacy

Carolingians had benefited the episcopal power in France, and had also enabled the papacy to strengthen its position. By means of the forged decretals the papacy had attempted to reduce the independent bishops to feudal subservience. The bishops, however, retained their independence, and, with the abbots, continued to be elected by the free choice of the clergy.

From the outset the Capets had attempted, with the help of the bishops, to sever their ecclesiastical connection with Rome, and for this purpose they had found powerful allies in Arnulf of Orleans and the synod of 991. The kings, however, had to defend the justice of their actions against both the ecclesiastical and the secular nobility, hence any permanent co-operation on the part of the episcopate and the temporal power was out of the question. At the same time the Cluniac reform, which speedily dominated the French clergy, paved the way for the papal claims to supremacy, both in ecclesiastical and secular affairs. Of the two swords which then symbolised the spiritual and temporal powers, the one might be given to the king by the head of the Church only as a fief, and under the condition of complete obedience. Until the second half of the eleventh century the episcopate remained no less

Princes who Robbed the Church

independent than the crown in matters of domestic policy, even though these were of an ecclesiastical nature. As in the times of Charles Martel, the princes appropriated the property of the Church, while domestic disturbances and the struggles with the Northmen constantly forced the abbey and monasteries to place themselves under the protection of the king.

It was Gregory VII. who first enabled the papal power to rise in France, as in Germany, at the expense of the secular power. This Pope governed the French Church through his legates, and secured the right of appointing bishops and abbots. He opposed the usurpation of Church property by the princes. The French monarchy was unable to make head against the refractory nobles, and the monarchs were in general too weak to oppose their energetic adversary with any success. After Gregory's death the papacy attained further power, notwithstanding the precarious character of its success, owing to the great Crusading movement, which derived its origin and its stimulus from Rome. King Philip I. of France was at that time obliged to yield to Rome on the question of his marriage in order to avert the papal interdict. His successor was thrown upon the side of the Pope through

The Pope's Triumphal Procession

his marriage connections and owing to the general feeling in favour of Rome manifested by his clergy in the investiture quarrel, in which the Pope opposed the appointment of clergy by secular rulers. At the Council of Troyes, held in the presence of Pope Paschal II., a resolution was passed that every layman who conferred investiture upon a priest should be subject to deprivation no less than the recipient. The journey of the Pope to Troyes was almost a triumphal procession, and in the monastery of Cluny he was received like an ambassador from heaven.

Meanwhile the royal power increased, and as the disappointments of the Crusades diminished the prestige of the Pope and the Church, the rulers even of France were able to contemplate the possibility of recovering their old independence in ecclesiastical affairs. In this struggle Philip Augustus proved an energetic pioneer. He had submitted to Pope Innocent III. on the question of his marriage, as his realm was laid under an

interdict; he had enjoyed the alliance of the papacy for a time in the course of his policy against England. At the same time he was careful to see that bishops and abbots performed their feudal obligations, that the rights of patronage held by the laity over ecclesiastical foundations remained unimpaired, and that the courts-Christian never encroached upon secular jurisdiction. On his reconquest of the English possessions he secured a legal definition of the rights of the feudal lords as against the Church, and insisted upon their observance by the clergy. Upon property which passed to the Church by purchase or presentation he levied a mortmain tax, to compensate for the loss of reliefs and wardships which ensued when property passed into the hands of a deathless tenant; he also exacted a tax—in lieu of the *ius spoliolum*—from benefices that fell vacant, and maintained all the other rights of the temporal power, or sold them at a high price.

The ecclesiastical policy of Louis IX. was penetrated entirely by his own ideas. Under his protection was formed an alliance of French nobles hostile to the Church, led by the Duke of Burgundy and the Counts of Brittany and Angoulême. These feudatories revolted against the aggressions of the ecclesiastical courts in secular affairs, and also against the extortions to which France, under various pretexts, was subjected by the papacy in 1246. Their argument was that the French nobility had been impoverished by the greed of the clergy, and that the Church should therefore return to its original condition of poverty and purity. Excommunication and interdict were to be respected only with the consent of the chief of the alliance. Here we may trace the after-effects of the teaching of the Waldenses.

These menacing resolves against Rome were passed at a moment when Pope Innocent IV. was staying on the frontier in Lyons, which was then part of the empire, and at a time, moreover, when this Pope had secured the zealous support of the French clergy against the Emperor Frederic II. in the council of 1245. Louis himself did his best to prevent the extortions to which Innocent subjected the French clergy in his efforts to provide resources for the struggle against the Hohenstauffen. From the very outset of his reign he was a zealous champion of

the independence of the French Church. In an ordinance of 1229 he had established the *liberties et immunities* of the Church, and had thus raised a barrier against the ecclesiastical and financial encroachments of Rome; ten years later he subjected the clergy to the jurisdiction of the state courts in civil cases, and limited the power of excommunication, which was one of the Pope's chief weapons; at the same time he regulated the process of election to prelates and their transference within the French Church, and prohibited arbitrary exactions on the part of Rome. The so-called "Sanction Pragmatique" of 1268, which was long regarded as the foundation stone of the later national Gallic Church, is a forgery of the fifteenth century, and does not concern us.

Though long deferred by both parties, the struggle between the Curia and the French monarchy became inevitable upon the accession of Philip the Fair, an autocratic and at the same time diplomatic ruler; at that moment Pope Boniface VIII. (1294-1303) revived the claims which Gregory VII. and Innocent III. had asserted. Boniface had entered Rome with great splendour on January 25th, 1295, and had then been crowned, after obliging his predecessor, Celestine V., to abdicate. This interloper had retained his position from July 5th to December 13th, 1294, and was kept in prison by Boniface till his death, on May 19th, 1296. Boniface added a second circle to his tiara, as a sign that the Pope was the representative both of the ecclesiastical and of the secular powers. He ordered the Greek Church to appoint no patriarch without his consent. In the year 1300 he arranged the great jubilee celebration, which brought many thousands of pilgrims to Rome to lay their gifts at the feet of the apostle. Meanwhile, however, the political horizon had become clouded; the crisis began with political difficulties, in which Boniface attempted to act as the overlord of the princes, and was accentuated by ecclesiastical complications. The Pope attempted to conclude the war between Philip and England, which had lasted since 1293, by arranging an armistice and obliging both kings to do penance by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; a similar penance had been appointed by Innocent III. The two enemies declined to agree to either project,

The Pope's Power Curtailed

French Nobles versus the Church

Kings Defy the Pope

and Philip, though a firm supporter of the faith of his time, proudly declared to the papal legates the independence of his kingdom.

Boniface forthwith issued the papal Bull "Clericis laicos" on February 25th, 1296, in which he threatened with excommunication all princes who exacted taxes from the clergy, and any of the clergy who paid. In this way he proposed to deprive the English, and especially the French, kings of the means for carrying on war. The prohibition was naturally disregarded by both monarchs, and hostilities were continued notwithstanding the armistice imposed by the Pope, and extended until the year 1298.

Diplomacy, however, was able to secure a reconciliation. In a quarrel between Naples and Aragon for the possession of Sicily, Boniface supported Philip's brother, Charles of Valois, and also canonised Philip's grandfather, Louis IX. A French embassy, which was sent to Orvieto, apparently composed all differences and abandoned the Colonna. The war between France and England was decided by Boniface in favour of Philip, who retained his possessions by a decision of June 27th, 1298, "issued not as a judge but as a friendly mediator"; the two kings had previously determined upon an armistice until January 5th, 1300—at Vive St. Bavon on October 9th, 1297—and only gave the Pope an opportunity of finally holding out the olive branch.

However, after the expiration of the armistice Philip inspired Charles of Valois to attack Flanders again at the beginning of 1300, while he extended his truce with England to November 30th, 1302. In general he let no opportunity slip of rousing the anger of the Pope. He appropriated episcopal fiefs to the crown—the comté of Melgueil and the vicomté of Narbonne—he supported the citizens of

Lyons against their archbishop, disregarding the rights of the empire, and in several cases oppressed the French superior clergy and their possessions. The Colonna, who had been deprived of their possessions and offices by Boniface, met with a most friendly reception from Philip; he also made a close alliance with King Albert I., whom the Pope had refused to recognise, as he was the murderer of his predecessor. We should be inclined to wonder at the gentle

patience of the Pope under all this irritation did we not know the extent to which his position was endangered in Rome itself. Boniface had incurred the most bitter hostility of the adherents of the fugitive Colonna, and was by no means certain of the fidelity of the ruling Orsini, upon whom he was dependent to an undesirable extent; in the college of cardinals there was a party which disputed the legality of his election. His opposition to the Aragonese supremacy in Sicily led him steadily back to France.

Philip also avoided an open breach, although his two most famous jurists, the chancellor Peter Flotte and the privy councillor William of Nogaret, eagerly advised this step. A South Frenchman, whose father had fallen a victim to the Inquisition, William had, though originally a cleric, the strongest personal reasons for opposing the supreme representative of the Church. He was a capable professor of jurisprudence at the University of Montpellier, and could perform excellent service to his king in the war of pamphlets which now began between Rome and Paris; at this moment—in 1300—he was sent

to the Pope by Philip with secret instructions, of which we learn only from the latter and apparently exaggerated reports of Nogaret. It was his business to pacify the Pope upon the question of the agreement with Albert I., and this agreement was to promote the peace of the Church and the welfare of the Holy Land; Boniface was thus to be confirmed in his cherished hopes of a Crusade.

In the following year the Pope sent to Paris the Bishop of Pamiers, Bernard of Saisset, to discuss the question of this Crusade, the affairs of Flanders, and the interference of Philip with the French Church. Saisset adopted a haughty attitude, and after his return to his bishopric he was prosecuted by the state council at Senlis, which sat under the presidency of Peter Flotte, and thrown into prison. Boniface proceeded to issue the Bulls "Salvator mundi" (Redeemer of the world) and "Ausculta fili" (Hear, O son). In the first he declared that all the privileges conceded to the king were null and void, and in the second he claimed the supremacy over all states and princes, even in secular affairs. At the same time he demanded the release of his legate, whereas Philip had insisted that this

Louis IX.

Canonised by Boniface

The Cherished Hopes of Pope Boniface

Why the Pope was so Patient

bishop should be deprived of all his spiritual privileges. Boniface also summoned all the French bishops to a council at Rome on November 1st, 1302, to discuss "the reform of France and the improvement of its king."

The Bull "Ausculta fili" was turned to clever account by Philip's jurists; they issued it in shortened and sterner form with the initial words "deum time" (fear God), but concealed the true composition, and proceeded to burn their own falsification in solemn conclave. At the same time Philip summoned the three estates of the kingdom on April 8th, 1302, forbade his clergy to take part in the council, deprived the disobedient of their possessions, and sent a threatening embassy to the Pope in November. On November 18th, 1302, Boniface issued another appeal, "Unam sanctam" (one holy Church), in which he strongly emphasised his claims to supremacy over all secular rulers; and in 1303 he sent his ultimatum to Philip in twelve articles. The French king returned an indefinite answer and prepared to employ force after Nogaret, at a council of March 12th, had accused

The "Crimes" and "Heresies" of the Pope the Pope of the worst crimes and heresies, and had advised the king to summon a general council which should judge the Pope guilty.

Meanwhile Nogaret and three of Philip's emissaries had proceeded to Italy with powers which were purposely unlimited, had provided supplies of money in Florence, and had induced Sciarra Colonna, the Pope's deadly enemy and his armed retainers to make an attack upon Boniface, who was then staying in Anagni. This attempt took place on September 7th, 1303; the accounts of it are very various, and it has been exaggerated for party purposes, but Boniface defended the dignity of his high office. The Pope was a prisoner for two days, and was saved by Nogaret from death, only that he might be brought to France. However, the inhabitants of Anagni liberated him on September 9th. Boniface returned to Rome on September 18th, but died on October 12th, 1303, in consequence of an old complaint and the excitement of the previous five weeks.

His successor, Benedict XI., was Pope for barely nine months (1303-1304), and with difficulty maintained his ground against Philip. The king proposed that

the dead Boniface should be declared a heretic by the sentence of a council, and suggested as a meeting-place Lyons, which was close to his own kingdom. He had previously interfered with the prerogatives of the Church by sending a committee to examine the prisons of the Inquisition in Southern France and liberating all

Papacy's Dependence on France prisoners without distinction; as Nogaret was a member of the committee, their duties were no doubt discharged with great thoroughness. The new Pope opposed the process against his predecessors and did not summon the council; at the same time he removed the excommunication which had been laid on Philip and the royal family, and revoked the measures of Boniface against the king and the French clergy subject to him. However, the participants in the attack of Anagni, including Nogaret, were excommunicated.

The papacy became entirely dependent upon France when the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Bertrand del Got, was, on June 5th, 1305, appointed Pope by Philip's influence in return for binding promises; he established himself first in Lyons and afterwards, from 1309, in Avignon, which belonged to the Angevin dynasty of Naples.

This second successor of Boniface VIII., who was known as Clement V., was a clever diplomatist and intriguer, but greatly wanting in personal energy. In 1308 he secretly opposed the nomination of Philip's brother as king of Germany, while in Italy he attempted to embroil Henry VII., the newly appointed ruler of Germany, with the Neapolitan Angevins; at Philip's orders, however, he was obliged to prohibit their advance upon Rome. He also played a double part in the process against the order of Knights Templar, in the guilt of which Philip hoped to involve his confederate. This order had risen from a very modest origin; in 1119 it had been founded by eight French knights

Power and Wealth of the Knights at Jerusalem, and had now gained great power and enormous wealth; it also had abandoned the rule of the order, which had been drawn up in 1128 by Bernard of Clairvaux in conjunction with the first Grand Master, Hugh of Payens.

The strict morality of the order was broken down by the growth of pride and voluptuousness and a general disobedience towards the Grand Master, who could decide important matters only with the

consent of the majority of the "general chapter" or assembly of the brothers of the order. It was necessary for the knights to give proof of noble birth, and only priests acting as lay brothers could belong to the citizen class; hence a system of caste was introduced within the order which destroyed its real significance. In the struggles with the Saracens it had often displayed a suspicious lukewarmness and had agreed to truces of a doubtful advantage for the Christian cause. By the fall of Jerusalem in 1187 and again in 1244 the order had been driven from its first centre, on the site of Solomon's former temple—whence the name Templar—and after the loss of the Holy Land the island of Cyprus had become the centre of the order, though it was widely spread in France and other countries. In France it possessed wide lands and influential connections, which had long aroused the envy and suspicion of King Philip. To these causes were added political and personal disagreements.

Rightly or wrongly, the order had gained a reputation for heresy and idolatry. The knights were supposed to be coquetting with Mohammedan and sectarian religious opinions; hence was secured the desired pretext for attacking them under the cloak of solicitude for the Church. In these proceedings the king was both prosecutor and judge. Naturally the admissions made by deserters from the order, or the confessions extorted on the rack and afterwards retracted, must not be taken as actual truth. Such wild tales as the supposed worship of the idol Baphomet—generally supposed to be a human head made of precious metal, and to govern the material world as the servant of the heavenly God—the defilement of the crucifix, the immoral kiss of peace, etc., would hardly find credence, even if they were better attested. It is, however, highly

probable that the noble caste within the order was morally and spiritually degenerate for the most part.

The proposed process was begun as follows. During a conference with Clement V. at Lyons, in November, 1305, Philip first proposed to proceed against the order, promised the Pope to undertake a Crusade, and also threatened to resume the process against the dead Boniface; the threat was intended to force, and the Crusade to induce, the Pope to take action against the order, which

he hated. Clement actually invited the Grand Masters of the orders of St. John and the Temple to come to France for a discussion upon the Crusade. It was not, however, until August 24th, 1307, that he issued permission for an ecclesiastical inquiry into the supposed misdeeds of the order. Philip's adviser, Nogaret, who now also plays the part of *advocatus diaboli*, had meanwhile secured the evidence of former Templars, who had either been expelled from the order or had left it, and handed them over to the Inquisitor of France, William Imbert, who was also Philip's confessor, on the ground that they were prisoners for examination. Behind this Inquisitor, who was an enemy of the Templars, stood the king; apparently at his instigation all the members in France were imprisoned on October 13th, 1307, and their property was confiscated. To rouse public opinion on behalf of the process, Nogaret influenced the

clergy, the populace, the canons of Notre Dame, and the masters of the University of Paris in a series of meetings. On Nogaret's advice, the king invited the Estates General to Tours on May 5th, 1308. This body then ratified the imprisonment of the Templars, and declared them guilty and worthy of death.

Under pressure from Philip, Clement, on May 29th, undertook to begin the ecclesiastical examination of the imprisoned Templars in an assembly at Poitiers composed of ecclesiastical and



A KNIGHT TEMPLAR

Founded by eight French knights at Jerusalem in 1119, the Order of Knights Templar by the early part of the fourteenth century had acquired much wealth and power.

secular dignitaries; apart from the process against the dead Pope, Philip was able to put pressure upon Clement by his action against Bishop Guichard of Troyes, who was supposed to have killed Philip's wife, Joanna of Navarre, by witchcraft in 1305. The prisoners under examination, though formally in the custody of the Church, were actually in the hands of Philip, as also was the administration of their property. The examinations proceeded in Poitiers from June 28th to July 2nd, and in Chinon from August 17th to 20th, before a commission consisting of three cardinals, but also in the presence of the two royal

and wholly dependent body of supporters, and would accentuate his subservience to the French king. Philip, however, repeated his menace of attacking the memory of Boniface; and on March 16th, 1310, the Pope actually permitted the opening of the process against his predecessor. This led to no result. Clement naturally strove to avoid any act of dishonour to the deceased Pope, while Philip considered the action only as a means to secure the destruction of the order of Templars. When this object was conceded by the Pope in the Bull "Rex gloriæ" of April 27th, 1311, Philip



THE CHURCH OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR AT LUZ, IN THE PYRENEES

This was an important fortified church of the Knights Templar, commanding a wide district of the Pyrenees. It is here shown in something like its original condition, but it is now greatly reduced in size, though parts of the old battlements still remain. Luz is no great distance from Lourdes, of modern miracle fame, and is now a popular resort.

counsellors, Nogaret and Plasian. Clement had been obliged to abandon the right of inquiry to the Inquisition, which was under Philip's influence. The admissions of the Templars are said to have been very damaging, especially in a hearing at Chinon, though the Grand Master, James of Molay, afterwards indignantly repudiated those ascribed to him.

A special hearing was begun by a new commission in November, 1309, at Paris, again in the presence of a royal official. Clement could not bring himself to decide upon the abolition of the order, which was Philip's earnest desire, for the reason that he would then deprive himself of a powerful

abandoned his most unworthy manœuvre.

On October 16th, 1311, a council was held at Vienna, which was to settle this long-standing problem. Philip attempted to influence the council by summoning the Estates. As a matter of fact, Clement, out of solicitude for the welfare of Christendom, dissolved the order by a Bull of March 22nd, 1312, which was solemnly announced to the council on April 3rd. During this announcement Philip sat at his right hand. On May 2nd the valuable property of the dissolved order was transferred to the Hospitallers, though Philip retained a considerable portion for himself. In the sequel the Grand Master, James of

Molay, and the provincial head, Guy of Normandy, were burnt at Paris on March 11th, 1314, after fifty-four members of the order had suffered a similar death on May 12th, 1310, because they had recanted the admissions extorted under torture. At the time of its prosperity, about 1260, this great order is said to have numbered some

**The Fall
of the
Templars**

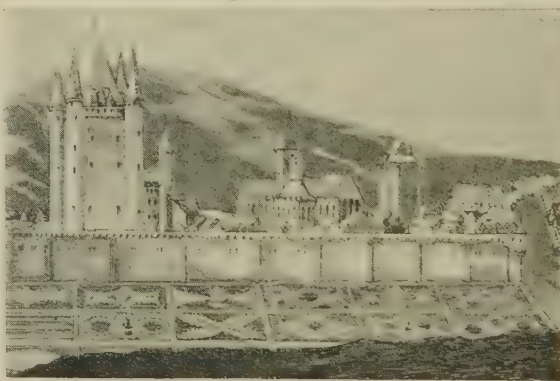
sixteen to twenty thousand members; these were now imprisoned, or perished in misery, took refuge in monasteries, or joined the Hospitallers. Their stately palace near Paris, the Temple, in which they had long been imprisoned, and from which, 480 years later, a French king was to make his last earthly progress, remained in the royal possession.

A common sense of guilt bound Clement the more closely to Philip, until their almost simultaneous deaths came upon them as a just punishment; Clement died on April 20th, 1314, and Philip on November 29th, at the age of forty-six. Fourteen years later the male line of the true Capets was extinct.

The Capets found the French state diminished in extent and far weaker in power than under the Carolingian domination. They began their work where the ancestors of Charles the Great had begun, and the objects of Charles were attained by Philip IV., though to a more restricted extent and in the face of a more vigorous opposition. The feudal nobility had been crushed, and the great fiefs were either in his immediate possession or were united to his power and subjected to his will by marriage connections and diplomatic arrangements. The Church was even more subordinate to him than to Charles the Great, and the spiritual influence which the Church had been able to exert, under Charles, upon all political matters of ecclesiastical importance had now been overthrown by the clever and worldly wise jurist. In Italy Philip ruled by means of the papal party and his Neapolitan connections, so far as the

general disruption of the Italian states and city republics permitted the exercise of any general influence. He was able to interfere to the advantage of France in the factions of the German Empire.

His monarchy, however, lacked that fundamental basis of every monarchical state—a standing army. In times of war he was invariably forced to rely upon the goodwill of the feudal lords, who had not yet been definitely crushed. He had provided for his state a uniform system of law and of finance; he had made the right of coinage a royal monopoly, and misused it in times of need by debasing the currency; he had modelled the Estates General until they formed a power subordinate to his will. The bureaucracy was entirely at his disposal, the nobility, clergy, and citizens offered a ready obedience, and even the refractory towns of



A MÆDIEVAL PALACE OF THE TEMPLARS
The Temple at Paris was one of the finest buildings belonging to the order. In revolutionary Paris its prison had an evil fame; and the site of it is commemorated in the present Place du Temple.

Flanders eventually agreed to an arrangement in Philip's favour. He had crushed all divergence from the faith with merciless severity, and had even begun a general persecution of the Jews to replenish his impoverished treasury. Yet, in spite of this display of power, his want of an army under his own control deprived him of the strongest guarantee for an absolute monarchy. This deficiency was the more dangerous, as the power of England, with one foot firmly planted in France, threatened the frontiers of his empire.

At the same time, the means by which he secured his political ends were not merely those of force, as in the case of Charles the Great, but were also immoral and treacherous. He shrank from nothing, especially if financial embarrassments were in question. The responsibility of his crimes most often fell upon his advisers, though it must not be forgotten that shortly before his death he pointed to himself "as the cause of his evil counsel" (*ipse met causa mali consilii sui*). During his persecution of the Jews he not only

**Crimes
of
Philip IV**

confiscated the possessions of the imprisoned capitalists, but also forced their debtors to pay what was owing. His disgraceful prosecution of the Templar order was primarily inspired by his pecuniary embarrassments. He was continually attempting surprises and deceptions; witness his constant depreciation of the

**Philip as a
Pilate to
the Papacy**

coinage and consequent repudiation of the state debt, or the liquidation of the war indemnity of Flanders, which he raised to the highest possible figure with the help of his accomplice, Nogaret. Combining treachery and despotism, though a strict adherent of the faith of his age, he had shown himself not only a second Pilate to the papacy and the Church, as the Ghibelline Dante named him, but also a second Herod. The papacy never recovered from the period of its "Babylonish captivity"

until long after its return to the shores of the Tiber, far from the kingdom of France. In consequence, the French kings and the rights of the Gallican Church always enjoyed special consideration, however strict the authority at Rome, and the despotism of Louis XIV. was no less a burden upon the Church, four centuries later, than the absolutism of Philip IV.

The inheritance of Philip IV. was subject to the influence of a no less malignant fate than the empire of Charles the Great. His successors were weak men who ruled but a short time, and were incapable of offering effective opposition to the process of dissolution. The three sons of Philip the Fair reigned less than fourteen years together; they were all consecrated by one and the same Archbishop of Rheims. Immediately upon his father's death the eldest son, Louis X. (1314-1316), was forced to begin the struggle with the refractory nobles. The federation of nobles demanded that the encroachments of the royal jurisdiction should be abolished, that military service should not be demanded for foreign expeditions, and in general that their old privileges should be restored. Their chief demand was for the prosecution of several unpopular counsellors of the late king. Enguerrand de Marigny in particular paid heavily for his

fidelity to Philip. He was hanged as a sorcerer, since he appealed to the orders of his former master when called upon to account for his conduct of office.

A fact of especial importance for the continuance of the dynasty and the unity of the constitution was a law passed under Philip V. (1316-1322), which was published on January 19th, 1317, proclaiming the incapability of the female line to inherit the crown; this was done to exclude the claims of Jeanne, the daughter of the prematurely deceased Louis X. Thus individuals were sacrificed to constitutional rights in the interests of political unity. This law, which was confirmed by the Pope, provided an excuse and an occasion for the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War with England; but in the factions and succession disputes of the following ages it remained the one firm point amid the

political confusion. Its natural consequence was to secure the reversion of territories to the state and the ruling family. Philip V. pursued upon the whole the domestic policy of his far-sighted father. Against the nobility, who were striving to secure their old position, he raised the bulwark of a strong citizen class, of the parliament, and the legal profession; he excluded the clergy from the highest court of justice. He also turned for support to the growing class of poor freemen, formed of those who had bought

their freedom from serfdom and slavery. However, he never attained the unlimited absolutism of his father. Still less was this the case with his younger brother Charles IV., who was constantly involved in difficulties of foreign policy during a reign of barely six years (1322-1328). He interfered in the affairs and factions of Flanders and England; in 1314 he even aimed at the crown of the empire, uniting with the Hapsburg party against the Wittelsbach Lewis of Bavaria, and he secured adherents among the German electors by bribery.

With Charles, the line of the old Capets closed. The principle of inheritance by and through males only transferred the crown to Philip of Valois, nephew of Philip IV. and first cousin to the three last kings.



THE LAST OF THE CAPETS

The line of the old Capets came to an end with Charles IV., who, during his brief reign of six years, from 1322 till 1328, was involved in many difficulties of foreign policy.

**End of
the Capet
Dynasty**



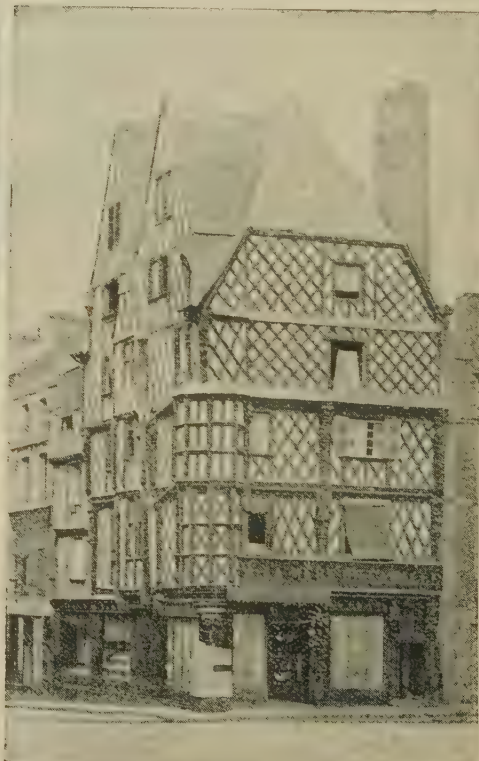
IN THE RUE SAINT MARTIN, BAYEUX



"HOUSE OF THE SALMON" AT CHARTRES



FOURTEENTH CENTURY HOUSE AT CAEN



HOUSE AT ANGERS TIME OF LOUIS XI.

MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE: FRENCH HOUSES OF THE 13th—15th CENTURIES



EVOLUTION OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CAPET KINGDOM

IN France the task of unifying a judicial system under secular law was hampered not only by the special jurisdiction belonging to the feudal lords, but also by the existence of provincial codes, which were by no means identical; of these the codes of the Isle de France, Beauvais, and Anjou were published in the time of St. Louis, or Louis IX., the others not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The task of unification was greatly advanced by St. Louis (1226-1270). His grandfather, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), had already attempted to make the king's court a kind of tribunal of appeal, and to throw the jurisdiction of the territorial lords into a secondary position. His government, however, was so full of disturbance and internal dissension that he found it impossible to complete the task he had begun.

Under Louis IX. a system of constitutional law grew up, patched up from Old Testament theories and reminiscences of the legislation of Roman Cæsars; this was enforced in the parliament of Paris. This supreme court of justice consisted of fractions of the old Privy Council ("Grand Conseil") and of the royal exchequer; hence ecclesiastics and secular nobles were accustomed to sit side by side with the court officials. They, however, were ignorant of the law, and had no inclination to undertake a study absorbing a large amount of time; Louis was therefore obliged to add professional lawyers ("maîtres") to the hereditary members. The duty of these experts was that of investigation and report—hence they are called "membres rapporteurs," while the responsibility of decision remained with the "membres juges." Thus the question of fact and responsibility was separated from the legal process, as it is in modern jury systems.

An appeal could be made to the parliament from the courts of the feudatories, the communes, and crown officials; all

feudal disputes were brought before the parliament for settlement. These decisions extinguished the custom of trial by ordeal or by battle, which still survived in other countries. The procedure of a sitting was similar to that of the present day: there was the hearing of evidence, the administration of oaths, documentary evidence, written as well as oral procedure. Apart from the precedents which the court itself had created, the influence of Roman law was paramount. The written judgment of this court formed a precedent for future cases and thus gained the power of law.

At the same time there grew up a legal class, dependent only on the king—the later "noblesse de robe"—which gradually made its way into the highest offices of state, and limited the privileges of the clergy. The ecclesiastical courts were thereby restricted, as were the feudal courts, since appeals could be made from ecclesiastical courts to the parliament, and in the last resort to the king himself. Louis presided in person over judicial hearings, received complaints, and secured the conscientiousness and incorruptibility of his judges. Important criminal cases were reserved for his special decision, as also were all questions of honour, after appeal had been made to one of the four chief justices of the government.

Roman law, which had formed a basis both for substantive law and for the law of procedure, was taught in the schools of Paris, Montpellier, and Orléans. The University of Paris received a

A Period of Educational Expansion constitution of its own, giving it control over the students and the craftsmen connected with the schools; stipends ("bourses") were given, a fixed curriculum was formed, and a number of colleges sprang up. The name "université" did not then imply, as it does to-day, an educational institution, distinguished from other schools, but rather

a corporation of students and teachers. Every school elected its own rectors. In accordance with the educational and religious views of the time, philosophy took the first place among all studies; it was especially cultivated in the Sorbonne, founded by Robert de Sorbon, the chaplain of Louis IX., and also in the schools of Toulouse; it was also naturally

The Life at the French Universities represented in other provincial universities, each of these having its own organisation, with no special tie or connection. Next to the theological faculty came the faculty of arts, corresponding with the modern "faculté de lettres"; the legal and medical faculties rose to independence only by degrees. Students were organised by "nations"—that is to say, according to their geographical origin—and for the most part lived in hostels which were under the jurisdiction of the university.

The discipline of the students, who were partly of mature years, was very loose. They changed their schools nearly as often as their curriculum. The highest title that the university could confer was that of doctor; of less importance were the degrees of licentiate and master, the least important of all being that of bachelor. In schools which were not of university rank the teaching was chiefly in the hands of the ecclesiastical orders; the Dominicans were distinguished as theological and philosophical teachers, while learned Benedictines undertook the guidance of the younger students. The education of the lower orders and of woman was generally neglected, except in so far as it was undertaken by the regular clergy.

Administration and public order, like law, justice, and higher education, were improved by Louis IX., as they had been by his grandfather. Over the "baillis" and "sénéchaux" appointed by Philip II.—the provosts formed the lowest official rank—Louis placed the inspector class of "enquêteurs"; and he issued the

Restrictions Upon Duelling strongest regulations to prevent misuse of official power in the Ordonnance of 1254. As

the position of the royal officials had been thus raised, the smaller nobility aspired to that profession. In consequence, the lower stages of the feudal system were subjected to a disintegrating influence, which was increased by the prohibition, or by the limitation when prohibition was impossible, of the private feuds, duels,

and tournaments which were a vital point of the system. A feud could not be brought to the arbitrament of the sword before forty days from its announcement in order that the threatened person might have time to appeal to the king's court. Louis IX. thus actually effected those aims which the clergy had proposed in their "truce of God."

Owing to the undeveloped economic condition of the country, the royal income consisted chiefly of the produce of crown properties, which were administered by officials styled the "bouteiller" and the "chambellan." The first direct tax, apart from the "taille" and the capitation or poll-tax on the non-free, was proposed by Philip II. upon those who declined to take part in the Crusade of 1189. This tax amounted to 10 per cent. of each man's income or personal property, and was payable every year; as the Crusade was directed against the Sultan Saladin, the tax gained the name of "dime saladin," or Saladin tithe. Apart from this exception, the taxes of that age were chiefly indirect and payable in kind; it was not until the

An Era of Civic Prosperity time of Philip the Fair that a tax was imposed upon crown property, at first 1 per cent. and then 2 per cent. As the king's needs increased, the system of direct taxation became extended, and, with the growth of commercialism, payment in kind was naturally replaced by a payment in money.

As constitutionalism overpowered its most dangerous opponent, feudalism, so the prosperity of the towns inevitably increased and civic life developed. Of the French towns of the Middle Ages only a few can be connected with the one hundred and twelve civitates of Roman Gaul. Most of these latter had not survived the confusion of the barbarian migrations, but had been deserted or had dwindled away till they became mere "castra," fortified camps, of which the Romans had a great number in Gaul, as in all other provinces. It was only in the south that the Roman town system continued. Upon the remnants of the civitates, which were under the rule of the bishop, "ville," or townships, were often grafted, especially in the agricultural north of Gaul. The origin of the new towns is a matter of conjecture and cannot be determined with certainty. Their centre in every case was the castle of the feudal

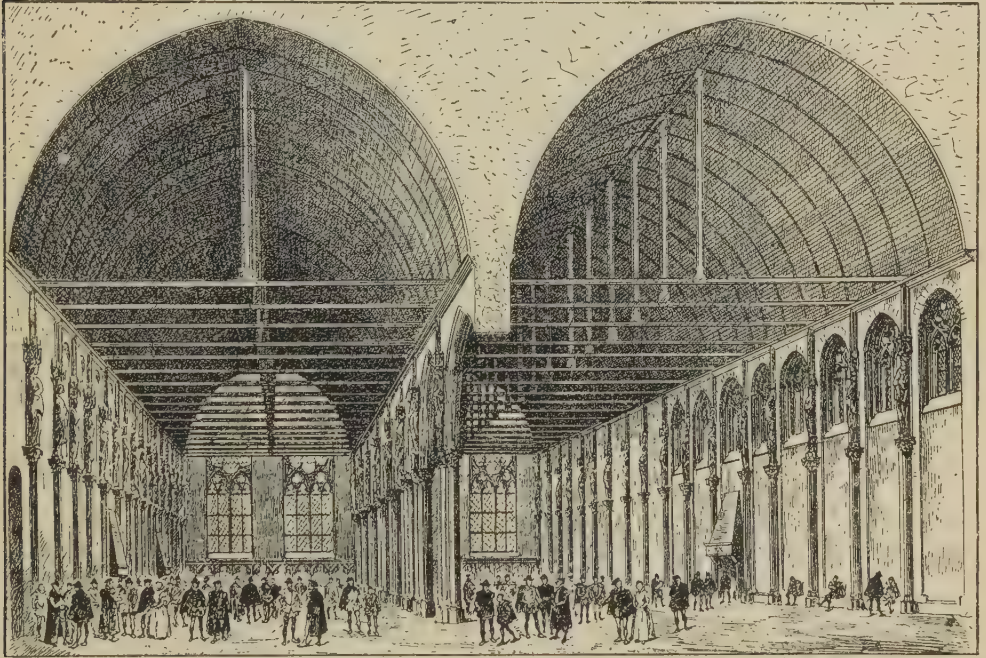
THE EVOLUTION OF MEDIÆVAL FRANCE

lord, or the seat of an abbot, round which gathered the settlements of the freemen, which were then enclosed with a wall. The Latin names for these new towns vary in the documents, in which they are mentioned as "burgus," or fortified town; "oppidum," a smaller town; "castellum," or "municipium," a community. Smaller groups of houses were known as "villæ" or "vici," villages.

The development of a town life such as had existed under the Roman Empire was greatly retarded by the agricultural economy which predominated throughout the Frankish age. The inhabitants of

were close to the dwelling-houses; they were, in short, insanitary villages.

Sanitation was then practically an unknown science. There was no inspection of public health, and the simplest precautions to prevent uncleanness, plague, and other public disasters, were non-existent. Houses and dwellings shrank from the outer world, as though afraid of light and air, while the little diamond windows of the rooms in front and behind admitted only the pestilential air of the narrow streets. The rooms in the middle of the houses, which served among other purposes as bed-rooms, were entirely dark,



GRAND HALL OF THE PALACE OF JUSTICE AT PARIS AS IT WAS IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

the towns were forced to confine their energies to agriculture, cattle-breeding, or handicrafts; of trade and industry, or communication with the outer world, there was little or none. It was at most the market towns which became centres of intercourse with the outer world, and it was these in general which gave the first impulse to the foundation of town communities. Towns were narrow, with unpaved and badly lighted streets, and gloomy gabled houses, often entirely dark: with no open square except the market place, with no gardens, promenades, or pleasure grounds; the gates were closed at nightfall, and the stables and barns

or were lighted by the obscure passages which led to them. Only a few houses belonging to the nobles were in a tolerably sanitary condition.

Apart from this, the "free" towns were singularly destitute of freedom. Not only were they dependent upon bishops, abbots, feudal lords, and royal officials, but their guilds received a new-comer with strict and hostile exclusiveness, refused him access to any trade or profession, and exercised a ruthless control over his dependents, servants, apprentices, etc. Family life suffered no less from want of freedom and of intellectual progress. An improvement did not begin until the

eleventh century, when a commercial began to replace the agricultural economy. Trade and manufacture, intercourse and public life, began to develop, and new towns arose. The wandering traders, who had hitherto passed from place to place on rivers and high-roads, regarded with suspicion by the settled inhabitants, and conducting their business under the greatest difficulties, were now induced to settle permanently upon some favourable spot, whether under ecclesiastical or secular govern-

ment. Thus, in Verdun during the tenth century a self-contained trading colony was founded under one wall of the city and divided from the rest of the community by the river, over which two bridges provided communication for trade. These new citizens, the "bourgeois," as opposed to the old citizens, the "citoyens," were at first excluded from all partici-

pation in town administration, from the rights of the guilds or other privileges, were under the authority of a count or or viscount, and proceeded to form guilds, with their own officers and treasury.

This process was the beginning of their independence and of their later equality with the old citizens. The bourgeois secured the recognition of their own customary law, by means of "chartes de coutumes," and were able to buy their immunity from many of the feudal taxes imposed upon agricultural pursuits. The settlements in the town precincts grew steadily in number, their sign of freedom being a high watchtower, or "beffroi." All newcomers enjoyed the peace of the town and market.

All the citizens took a mutual oath of peace and enclosed themselves by walls built at the common expense. Now began their struggle for liberation from the supremacy of territorial owners,

ecclesiastical or civil, and their efforts to secure their due share of the administrative and legal privileges belonging to the privileged old citizens. At the head of the town corporation was a council of "échevins," a remnant of the Carolingian class of scabini—that is, doomsmen in the local court. The dignity of échevin was hereditary in certain old families. This council, with its elders and its presidents, decided questions of law, justice, and order, and defended the privileges of the

town against bishops, abbots, and the counts of the feudal nobility.

The new citizens, from the twelfth century onwards, proceeded to make their way into the town council, often by main force, and thus the old town corporations became communes of a more democratic, a freer, and a less stereotyped character. They had their special privileges, which were, however,

subject to alteration. They were known in Northern France as "communes jurées," or sworn communities. After shaking off the yoke of the privileged citizens they had a severe struggle with the secular and ecclesiastical powers. They succeeded, however, in buying their freedom from the territorial owners, who were overwhelmed with debt by their own extravagance or by the expense of war; they were also able to secure the protection of the king, and thus to gain a confirmation of their communal rights through charters. If they could not

The Clergy's Opposition Explained

purchase freedom from the supremacy of the territorial lords, they fought for it with the help of the lower classes in the town or by themselves. These infant communes found their most bitter opponents in the ranks of the clergy, since they offered an asylum to many whose creed or morality had incurred the suspicion of



THE GALLOWES OF MONTFAUCON

This gruesome-looking erection, the gallows of Montfaucon, was built by Enguerrand of Marigny about 1300 during the reign of Philip IV., when the growth of the bureaucracy was attended by many evils. Criminals were put to death on this gallows, and not infrequently their bodies were left hanging as a warning to others. Enguerrand was himself put to death thereon in the year 1315.

the Church. A Paris synod of 1213 and several Popes declared strongly against their existence within ecclesiastical districts; bishops forbade at times the administration of the citizen oath to the clergy, or preached from their pulpits against these "pestilential communities."

None the less the astute statesmanship of the French kings recognised that the communes were useful and valuable allies against the nobility and the Church. Louis VII. (1137-1180) readily granted charters to those towns which were not immediately subordinate to him, though his officials and financial administrators put the more pressure upon the communes which stood upon the royal demesne. Philip Augustus kept a careful watch over the royal towns through his "baillis" and supervisors, but readily sold charters at a high price to the towns of his vassals. Louis IX. continually found legal pretexts for interfering in the jurisdiction and administration of the towns.

The number of cases requiring to be brought before the parliament for decision ("cas royaux") was arbitrarily increased; the royal accountants carefully examined the financial administration of the towns, and severe penalties were imposed in cases of refusal or resistance. Philip the Fair made no attempt to limit the charters, but exhausted the prosperity of the towns by arbitrary extortion, since he required much money for his wars. Cruel punishment was inflicted upon such revolts as that of Carcassonne in August, 1305; the interference of his officials in the administrative powers of royal and of non-royal towns proved a serious obstacle to their development.

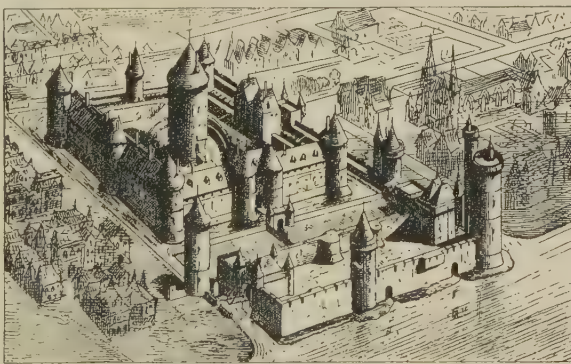
Thus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the prospects of the communes were not particularly brilliant. The towns had no entire power of jurisdiction, for individual quarters, which had been founded upon ecclesiastical or feudal property, came under the jurisdiction of a bishop, a chapter, or a feudal lord.

The natural result was a constant succession of quarrels and attempts to shake off these impediments. The new citizens also misused their power as the old had done, and refused to grant a share of the town administration to new settlers. To these obstacles must be added the extortion of the crown officials.

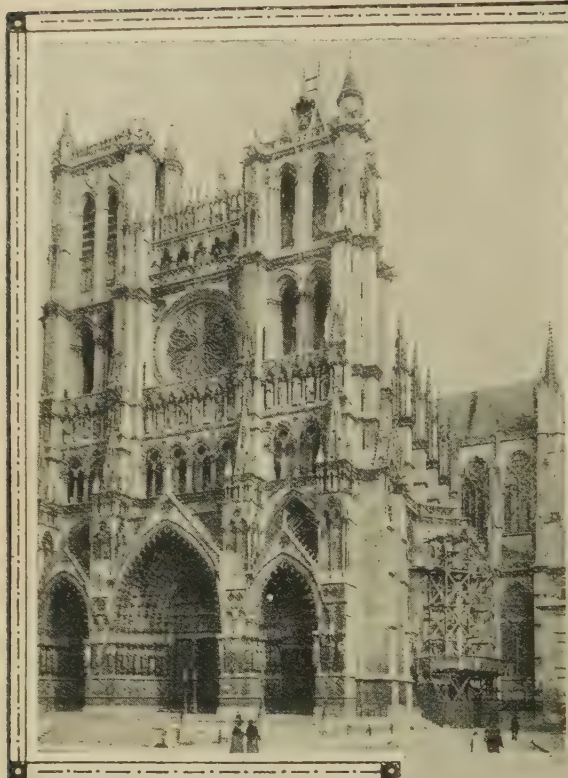
Later, the confusion of the Hundred Years' War against England also injured the prosperity of the towns and forced them to procure the protection of the crown by surrendering their rights. These wounds, however, were largely healed by peace, the new impetus given to trade, the commercial connections secured by foreign treaties, and the reorganisation of the taxes when the horrors of war had been brought to a conclusion. Splendid town halls, churches, and private dwellings bear witness to the wealth of the towns after 1450. None the less, obstacles to communications and the difficulty of market trade remained as before. Business was hampered by the tolls levied along the rivers and roads; on the Loire, between Roanne and Nantes, seventy-two separate tolls had to be paid. No less complicated

were the market dues, which had been framed with the special object of excluding foreign competition. The roads, moreover, were in the worst possible condition and were infested with highwaymen and all kinds of robbers. Next to the statesmanlike

policy of the kings, the strongest impulse to the prosperity of the towns was given by the Crusades. Nobles who were starting for the Holy Land sold properties and privileges to the towns that they might have ready money for their journey; moreover, the relations which thus connected France with the East, especially after the Crusade of Louis IX., between 1248 and 1250, made the coast towns centres of Eastern trade. The passage of Crusaders and pilgrims brought great wealth to Marseilles; and far-seeing merchants seized the opportunity of settling



THE LOUVRE IN THE TIME OF THE CAPETS



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AMIENS' BEAUTIFUL CATHEDRAL

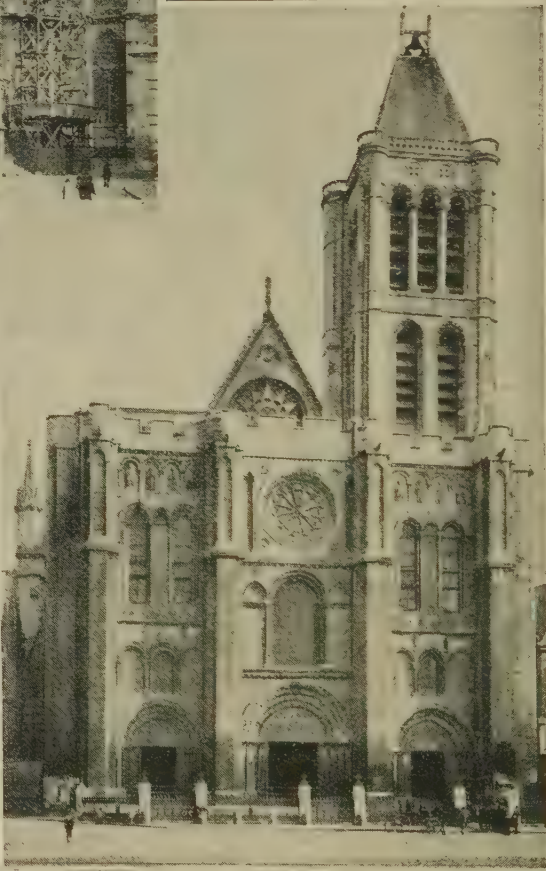
Built in the thirteenth century, the magnificent cathedral of Amiens is one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in existence.

in Syrian harbours and securing a kind of monopoly for the importation of spices, scents, fabrics, etc., from the East to the south and centre of France.

The southern towns carried on a profitable trade in the products and manufactures of the East, and exported, with less advantage, their own fruits and manufactures to Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople. The fabrics of Narbonne, Perpignan, Toulouse, and other places competed successfully with Italian rivalry. The raw material was brought from Catalonia and the north coast of Africa. Cloth weaving also became a flourishing industry in North France, in Troyes, Rheims, Paris, Rouen, while linen weaving was practised in Burgundy, in the Franche-Comté, and in the neighbourhood of Avignon, and formed an important export to the East.

Maritime trade centred chiefly in the Mediterranean ports. Upon the Atlantic, Bordeaux, Honfleur, and La Rochelle exported wine to England and Flanders, receiving wool in return. Of the market towns in the interior the most famous were Troyes and Beaucaille. At the two yearly markets of Troyes, Italians and Germans bought woven fabrics, leather, weapons, armour, metal work, horses, and other commodities.

The most successful traders at that time were the Jews and the Lombards. The pious Louis IX. issued an ordinance against their usurious practices in 1269, for he regarded the exaction of interest as entirely sinful. These and other



THE FAMOUS ABBEY OF ST. DENIS IN PARIS

This fine religious edifice was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all the predecessors of that king from Dagobert I.

measures, however, produced no more effect than did the expulsions and persecutions of the Jews, which were not instigated by the princes and the Church, who profited by the sums which the Jews paid to secure their protection, and required them in any case as money changers; these outbreaks were rather the expression of popular passion, inspired by envy and greed no less than by religious animosity.

Notwithstanding his strong ecclesiasticism, Louis IX. did a great deal to further trade and communication. He arranged

measures to promote trade. The latter had conferred important privileges upon the presidents and échevins of the guilds in Paris, giving them rights of jurisdiction in trade disputes; he had relieved Orléans and other crown towns from oppressive taxation, and had conferred privileges upon smaller communes.

The position of the towns within the body politic varied greatly. Royal "communes" were self-governing, imposed their own taxes, and possessed "la basse justice." In token of these privileges they were allowed a corporate seal; they were



THE ROYAL PALACES OF PARIS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

that in his demesnes the assessment of taxes, tolls, and coinage should be concluded only under the advice of deputies from the towns, that the administration of town property and the apportionment of communal taxes, especially of the "taille," should be entrusted to a committee chosen from the citizens. In Paris he caused the Prévôt of the merchants, Etienne Boileau, to reduce the principles and customs of the several trades to writing, in a work entitled the "Livre des Métiers." He also threw open the towns to those manumitted serfs who might wish to enter, and followed the example of his grandfather in his

obliged, however, to provide military contingents and to pay taxes to the crown. The "villes de bourgeois" were in a less favourable position, possessing neither jurisdiction nor self-government. They too were for the most part subject to the king as their territorial and feudal lord. The "villes neuves" were dependent upon prelates or the greater nobles, and were merely market towns, with a right of refuge which attracted malcontents and those who feared the vengeance of the Church. The administration of the towns was in the hands of the communal council. In the south administration was exercised

by a board of "consuls." The communal council was composed of "échevins," or "pairs," "jurats," "syndics," or "capitouls." In some cases these were assisted by a committee of citizens, nearly corresponding to a modern town council. The numbers of this committee varied. In Marseilles it amounted to 89, in

Paris as the Capital of France Bordeaux to 300, and they were known as "défenseurs." Individual towns were administered by a chosen citizen, the "maire." Most of the towns held the right, conferred upon them by the king, of levying the "octroi" duty—from "octroyer," to guarantee—upon certain goods carried into or through the town; thus ten per cent. was levied upon wine.

For a time the representatives of the towns had no share in the administration of the state. It was not until 1302 that they were summoned by Philip the Fair to the States General, as he then required their presence for the imposition of fresh customs and taxes; in 1308 270 towns were thus represented. As the kingdom became a unified state, so did Paris become the recognised capital. Hitherto the dingy town of Lutetia had been surpassed by other larger towns in trade, in public institutions, in the beauty of its buildings, and the wealth and number of its inhabitants. The Capets were the first to give the capital an appearance worthy of it. Philip Augustus lighted the streets and paved the centre of them, surrounded the town with a wide circle of walls and towers, and built market halls surrounded by walls. He removed his court from the oldest and unhealthiest part, the Ile de la Cité, to the right bank of the river, and from the island castle to the Louvre.

Louis IX. decorated Paris with splendid buildings devoted to the service of God and Christian charity. He built the Sainte Chapelle in the early Gothic style, as

What Paris Owes to St. Louis a shrine to receive the crown of thorns, which was sent to him from Constantinople by the Emperor Baldwin II. in exchange for 11,000 pounds of silver (£50,000). Here, during Holy Week, he showed the relic to the people, acting as a priest. Henceforward Paris became the centre of noble society, of festivals, shows, and tournaments; travelling merchants, mountebanks and tumblers were naturally attracted. The inhabitants numbered

200,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and steadily increased, while the prosperity of the citizens was improved by the number of foreigners, and especially by the university students, who entered the town.

The king and people vied in their effort to make the town an attractive resort for these thousands of scholars. Among other privileges they were granted the right of giving place upon the pavement to no one except the Prévôt des Marchands. Upon one occasion they caused an uproar, asserting that the wine in the suburban inns was undrinkable, and that the town authorities had imprisoned several of the ringleaders, whereupon the king ordered the liberation of the captives and the provision of better wine. The Abbey of St. Denis, in which was preserved the Oriflamme, the war banner of red cloth with green silk tassels, fastened on a golden lance, was made a royal burial-place by Louis IX., and here were laid all his predecessors from Dagobert I. The Abbot Suger (1081-1155), who advised Louis VI. with equal talent

Paris the Residence of the Kings upon matters of art, science, and government, had already decorated this early specimen of Gothic architecture with paintings on glass, depicting the exploits of the Crusaders, and to these were afterwards added paintings of the life and deeds of Louis IX.

The kings no longer changed their capitals as they had done during the age of agricultural economy; Paris became their permanent residence. Here they were surrounded by a band of high court officials. There were five chief officials, the Sénéchal, the Chancellor, the Bouteiller, the Connétable, and the Chambrier. These offices were held as fiefs by the high nobility, and were practically hereditary; the object of the kings was to place them as far as possible in commission by entrusting their responsibilities to ecclesiastical or secular nominees, who were thus dependent only upon themselves.

In this way, as under Charles the Great, was formed a professional class of court officials, in which the first place belonged to the lawyers and the jurists, known as chevaliers ès lois, knights of the law, to distinguish them from knights of noble blood. Of the high feudal offices there remained only those of Connétable, or commander of the army, the Chambrier,



ST. LOUIS IN SOLEMN PROCESSION BEARING THE CROWN OF THORNS TO THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME IN PARIS
When the kingdom of France became a unified state in the beginning of the fourteenth century, Paris was recognised as the capital. Splendid buildings rapidly sprang up, many of these being erected by Louis IX., who devoted them to the service of God. Among these was the Sainte Chapelle, built in the early Gothic style, which the king founded as a shrine to receive the alleged crown of thorns worn by Christ at His crucifixion. During Holy Week, acting as a priest, Louis exhibited the relic to the people, and carried it in procession to Notre Dame

and Bouteiller. The number of the chancery officials, the notaries and seal keepers, increased, as did that of the lawyers and parliamentary officials. A special room was assigned in the law courts to these attorneys as their meeting room. The clerks and the huissiers gradually became a close corporation,

Financial Straits of the King

"La Basoche." Certain committees of the parliament were regularly sent into the provinces to hold assizes at Troyes, Rouen, and other places. The growth of this bureaucracy, which was due chiefly to Philip IV., the Fair (1285-1314), naturally had its bad side, which was marked by an increased taxation and a conjoined attempt to secure money in any manner. The king was ready to sell letters of freedom to serfs; for a piece of land conferred upon them which could be sown with 1 septier of corn (= 33 gallons, also known as "setier de terre") a payment was made of 12 deniers or 1 sou. The king also took refuge in such devices as the debasing of the coinage (1306-1311), the sale of offices, and the plundering of Jewish and Lombard money-lenders.

The debasing of the coinage reduced the value of a "livre tournois" from 20 francs to about six, while the "livre Parisien" was still further reduced. When these financial operations proved inadequate, Philip the Fair, with the consent of the States General—that is, of the noble, ecclesiastical, and citizen deputies—imposed fresh taxation in addition to the "impôt foncier"; these were taxes upon goods of three per cent., the "matote," the army tax or "aide de l'ost," and numerous feudal aids. He also exacted forced loans from towns and church properties.

The great vassals made constant attempts to reduce the royal power to its former position of nonentity.

England's King Invades Normandy

The opportunities they required recurred upon every accession to the crown, especially upon that of a minor. The barons revolted against Louis VI. when their plan of a new royal election was anticipated by a hasty coronation at Rheims; they had desired to set upon the throne a prince born of the marriage of Philip I. with Bertha of Holland, which the Church did

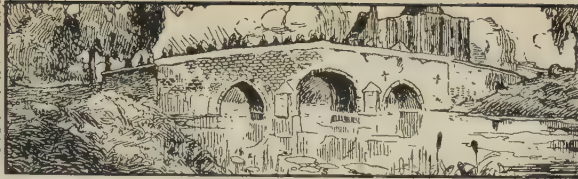
not recognise, as she had been divorced by the king. The rebels found an ally in Henry I. of England, who invaded Normandy. Supported by the capacity and insight of Abbot Suger, Louis gained the upper hand of his opponents and secured the subjection even of the marauding knights, who refused to obey the decision of the royal court. Louis' relative, Pope Calixtus II., excommunicated the emperor, Henry V., from Rheims, and then secured a reconciliation with England. More serious was the revolt of the vassals against Louis IX., in his minority, and his mother the queen-regent, Blanche of Castile. The rebels attempted to capture the thirteen-year-old prince at Monthéry; he, however, was saved by the faithful citizens of Paris, who ran together at the sound of the alarm bells. The unity of the nobles was then broken by the fact that Count Thibaut of Champagne espoused the cause of his beloved queen and bravely defended her against the rebels.

In 1241 a fresh revolt broke out under the leadership of Hugh of Lusignan, the Count of La Marche, who found allies in Raimond of Toulouse and King Henry

The Feeble Louis X. on the Throne

III. of England. Louis, however, drove the Plantagenet, who then held a good deal of Western France as a fief, to take flight to Bordeaux, captured part of the count's territory, and concluded the war, in 1243, by a truce for five and a half years; at the same time he forced those barons who were in feudal relations with both the English and the French crowns to renounce one or other of these incompatible allegiances. The majority left their foreign feudal lord, who was also a vassal of the French king, though England was an independent kingdom.

The ambitious designs of the feudatories revived upon the death of Philip the Fair in 1314, when his feeble and pleasure-loving son, Louis X., ascended the throne. He was obliged to limit the privileges of the king's high court of justice, to guarantee the old privileges of the nobles, and to exclude the intendant of finance, Enguerrand of Marigny, his father's faithful adviser. The decline of the royal power during the Hundred Years' War with England and its restoration by Charles VII. and Louis XI. belong to future chapters.



FRANCE AS THE LAND OF LIBERTY THE SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE CAPETS

TOGETHER with the spirit of feudalism and the growth of corporations, the French body politic, as already described, displayed the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy and was marked by a certain uniformity. A wholly different factor meets us when we consider social life and its expression in art and poetry. Here we are immediately confronted by a line of demarcation dividing the country into two parts, distinct in language, society, and politics; these are the north, which was essentially Teutonic, and the south, which was essentially Romance, the linguistic areas of the "langue d'oïl" and the "langue d'oc," separated by the Loire. We also meet with a number of strictly exclusive classes, the ecclesiastical, the high nobility, the knights developed from the smaller nobility, the citizens, and the "menu peuple." The princes of the house of Hugh Capet had been constantly obliged to defend their

The Church Against the Princes

rights against the Church and the papacy, and in their struggles enjoyed the general support of the national clergy; but science and literature, exactly at the point where the influence of the crown was most immediate, display the inward unity of ecclesiastical belief and of intellectual power and the close adherence of the clergy to the doctrines and uses of the Church.

It is true that the theology and philosophy of the hierarchy of Northern France display freer thought and the power of independent judgment. Berengar of Tours, for example, who died in 1088, opposed the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. His contemporary Lanfranc, a Lombard by birth, had been the leader of a dogmatic school in Normandy since 1042, and was made Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror; Berengar attempted to replace the supernaturalist theology by a more philosophical system. Within the limits of scholasticism Peter Abelard was a distinguished figure, and is better

known for his tragical connection with his pupil Héloïse than for his "Introduction to Theology," which was condemned by the synod of Soissons in 1121; his views brought him into violent conflict in 1140 with Pope Innocent II.,

Rise of Monastic Orders

and with that zealous defender of the faith, Bernard of Clairvaux. The power of the Church over human thought was shown by a number of new monastic foundations. Benedictine foundations had been scattered broadcast over France during the sixth century; to these were added in 1098 Cistercians in the forest monastery of Cîteaux in the Côte d'Or. At the outset they renounced the pleasures of the world and lived only in mystical communion with God, though they also deserve credit for the impulse they gave to gardening and vine cultivation. Under St. Bernard the order rose with such rapidity that its centre was transferred in 1115 from Cîteaux to the new foundation of Clairvaux on the Aube; on Bernard's death the order embraced 160 monasteries.

The struggle against earthly and sinful desires, the ideals of self-renunciation and purification, were also pursued by the Carthusians—of La Chartreuse—founded in 1084, by Bruno, at Grenoble in Southern France; their rule imposed silence, the wearing of a hair shirt and total abstinence from wine, and advised the pursuit of science. The same principles actuated the more distinguished Premonstratensian foundation, whose first monastery was situated in the wooded meadows of Prémontré near Laon in 1119.

Importance of the Dominicans

These three orders, which were native to France, were eventually outstripped in importance and dimensions by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who came in from Spain and Italy, and whose organisation belongs to the second decade of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans occupied themselves with the task of higher education,

with the management of the Inquisition, which was especially active in Southern France, and with the extirpation of the Albigenses and Waldenses; the Franciscans gained a great hold on the lower

to society; these were introduced from the East Roman Empire by sectaries, the Bogumiles and Cathari, whose degeneracy and indiscretion led to extravagances which permeated the whole of Southern France.

In France, as elsewhere, knights were originally drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, who possessed no property, and were in the service of some ecclesiastical or secular noble; for pecuniary reward they passed from the service of one lord to another, and were occasionally occupied with highway robbery and plunder. But among the more highly educated and talented of this class there were men who combined the professions of singer and poet, who passed from castle to castle and sang the praises of their host and the honour of his ladies in their remote and desolate

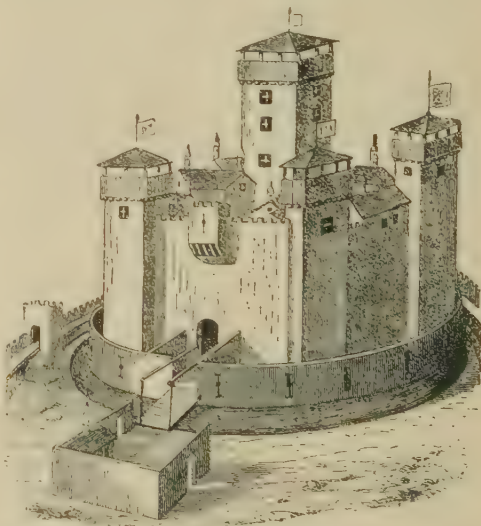


THE CASTLE OF PLESSIS, NEAR TOURS, AS IT WAS

classes as preachers and confessors. The Inquisition was a tool which served both the ecclesiastical and the political unity of France; under the excuse of protecting the purity of the faith, powerful opponents or rivals of the royal power were occasionally exterminated, such as the Counts of Toulouse (1207-1229) and the Knights Templars (1307-1313).

Northern France presented a more exclusive front to the outer world than Southern, where great harbours were connected by trade with the west, and where great and populous sea towns were centres of the world's commerce; hence the effects of the Crusades were far stronger in the south than in the north. The knightly class then became the exponent of poetry and deprived the clergy of some portion of their influence upon the intellectual development of the nobles; the crusading movement also gave them a tendency to idealism, a burning enthusiasm for bold deeds, a devouring ambition, and a stainless sense of honour. On the other hand, this movement gave an impulse to the taste for outward show, for adventurous enterprise, for purposeless attempts to gain reputation, and for the trifling game of love. At the same time were disseminated the seeds of those heresies which were equally dangerous to the Church and

fortress, receiving in return presents of money and festival entertainment. These harmless parasites of society were known as "jongleurs," and were at the



A TYPICAL FEUDAL CASTLE OF FRANCE

same time performers on musical instruments, wandering singers, and begging poets. A change took place after the Crusades, when great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love



A BALLAD-SINGING COMPETITION IN THE DAYS OF THE TROUBADOURS

Drawn from the ranks of the lower nobility, the knights of France served the ecclesiastical or secular lords for pecuniary reward, and were occasionally engaged in highway robbery and plunder. But those who were more highly educated and gifted found other spheres for their talents. Combining the professions of singer and poet, they passed from one castle to another singing the praises of their hosts. After the Crusades, great lords and even kings devoted themselves to the service of love and song, and entered into keen rivalry for the laurels of the singer and the poet.

and song, entered into rivalry for the laurels of the knight and poet, fought in tournaments, and settled personal quarrels according to the customs of knighthood. Hence developed in Southern France the numerous and highly gifted class of the troubadours (inventors or poets), and in the north the less numerous "trouvères." The jongleurs became mere singers and accompanists, who followed their distinguished poetical patrons upon their journeys of love and song, to perform their compositions or to accompany them upon the harp, zither, or viola.

The first important troubadour was the adventurous Count William IX. of Poitiers, who died in 1127; his disgust with the

stiffness and affectation of court life finds scornful, bitter, and at times wearied expression in his poems. The most famous of his followers was Bertran de Born, who died about 1215 in a monastery, one of the most

political of the troubadours, and the author of many "sirventes," satirical songs or lampoons intended to serve a cause which the author considered just. This singer, who belonged to a noble family — Autafort, near Périgueux —

turned his high gifts and personal charm to ill account by stimulating the princes Henry and Richard Lionheart to revolt against their father, Henry II. of England, thus evoking a series of cruel wars all over French



A GROUP OF THE FAMOUS TROUBADOURS

These old miniatures show some of the great poets and singers of mediæval France, known as Troubadours. The first is Perdigon, a knight in the service of the Dauphin of Auvergne; next comes the Monk of Moutaudon, the son of a noble family; in the third figure we see Albertet, the son of a jongleur, while the last is that of Marcabru, a pupil of Cercamons.

soil from the Garonne to the mouth of the Seine, which district included those fiefs then possessed by the English king in France.

Dante in his "Divina Commedia" places Bertran as the author of civil strife

Dante's Conception of Bertran finds himself in distinguished company with other poets.

Bertran was not merely the trumpet-toned singer of military themes; he was also a sympathetic and tender composer of love songs, and he throws the chief responsibility for the wickedness of the times upon the clergy. The anti-

clericalism of the *sirventes* is still more obvious in the case of Guilhem Figueira, a poet of low birth. The highest point of the Southern French lyric poetry is represented by men who are for the most part of unblemished reputation; it lasted about one hundred years, and the principal figures are such men as Bernart de Vendadour, who died about 1200, a protégé of the Count of Poitiers, Arnaut Daniel, whose fame was sung by Dante and Petrarch, and Guiraut de Bornelh, who died about 1220 — "the master of the troubadours."

This age, short as it was, produced a many-sided lyric poetry of love and shepherd songs of elaborate canzone with effective refrains, of careful and over-elaborate rhythms and rhymes; it also exercised a permanent influence upon the German minnesingers and upon the poetry of Dante.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the knightly class began to degenerate into rudeness of manner and cupidity. The tournament became a brawl and love poetry an unnatural, unmeaning, and often immoral word-play. The Albigensian wars (1208-1229) deprived the nobility of Southern France of their political power and of their great wealth, and therefore made their patronage and their presents to singers and poets things of the past. Crusades, commanded by papal legates, ended in the most cruel persecution and extermination of the

Waldenses and their chief patrons among the nobles and princes, stifled all freedom of life and thought, and put an end to the delights of society and to the enthusiasm for art. Southern France had formerly been a centre of intellectual life, ready to receive all new discoveries, whether they came from the East or from Spain and Italy; it now became an isolated desert, broken only by the passionate denunciations of heresy.

The lyric poetry of Northern France is far inferior to that of the south; on the other hand, the epic poetry of the south

cannot be compared with the productions of the half-Teutonic north. Hence lyric poetry to the north of the Loire is, in form and contents, merely a feeble echo of the south, and its representatives, the *trouvères* and *ministres*, are but feeble imitators of the southern poets and singers. The only important figure is Count Thibaut of Champagne, who was King of Navarre from 1234; he gained reputation as a poet of love songs, religious songs, and hymns to the Virgin, though in his case elaboration of form replaced the vital spark of genius. The character of the Northern Frenchmen was matter-of-fact rather than fantastic or emotional, and inclined more to the free and occasionally immoral *fabliau* than to the chivalrous poem of love.

None the less, the north retained a strong and

capable nucleus of chivalry, and was preserved from southern degeneration until the fourteenth century. The education and training of the knight was ostensibly founded upon that of the monk;

in fact, the age of the Crusades had united the ideals of the knightly and ecclesiastical career in the persons of ecclesiastical orders of knights. The young noble who was intended for a knight was sent at an early age to his lord's castle, even as the novice was educated from childhood within the walls of the monastery and



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE EARLY THIRTEENTH CENTURY

How the Knights were Trained

prepared for the future duties of his order. Until his fourteenth year he stood midway between the servants and companions of the household. He waited at table, went errands for his master, accompanied him when hunting or travelling, and performed duties also for his mistress. He then became a squire and his master's armour bearer, practised riding, the use of arms, and all knightly pursuits. He received the accolade in his twenty-first year with the observance of certain religious formalities. The previous night (*la veille*) was spent by the squire in the chapel in prayer; in the morning he took the bath of purification, and after several hours' rest, was clothed in red and white garments. The time of rest was to symbolise his future state of rest in Paradise, the white garment his moral purity, and the red, the battles in which he would have to shed his blood. From the priest's hands he received the knight's sword on his knees before the altar, and made his vows. He then received from some distinguished noble, in the presence of witnesses, the blow on the shoulder or neck which dubbed him knight.

The religious character even of this secular chivalry was expressed in the struggles for Christianity against the heathen—for as such the adherents of Mahomet were reckoned by the Church of the time—and in the protection of widows and orphans, of the oppressed and defenceless; at the same time ideal theories of honour and love were constantly disturbed by entirely secular thoughts. The conception of honour appears rather as the honour of a class or

The Strict Code of the Knights profession than that of a person. A knight who had been guilty of base dealing or common offence, or had shown himself cowardly in battle, was expelled, publicly denounced by a herald, and cursed by the Church, his coat of arms and his weapons were broken by the executioner, his shield was bound to the

tail of his horse and destroyed by the animal in the course of its wild career.

During the better period of the chivalrous movement the robbery of merchants and of monasteries was naturally avoided,

An Age when Chivalry Flourished

as was any infringement of the property of others. Practice in the use of arms could be gained not only in campaigns and feuds, but also in tournaments, the organisation of which was the result of the Crusades. These took place in the presence of ladies, who gave their praises to the victors and whose colours

were worn by the knights, so that the whole proceeding was connected with courtly life. In the French tournaments thousands often fought; men were killed and wounded, though the laws of the tournament insisted that only blunted weapons should be used, and that the struggle should end when the opponent had been thrown from his horse. The need for some sign by which knights could distinguish one another, as their lowered visors made recognition impossible, led to the use of coats of arms, which were hereditary in a family; there was some outward sign upon the helmet, the shield, and the surcoat, consisting either of an animal or some other device.

The knight did not trouble himself greatly with learning. He occasionally knew some foreign languages and was almost

always a clever player on the zither. Reading and writing were unknown accomplishments to him. This lack of education, as is invariably the case, led to a disregard of the refinements of life and produced an inclination to drunkenness and gambling, to cruelty towards subordinates and prisoners, and even towards wife and children. The castles were usually restricted in space, as they were thus more defensible; the main room was the knight's hall, and here the lords lived, especially in winter, in great lack of occupation, cut off from all refining



A FRENCH KNIGHT OF THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY

influences. They ate without knives or forks, with fingers or wooden spoons, sat upon benches or stools, and had little or no light when darkness came ; in cold weather the heating of the rooms was generally defective. Instead of windows, they had openings in the walls, which, in bad weather, or for the protection against cold, were closed with shutters.

The education of the knights was but scanty, better provision in this respect being made for their wives and daughters. Ladies of good birth were often able to read and write, and sometimes even knew Latin or some other foreign tongue ; they were clever at needlework, cooking, and the preparation of medicine, and were distinguished especially by courtly manners and refined modesty. Food and clothing in knightly families, apart from festival occasions or drinking bouts, from which women were excluded, were very simple, as their supplies depended upon the chase, the fish pond, the vegetable garden, the produce sent in by the serfs, or the small beer brewed in the castle brewery ; foreign wines appeared only after the Crusades. Clothing, for the most part, was home - made also.

The service of ladies, peculiar to chivalry, bore within itself the germ of degeneration in so far as it was carried on not only by unmarried but by married knights, usually devoted to some married woman, for whom adventures were undergone, tournaments fought, though sometimes the fair one was entirely unknown or purely imaginary. The result was an unnatural and affected subtlety, which destroyed a movement contributing largely at the outset to the development of courtly manners and culture.

Chivalry, like the feudal system in general, was wholly incompatible with the conception of a uniform state as planned by the Capets. Instead of devoting their strength and their forces to their king and country, adventurous knights went fighting throughout the world, in Spain or in the East, against the "heathen," in

the civil wars of England, or in Italy or Sicily, whither they were attracted by the possibility of gaining lands and money ; here Charles of Anjou, the chivalrous brother of Louis IX., won Naples and Sicily from the declining family of the Hohenstauffen. Hence it was fortunate for France that this restless and adventurous class was destroyed by internal disruption and degeneration, and became robber knights, lost life and property in the Crusades, or perished on foreign soil before the invention of gunpowder, when the consequent change of military tactics entirely put an end to their existence.

The guidance of French literature passed from the hands of the clergy to the knights, first in poetry and afterwards in history. The earlier poems of Northern France are of a narrative and legendary

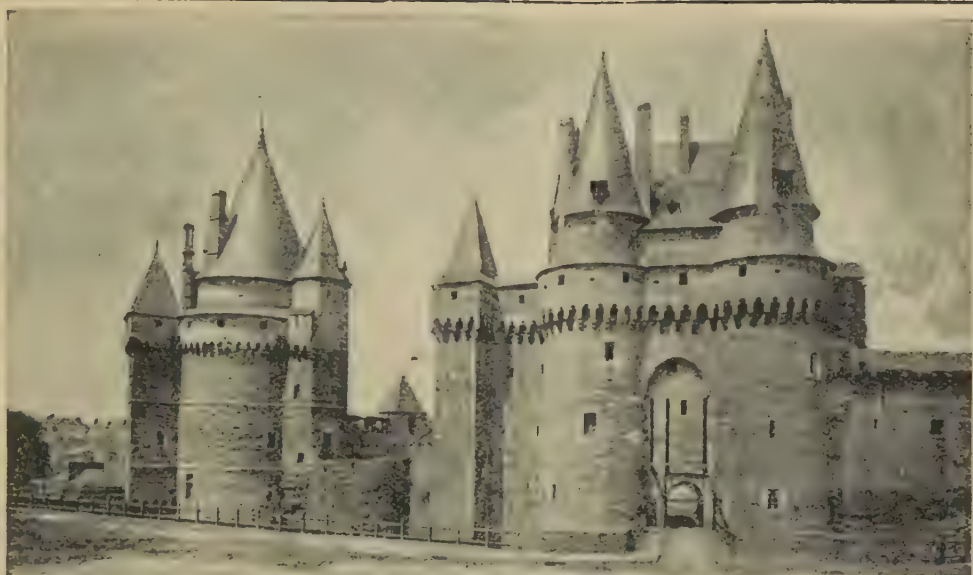
character, and deal principally with Christ and His Apostles, the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs of the Church, remarkable conversions, and lives of an edifying character. With the beginning of the Crusades the subject-matter is extended, and no longer confined to the immediate environment of the writer ; the scene of action is often laid

in the East. It is not until the age of the Crusades that the chivalrous epic begins its career.

The personality of Charlemagne, which had now become fabulous, was first brought into local connection with the East as a result of the disagreeable reception accorded to the first Crusaders by the Byzantine Greeks and their emperor, Alexius ; this connection appears in the Alexandrian poem "Comment Charles de France vint en Jérusalem." Charles is said to have started under the influence of his wife's pride to measure his power with Hugo of Constantinople, a king who is supposed to have been more powerful. He makes a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where God does miracles for him and gives him the chief relics of the Passion, which he causes to be preserved in St. Denis. In Constantinople



MOUNTED KNIGHT OF THE 12TH CENTURY



MAIN ENTRANCE AND TOWER OF ST. LAWRENCE AT THE CASTLE OF VITRÉ



REMAINS OF FALAISE CASTLE, BIRTHPLACE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR



THE MASSIVE OUTER WALLS OF THE CASTLE OF CARCASSONE

SOME OF THE GREAT STRONGHOLDS OF MEDIAEVAL FRANCE

he sees that Hugo is inferior to himself ; his companions mock at the Byzantine and his Greeks, but are preserved by Divine Providence from the misfortunes which they had deserved. Here we have clearly a Crusader's conception of his own fortunes. The influence of Crusading ideas is also obvious in the description of

**French
Heroes of an
Earlier Day**

the great emperor, ascribed to Archbishop Turpin of Rheims, but really composed at the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century ; this was the "*Historia de vita Caroli magni et Rolandi ejus nepotis*," which dealt with his struggles with the unbelievers in Spain, the heroic death of Roland, the warden of the Breton March, in the valley of Roncesvalles, and the treachery of Ganelon ; the latter subject is also treated in the Latin poem concerning the treachery of Ganelon. The figure of Charles is sometimes modelled on that of Christ, and his twelve paladins correspond to the twelve disciples ; he also appears as an idealised Crusader.

The model for Ganelon's character seems to have been the treacherous and voluble Greek who, in the opinion of the Crusaders betrayed by him, was in secret connection with the infidels. This chronicle was soon translated into the dialect of the Isle de France, which from the twelfth century onwards became a more uniform literary language. The subject of this somewhat poetical cycle was reduced to writing in its earliest form about 1090 as the "*Chanson de Geste de Roland*." It was an amalgamation of older poems, perhaps fragments from Charles' lost collection of epics, and was edited in its present form about 1170 by the minstrel Turol ; the hero resembles the Teutonic warrior rather than the Crusader inspired by religious ideals. In comparison with Roland, the Emperor Charles is a somewhat feeble figure, and is

**The Great
Charles
in Poetry**

depicted rather as a querulous old man than as the bold and energetic restorer of the empire. The character drawing is elementary, and produced by the simplest means and often by nothing more than the conventional adjective. The lights and shadows are distributed unequally. On the one side we see subtlety and cunning, on the other invincible heroism and supernatural power, friendship and fidelity to death, and heartrending grief, inspired by

the warmest patriotism, for the death of so many nobles. The poem arose within the area of the Norman dialect, and was intended to celebrate the praises of the Breton race, to which the historical Roland belongs. Several other narratives from the Carolingian cycle describe the battles of Charles with his disobedient vassals, apparently modelled upon that war of suppression which the Capets waged against the feudal nobility of the twelfth century. As the poets belong to the retinues of the great lords who were conquered, they are invariably found in sympathy with the losing side.

About the middle of the twelfth century a fresh body of material for French epic poetry was provided from England and Brittany. In the sixth century the Britons had retreated from modern Britain before the Anglo-Saxons and brought with them their legends of King Arthur and the heroes of the round table ; these stories had also been disseminated by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was for some time in French service, in his "*Historia Britanica*," or "*Historia Britonum*," composed before 1135. In the "*Roman de Brut*" of Robert Wace, Arthur, like the legendary Charlemagne, is represented as the chief of twelve peers, and as accomplishing marvellous exploits with these bold knights. The religious element was introduced into this cycle by the amalgamation of the Arthur traditions with the legend of the Holy Grail.

The best known of these Grail epics is the "*Perceval*" of Chrestien de Troyes, a poet acquainted with Latin authors and especially with Ovid ; his works were composed at the courts of Champagne and Flanders between 1155 and 1188. In this epic is shown the picture of a knight inspired by religious enthusiasm and moral purity, without fear or reproach, which is expressed in a series of adventures, and at times in exquisite form ; the same poet in his "*Chevalier de la Charette*" (Lancelot) and in his "*Tristan*," which is now lost, depicts two knights of more human character, who are made traitors or weaklings by the seductions of love. The remarkable versatility of this epic poet appears in another form in the love epic of "*Erec and Enite*" and the "*Chevalier au Lion*." Love is here a source of true heroism and chivalrous spirit. Chrestien thus displays a series of knightly crusades

in their most different forms, especially as affected by the service of love, which may bring either destruction or blessing.

Two German epic poets entered into the labours of Chrestien, Hartmann von Aue, the author of "Erec" about 1190 and of "Iwein" about 1200, and Gottfried of Strassburg, the author of "Tristan and Isolde" about 1210. Wolfram von Eschenbach in his "Parzival" shortly after 1200 uses the material which appears in Chrestien's poem of the same name, and follows his model very closely. Connected with the Grail legends is also the Lorraine poem of the swan-rider "Lohengrin." Like the old Carolingian, Breton, and Lorraine legends, the history of antiquity, the Trojan war, and the deeds of Alexander the Great, were also treated so as to transform the Greek heroes into mediæval knights and Crusaders.

The rising citizen class was bound to express its thoughts in literature no less than the knightly class. This was done in the Fabliaux, which originated in the East, but were modelled on the daily life of the citizen as it was at that time. Their satire is directed against the upper classes or the cultured clergy and physicians, but also depicts the gloomier side of citizen life, the narrow-mindedness, drunkenness, and jealousy of the men, the infidelity and falsehood of the women. The needs of the middle class upon the stage were satisfied by such productions as the two musical plays of Adam de la Halle—about 1235 to 1287—while mystery and miracle plays taken from the Bible and the legends of the saints attracted the whole of the people to the Church. There were at the same time allegorical pieces, or "moralities," also based upon

the teaching of Christian morality. The ironical mockery of the lower classes at the court and the clergy is expressed in the thirteenth century by the "Roman du Renart," with its later continuations, which was composed in the Netherlands upon Northern French models. The fox is here a satire upon the intriguing courtier who insinuates himself within the

despotic government of the king of beasts, the lion, and brings ruin upon defenceless or honourable people. The monks are his accomplices, and he shows a hypocritical submision to the Popes and the Church.

The animosity which was cherished against the feudal system and the mediæval Church, with its miracles, pilgrimages, crusading sermons, and ritual, and also that against the laity with their different classes and representatives, appears in the "bibles" of Guyot de Provins and Hugues de Berze; these are encyclopædic narratives, in metrical form, of some 34,000 lines. They originated at the beginning of the thirteenth century; men of every class cooperated in their production, laity and clergy alike, and their composition, like their general tendency, thus far resembles the encyclopædias of Diderot and D'Alembert.

A compendium of the thought and knowledge of this scholastic age, with a criticism of Church, religion, and morality, may be found in the

allegorical, stilted, and wearisome "Roman de la Rose," which was composed and continued by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, who lived in the thirteenth century. The sleeping poet attempts in a dream to pluck a rose from the hedge of love: Obstacles and annoyances of every kind try to defeat his object and to drive him



THE LEGENDARY KING ARTHUR

The deeds of the half-mythical Arthur and his knights have been immortalised in poetry and romance. According to the legend, he led the Britons to the overthrow of the Saxon invaders.

From the bronze statue on the monument of the Emperor Maximilian at Innsbruck

from his purpose. Only when his guardian spirit, Belaccueil, has freed him from the prison in which Jalousie has confined him can he pluck the rose. The subject-matter of this romance was turned to account by Molière; the truly French flavour of the

The Early Literature of France

satire consoles the reader for its weary scholasticism and the dryness of the allegorical treatment. One of the most charming productions of early French narrative art is the novel "Aucassin et Nicolette." Thus we see that the poetical literature of North France, which attained its highest point rather in the twelfth than the thirteenth century, gives a many-sided and yet a true picture of the general and varied society of the time.

This poetry reflects with a special clearness the transition from the age of the Crusades, which began with the triumphs

writing decayed; the chronicle of Regino at the outset of the tenth century was the last attempt for the moment to produce a universal history from the beginning of the world. In the Eastern, as in the Western empire, local history takes the place of imperial history. The disruption prevailing in France during the tenth and eleventh centuries held out no inducement to the historian. It was not until later that Philip Augustus and his grandson Louis IX. found important historians of their deeds in Rigord, who died about 1209, and William of Nangis, who died about 1300, but the historical revival is closely connected with the Crusades.

With the thirteenth century the description of the Crusades passes into the hands of the Crusaders themselves, the knights. In place of the Latin chronicles of the



A HOME OF THE TROUBADOURS: THE CASTLE OF TARASCON

The Castle of Tarascon, picturesquely situated on the Rhone, was founded by Count Louis II. in the fourteenth century. In the days of the Troubadours and the Courts of Love this castle was a notable centre of these knights errant of literature.

of the Church in religious belief, but ended with the undermining of both by the influence of foreign religions and philosophies. Perceval marks the height of Catholicism, the earnest belief of undoubting devotees; the bible of Guyot is inspired not only by the heresy of the Waldenses, but is also the expression of that destructive worldly wisdom which Voltaire was to represent five centuries later.

After centuries of torpidity, the writing of history was revived by the general shock of the Crusading movement. Great changes in French history have invariably introduced new departures in historical writing. Gregory of Tours was inspired by the foundation of the Frankish state under Clovis, the authors of the Frankish annals by the greatness of Charlemagne. When his empire broke up, historical

monks come French histories inspired with the chivalrous spirit. Godfrey of Villehardouin (1160-1213) describes with dramatic power and ruthless regard for truth that Fourth Crusade which placed the Byzantine Empire for some decades in the hands of the Northern French Count Baldwin of Flanders and his successors. John of Joinville (1224-1318) describes in a straightforward, faithful, and religious narrative the personality and deeds of St. Louis. Historical writing had thus emancipated itself from clerical control and had assumed a national character. On the other hand, philology and philosophy, with painting, architecture, and music among the arts, remained for the moment entirely or principally in the hands of ecclesiastics. RICHARD MAHREHOLTZ



FRANCE UNDER THE VALOIS

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR WITH ENGLAND

A PART from the so-called Salic Law, the next heir to the throne after the death of Charles IV. would have been Joan, the daughter of Louis X. and grand-daughter of Philip IV., but her claim was hardly discussed at the time; she was given Navarre as an indemnity. But the right of Philip of Valois to the crown was formally challenged by Edward III. of England (1327-1377), who claimed as grandson of Philip IV., whose daughter Isabella was his mother. At first, indeed, Edward did homage to the new king as Duke of Guienne, and thus acknowledged him in his character of a feudal lord, which was due, however, only to his royal title; but so soon as his intimate relations with the Flemish town of Ghent, where Jacob van Artevelde was in power, and his growing influence in the Netherlands generally—the Emperor Lewis had nomi-

English King Claims France

nated him Stadtholder of the empire in Lower Lorraine—led him to believe that the moment was propitious, he assumed the title of King of France and invaded the country in 1339 in order to conquer it. But no battle was fought. In the spring of 1340 Philip collected a fleet in the harbour of Sluys in order to prevent Edward's crossing; the latter, however, won a brilliant naval engagement in June in that very harbour. The land forces were less successful; Tour-nay offered a vigorous resistance, and Edward, through pressing need of pecuniary resources, could not wait any

longer and concluded a truce. A dispute had broken out in Brittany in the year 1341 about the ducal dignity. One claimant was supported by France, the other sought the help of Edward, who thus had a pretext for a new war. An English army marched victoriously through Normandy in 1346, and then went up the Seine to the gates of Paris. There first the French under the command of their king confronted it. But no decisive blow was struck until Edward, falling back towards Flanders, took up a strong position at Crecy-en-Ponthieu, and was immediately attacked by the advancing French on August 25th; in spite of an immense numerical advantage (68,000 against 20,000) Philip was defeated. The day marked a glorious victory for the English arms. Edward then marched to Calais, and besieged the town, so important to him, for eleven months; when it finally surrendered, English settlers were placed in it, in order to create a permanent base for the English regal power.

But the resources for carrying on the war were exhausted by these operations. Through the good services of the Pope a treaty was concluded, which did

not, however, at once apply to Brittany. The struggle for the supremacy in the country still continued there. In August, 1350, Philip VI. died; he was succeeded on the throne by his son John, surnamed "the Good" (1350-1364), who tried to prolong the truce with England. But he



KING PHILIP VI., AND HIS SON, JOHN "THE GOOD"

The right of Philip VI. to the throne of France was challenged by Edward III. of England, who claimed the throne as grandson of Philip IV. This claim was the pretext for the Hundred Years' War. On the death of Philip, in 1350, his son John, surnamed "the Good," succeeded him; he was defeated at Poitiers and taken to England as a prisoner.

did not succeed in changing it into a permanent peace, for Edward trusted to the fortune of his arms and had not yet relinquished his hope of the French throne. His son also, Edward the "Black Prince," to whom the victory at Crecy was chiefly due, would not hear of a peace. When, therefore, John refused to comply with the demand of Edward that the English possessions on French soil should be relieved from feudal jurisdiction, the war began afresh in 1355. Its outbreak was hastened by the circumstance that Charles of Navarre, with whom John had

A two years' truce between the two hostile powers had been arranged even before the return of the young Edward to Bordeaux; but dangerous disturbances in the interior shook the monarchy during John's imprisonment. The government, and especially the method of levying taxes, had aroused discontent among the towns, which were increasing in wealth, and formed the most powerful part of the States-General. When, after the king's imprisonment, the dauphin, afterwards Charles V., summoned the states of North France and asked for their support in the



QUEEN PHILIPPA PLEADING BEFORE EDWARD III. FOR THE MEN OF CALAIS

Wishing to be king of France as well as king of his own country, Edward III. of England landed an army on French soil and won a great victory over King Philip VI. at Crecy-en-Ponthieu. Advancing next on Calais, Edward took it after a siege of eleven months. The picture shows his queen, Philippa, on her knees making her successful appeal for the lives of the men of Calais, whom Edward, enraged at their stubborn resistance, had determined to execute.

From the painting by H. C. Selous

quarrelled, implored the help of England against him. The opportunity for new enterprises was eagerly seized. The Black Prince with a small force raided the Loire district from his headquarters at Bordeaux. John met him with superior numbers. After a vain attempt to come to an agreement, John was completely defeated at Poitiers on September 19th, 1356, and himself fell into the hands of the English. He was conducted to England, where the king of Scotland also was living as a prisoner of Edward.

crisis, the representatives of the towns desired redress for all abuses in the administration, and had their definite demands laid singly before the dauphin by a committee. Under the stress of circumstances the crown was compelled to concede every request of the towns.

Nevertheless, an open insurrection broke out in Paris in 1358. Charles of Navarre, who was still in captivity, was liberated, his adherents, who had been executed, were declared innocent, the prisons also were opened, and the red and blue cap,



EDWARD THE THIRD OF ENGLAND AT THE HISTORIC SIEGE OF CALAIS, WHICH ENDED IN A GREAT ENGLISH VICTORY

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A. By permission of the Corporation of London

the badge of the revolutionists, was forcibly placed on the head of the dauphin himself. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, the so-called *Jacquerie*, which was suppressed only by most merciless severity. Common cause against the peasant revolt drove the nobility over to the side of the dauphin, and the Spiritual Estates stood by him. When he escaped

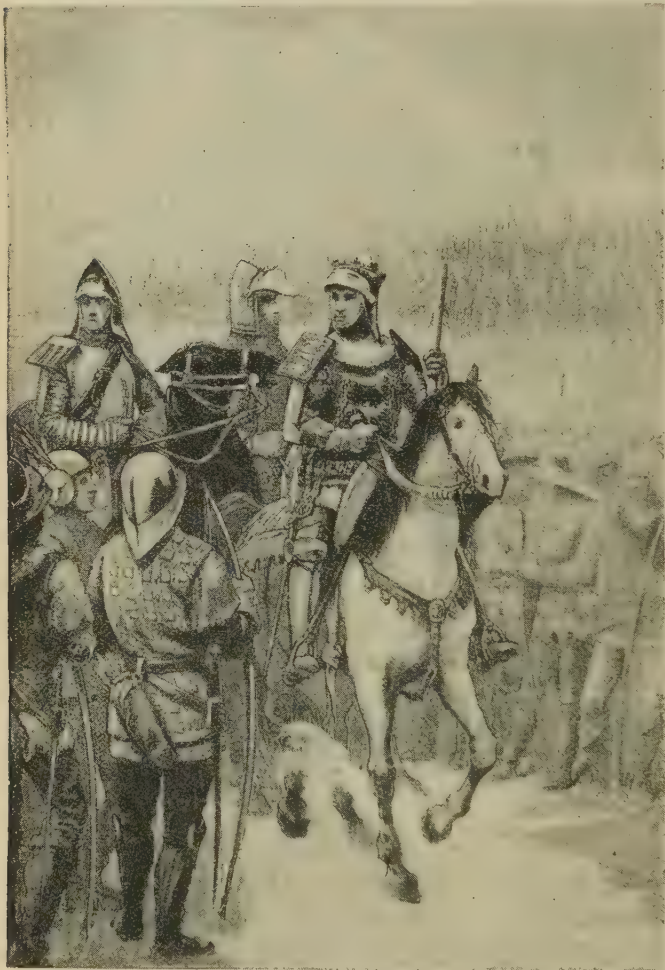
of Navarre, however, began a war against him which did not end until 1359.

In that year Edward appeared again with an army on French soil, after the States-General had rejected the terms of peace already accepted by King John; but he was unable to capture Rheims, in spite of a siege which lasted many weeks. The investment of Paris, which he attempted in the next year, proved in-

effective owing to deficiency of provisions. A peace, therefore, was concluded at Bretigny in May, 1360, according to which France renounced all feudal jurisdiction over the English possessions, while Edward abandoned his claim to the throne of France, and at the same time handed over Normandy and Anjou to John. But, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace, for a long time there was no tranquillity in France, for the English soldiers remained in the country, contrary to the royal orders, and actually defeated a French army specially levied to oppose them.

The raising of the heavy ransom for King John, who returned to his country after a five years' captivity, produced much misery. In one place only could John record a favourable result. The duchy of Burgundy had fallen to the crown in 1361, and the king conferred it, two years later, on his youngest son, Philip the Bold. The latter founded the new Burgundian dynasty, and through Margaret of Flanders acquired the Franche Comté, belonging to the German

Empire, and the Flemish provinces. As one of the princes who was detained in England as a hostage for the ransom had escaped, John himself returned to England once more in 1363, and died there in captivity in the spring of 1364. The father was succeeded by the eldest son, Charles V. (1364-1380), who as dauphin had already conducted the government after 1356,



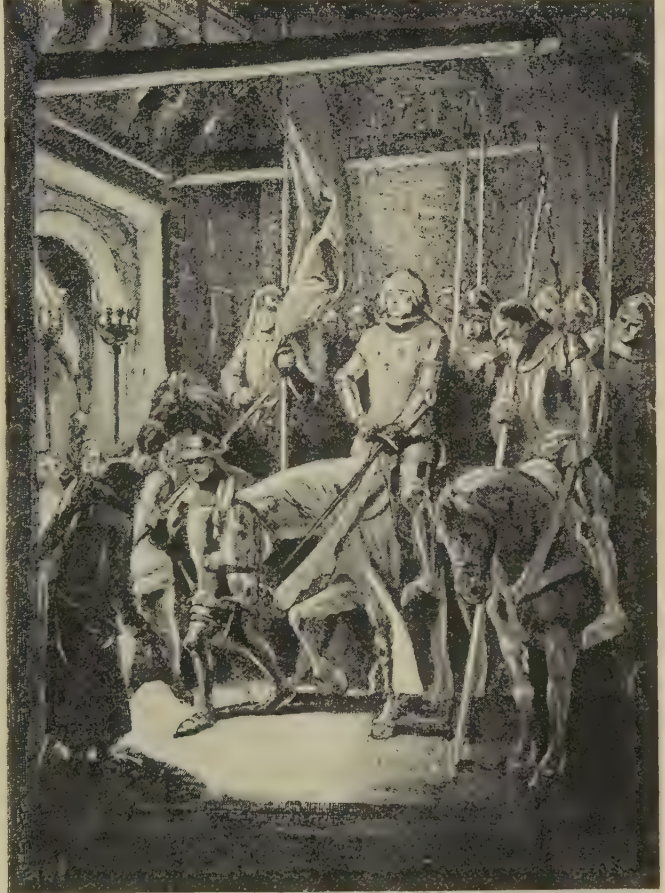
EDWARD III., OF ENGLAND, ON HIS WHITE PALFREY AT CRECY

from the hands of the Parisian mob he had a considerable body of adherents at his command. In Paris the insurgents were not agreed among themselves. There were three factions who fought against each other. The dauphin was soon able to march into the capital, hold a Bloody Assize, and in due form carry on the government for his captive father. Charles

and had acquired some experience in home politics. Certainly he had no ability as a commander, but Bertrand du Guesclin, a distinguished soldier, stood at his side and conducted with great success the king's wars against England. Charles' system of government was based mainly on a steady resistance to the towns, which prided themselves on their strength, while through economy he restricted the meetings of the States for granting supplies. Besides this, he abolished the representation of the towns by self-chosen deputies. In the municipal administration also the royal power was increased. The nobility and the towns, in spite of the perpetual crushing weight of taxation, felt themselves gradually bound to the king, and differences were adjusted. The gratitude which the people felt toward the king found its expression in the surname "The Wise."

The mercenary troops, which at the beginning of the reign were marauding everywhere, had been led across the Pyrenees in consequence of the war for the succession in Castile, so that at last French soil was rid of them. Since Prince Edward, who governed absolutely in the continental territories of England, took the side of King Peter in the Castilian dispute, the Anglo-French war was renewed on Spanish soil. But Charles V. also considered the moment suitable for an advance on his part, especially since great dissatisfaction with the foreign rule was manifested by the population in the English territory. The conditions also of the Peace of Bretigny were not yet carried out. The war, therefore, began afresh in 1369 with the French invasion of Guienne. The Black Prince, who had desolated parts of the country and committed cruel barbarities, worn out by illness, was now compelled to return to England, and there died before his father. Du Guesclin

then succeeded in conquering all the English possessions by the end of 1372. Calais was the only fortified place remaining in English hands. All the English attacks on France were fruitless, since the French on their side avoided every battle, but were indefatigable in skirmishes and pursuits. Du Guesclin, indeed, was the first great guerrilla leader of mediæval times. King Edward III. died in 1377, leaving



PHILIP VI. OF FRANCE AFTER HIS DEFEAT AT CRECY
Philip VI. was resolved to expel the English from France, but sustained an overwhelming defeat from Edward III. at Crecy in 1346. The English lost very few of their small army, while the French loss has been estimated at 30,000.

his kingdom to his grandson, Richard II. (1377-1399), who was only eleven years old. Charles outlived him three years, and was succeeded by his son, Charles VI., aged twelve (1380-1422).

An inevitable struggle for the guardianship of the youthful king immediately loosened the hitherto compact fabric of the sovereignty. In Paris and elsewhere sanguinary riots broke out, and the royal

coffers were plundered; and simultaneously disturbances again arose in the Flemish towns. Ghent had assumed a democratic constitution under Philip van Artevelde, and seriously menaced Count Louis. Philip of Burgundy, Louis' son-in-law and the future heir to Flanders, espoused his cause, marched with the chivalry of France into Flanders, and defeated the burghers of Ghent at Roosbeke in November, 1382.

The result of this campaign was primarily in the interests of Philip's dynasty; but it was generally thought throughout France, with good reason, that the example of the Flemish towns had not been without its influence on their own country, and it was hoped, therefore, that the subjugation of Flanders would restore tranquillity to France as well. The royal authority, supported by the nobility, was completely in the ascendant at Paris after this success in the neighbouring country, and a similar result was visible in the other towns.

In 1388, being then twenty years old, King Charles took over the government. But since after 1392 he became completely mad, the administration was necessarily conducted by a regency under the king's two uncles, Philip of Burgundy and Louis of Orleans. The two brothers and their followers were most bitterly, even disgracefully, hostile to each other. When,

after Philip's death, in 1404, his son, John the Fearless, received the government in Burgundy, open civil war threatened. As John approached the city of Paris in 1405

with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella. A temporary agreement was made. But in 1407 John of Burgundy had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, treacherously murdered, and then, being hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector, came forward as the real ruler of France. But the family of the murdered man, supported by the Count of Armagnac, wished to avenge Louis' death. Troops were levied by both sides, and a calamitous party struggle ensued. The town of Paris at first, under the government of the guilds, was entirely Burgundian, and the Orleans family, whose party were known as the

Armagnacs, succeeded in gaining the upper hand only after the year 1413.

These disturbances did not fail to rouse the ambitious schemes of the energetic

King Henry V. of England (1413-1422). He claimed the English possessions on the Continent, and the payment of the still outstanding ransom for King John, as well as the hand of Katherine, daughter of Charles VI., with a large dowry. Since his wishes

were not met by France, in 1415 he landed with an army in Normandy. Charles VI. and the dauphin, Louis, took the field in person, and a French army



THE GREAT BERTRAND DU GUESCLIN

Described as the first guerrilla leader of mediæval times, Bertrand du Guesclin took a leading part in the wars of France against England, and by the end of 1272 he had succeeded in regaining all the English possessions, Calais being the only fortified place remaining in English hands.



THE FRENCH KINGS CHARLES V. AND CHARLES VI.

The eldest son of King John, who died in captivity in England, Charles V. ascended the throne in 1364, and ruled so well that he became known as "The Wise." His son Charles VI., aged twelve, succeeded him in 1380.





AN INCIDENT IN THE GREAT RISING OF THE FRENCH PEASANTRY IN THE YEAR 1358

France was in a disordered condition in the fourteenth century, and the towns rose in revolt against the government. The example of the towns was followed by the rising of the peasants in the country, and it was only after the most merciless severity that the revolt was suppressed. The illustration represents an attack of the peasants upon a noble's home.

From the painting by George Rochegrosse



PHILIP THE GOOD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

Along with his brother, Louis of Orleans, Philip of Burgundy conducted the affairs of France when Charles VI. was afflicted with madness, but between the two brothers and their followers the bitterest feelings existed.

met him and placed the English in a very dangerous position ; but, as at Crecy and Poitiers, the English arms triumphed once more in a pitched battle at Agincourt. Henry, however, was obliged to return to England without making full use of his victory to enforce his demands, owing to the want of money.

The Orleans party by this time held the chief power in France. The government rested in the hands of Count Armagnac, among whose chief adherents was Charles, son of King Charles VI., who, after the death of his four elder brothers, had become dauphin, and was now only in his fourteenth year. The count banished the queen to Tours, where she held a rival court. Isabella now publicly proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and that she was resolved to conduct it with the help of John of Burgundy, by whom Paris was taken in 1418. But even the Burgundian troops were not able to restrain the excited populace. Armagnac was murdered, and a great part of his

followers met the same fate. Isabella and John made their solemn entry into the capital some time afterwards, and banished from the city all who had sided actively with the Armagnac party.

Henry V. had already resumed hostilities in 1418. Normandy came into his power in 1419, owing to the fall of Rouen, but the parties in France continued to fight each other and forgot the common foe. At last, when John of Burgundy had been murdered, in September, 1419, by a follower of the dauphin, Charles, who was now considered the leader of the Armagnacs, his son, Philip, surnamed the Good, sought the help of England and allied himself to Isabella, who now declared the dauphin a bastard. Philip and Isabella made a treaty with Henry V. at Troyes in May, 1420, according to which Henry was to marry Katherine, sister of the dauphin, and at the same time was to become the successor of Charles VI. and immediately undertake the duties of regent. This treaty made France a province of England. Henry entered Paris, assembled the Estates, and procured from them a ratification of



THE FAMOUS XAINTRAILLES

One of the most valiant and renowned captains of France, who, with La Hire, drove the English out of the country.



THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

In this picture we see illustrated an incident at the beginning of the great battle between the English and French at Agincourt in 1415. Sir Thomas Erpingham, having arranged the troops, exhorted them to fight vigorously, and then throwing into the air the baton which he held, he cried, "Now strike!" The army responded with a great shout, at which the French marvelled greatly. Thus began the fight which ended so gloriously for England.



JOHN THE FEARLESS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY
Civil war threatened in France when John the Fearless received the government in Burgundy. After having had his cousin, Louis of Orleans, murdered, John was hailed by the burghers of the towns as their protector. In 1419 he was murdered by a follower of the dauphin, Charles.

the treaty. The parliament declared the dauphin, Charles, to have forfeited his rights, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. Henry conquered almost the whole country north of the Loire, but died in the midst of his victorious career on August 31st, 1422. Charles VI. died two months later.

Charles VII. was long unable to enter on the heritage of his father, for the English regarded their new king, Henry VI., son of Henry V. and Katherine of France, an infant hardly a year old, as the lawful sovereign of the land. The rights of the infant king were guarded for the time by his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, who had twice conquered the partisans of Charles in the field.

But the war was waged desultorily, until, at the end of 1428, the Earl of Salisbury appeared with fresh troops and undertook the siege of the important town of Orleans. The town offered a vigorous resistance; the English leader and many of his soldiers lost their lives

in the battle, but the brave citizens could look for no help from their king, Charles. In this desperate state of affairs a saviour appeared to them—Joan of Arc, born on January 6th, 1412, in Domrémy, a hamlet situated on the Lorraine frontier of Champagne. She regarded herself as the heaven-sent rescuer of her country, and demanded permission to place herself at the head of an army, in order to free Orleans and lead the king to Rheims for his coronation. She triumphantly overcame the resistance of her incredulous hearers, and finally was received by the king and given a detachment of soldiers, in order that, mounted as their commander and in male attire, she might lead them to the relief of the beleaguered town.

Inspired by heaven, Joan bore a white flag, with the picture of the Saviour, in front of the warriors, and fortunately succeeded in gaining entrance to Orleans during a sortie of the besieged at the end of April, 1429. She then began at once an attack on the English, who soon feared the "Maid of Orleans" as if she were



LOUIS, DUKE OF ORLEANS
When John the Fearless approached Paris in 1405 with a large army, the Duke of Orleans fled with Queen Isabella, but was afterwards treacherously murdered at the instigation of his cousin, John of Burgundy.



THE SOLEMN ENTRY INTO PARIS OF THE QUEEN-REGENT ISABELLA

The unhappy affliction which befell King Charles VI. was the means of plunging France into disorder, rival parties fighting for power and honor. For a time the Orleans party held the chief power, and the Queen was banished to Tours. Isabella, however, proclaimed that the regency for her mad husband and the youthful dauphin belonged to her, and making a solemn entry into the capital she banished from the city all who had taken sides with the Armagnac party.

a daughter of Satan. After a brilliant victory of the French on May 7th, the enemy gave up the siege. All Orleans was filled with joy, and convinced of the supernatural mission of Joan, for she had kept her first promise; Orleans was freed. A peasant girl had performed what no com-

Joan of Arc mander had yet successfully
Assists done, and that in a few days.
King Charles The royalist party revived,
and their spirit was renewed.

Charles' throne seemed rescued, and without any action on his part, for he was only too much inclined to neglect energetic measures. Joan now wished to keep her second promise, and to lead Charles to be crowned at Rheims. A start was made, notwithstanding the opposition of the generals, who proposed a conquest of Normandy first. The advance was made with a few thousand men; the English were driven from all their posts during the victorious progress, and the king's following was increased on every side. Before Charles entered the city where he was to be crowned, deputies came out to meet him, and promised submission. The king entered the city of Rheims, and on July

17th the coronation and anointing were performed. Joan stood during the ceremony at the king's side, holding a flag. Her mission was completed, according to her own ideas. She now held back in the council, and only inspired the masses of soldiers by her presence. Her family was raised to the nobility, and her native place freed from all taxation.

Charles' position had been completely changed at one blow. He ceased to be the head of the Armagnac party. Numerous former adherents to the Anglo-Burgundian party now submitted to him. But Paris persisted in its old hostility, chiefly perhaps from fear of the king's vengeance. An attempt of Joan's to take the city

The Brave failed, because the king did not
Joan support her, and she herself
in Prison was wounded. She soon had
presentiments of her capture.

Nevertheless, she defended the town of Compiègne against Philip of Burgundy. There she was actually made prisoner during a sortie on May 23rd, 1430, and was abandoned to the vengeance of the English, who saw in her alone the cause of their disasters. After long languishing



THE PRIEST'S BLESSING: BEFORE THE GREAT BATTLE OF AGINCOURT

Like Edward III., King Henry V. of England was ambitious to sit on the throne of France, and with a huge army he crossed the Channel to make good his claim by force of arms. At Agincourt he met the French army, winning a great victory after one of the most famous battles in England's history. In this picture we see a priest blessing the troops.

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert in the Guildhall Art Gallery



CHARLES VI, KING OF FRANCE, HOLDING A PUBLIC AUDIENCE

From a miniature by Jean Fouquet in the Royal Library at Munich

in prison, she was condemned by the spiritual court of French ecclesiastics as a witch, handed over to the "secular arm"—that is, the English—and burned in the market-place of Rouen on May 30th, 1431. The ungrateful king never once took up her cause, though it would have been well in his power to do so. The revision of the judgment, which took place twenty-five years later at the command of Pope Calixtus III., and ended in the complete vindication of Joan, can only partially reconcile the world to the ingratitude of the king.

The position of the English did not alter after Joan's death, especially since no such ample reinforcements as might have been expected arrived from home. The most important point was that the Burgundian party, with whose help England had previously made such great conquests, now drew back; in fact, tried for a reconciliation with Charles. This was actually effected by a peace at Arras in 1435. Philip of Burgundy was liberally compensated by gifts of land, and released from feudal obligations for the term of

Charles' life. Besides this, the Duke of Bedford, the English commander on the Continent, had died, and among the citizen population of Paris there was a keen wish to see the king once more in their midst. In April, 1436, Charles' army was able to enter Paris, after a complete amnesty had been promised to all who had opposed him, and in 1437 the king himself entered his capital.

The whole country, especially the north, had suffered severely under the war and the internal party feuds, so that nothing was more sincerely desired

before Chatillon, and his army completely defeated. The English power was thus driven out of France except for Calais, the only town which England could hold for the future.

The great enemy had been expelled. But these lasting, unspeakably calamitous wars had cruelly affected the country. The devastation of the fields could be remedied only gradually and by the unwearying toil of the people. Besides, it was necessary to take prompt and vigorous measures against the bands of robber mercenaries, or "free companies," who roamed the



THE PEASANT MAID OF ORLEANS IN THE HANDS OF THE ENGLISH

Clad in white armour, the simple peasant maid, Joan of Arc, marched at the head of a troop of French horsemen to drive the English from Orleans. The enemies of France were scattered, but the heroic maiden was betrayed by some of her own countrymen and fell into the hands of the English, who burned her alive at Rouen, as depicted on page 3824.

From the painting by Roland Wheelwright, by permission of the Autotype Company

than peace. Negotiations led finally to a truce in 1444, since the internal affairs of England made a continuance of the war seem impossible. In France, however, the opportunity was taken to develop an appropriate military system, and on the renewal of hostilities in 1449 the English were deprived of the whole of Normandy in a single year. The province of Guienne also was conquered without any appearance of help from England. At length an English army went to Southern France in 1452 under the command of the veteran Talbot. But the general was killed the following summer

provinces. The first duty was to exterminate them. In 1444, Charles, at the request of the Emperor Frederic III., had sent a considerable part of these pillagers of the country into Switzerland to fight against the confederates. The best of the remainder were picked out, and thus a paid body of fifteen troops of cavalry was formed, which was to be permanently under arms. It was now an easy task to deal with the remaining and inferior mercenaries, especially since the regular police force was now available against these hordes. The defence of the country had then to be better organised



THE HEROINE, JOAN OF ARC, AT THE CROWNING OF KING CHARLES VII.

THE wonderful story of Joan of Arc is one that will never die. A simple peasant maid, she put on armour that she might fight for her king and country, and in this picture we see her in one of the greatest moments of her life, when she took her place by the throne of the king of France, whose peaceful coronation was due entirely to her great victories.

From the painting by J. E. Lenoire in the Pantheon

to meet all contingencies; a regular reserve was therefore formed, which might be called out in case of war, since every parish was responsible for the arming and training of a guard. A national militia organised on this basis was bound to represent an immeasurably stronger power than the town contingents which had been attached as a whole to the royal army. The fate of the feudal army was sealed in France by these measures, since the means requisite for the maintenance of the troops were obtained by a special universal tax. The Estates were now less frequently summoned, and the towns lost the power which they had formerly possessed in the assemblies of the realm. In 1453 a decree was passed requiring all customary rights to be defined in writing, and in this way the procedure and jurisdiction of the courts of appeal were distinctly improved. The Church developed more than before into a national Church in connection with the resolutions of the Council at Basle. The abilities of Charles VII. were doubtless more adapted for the work of organisation than for vigorous action; indeed, his modern methods of government provoked the opposition of the

nobility, who attempted to incite the dauphin, Louis, against his father. He succeeded, indeed, at first in frustrating their designs; but just when it seemed that the son would once more rebel against his father, death removed the father in the summer of 1461.



THE BURNING OF JOAN OF ARC BY THE ENGLISH AT ROUEN

From the painting by Lenepveu



FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATION

THE former rebel was now himself crowned king as Louis XI., and pursued the same objects as his father. His efforts extended to the building up of an absolute monarchy, even if he expelled from among his councillors precisely those who had previously been at the helm, and collected new men round him. Nothing was more important than to bind the powerful crown vassals, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, more closely to the throne. He was successful in the beginning, but Francis of Brittany ventured to resist the claims of King Louis XI. He effected an alliance of the most prominent members of the nobility, and threatened an open attack. Louis tried to win the support of citizen inhabitants of the towns. A war with the nobles ensued, and the Burgundians pressed on to Paris itself. A battle in the summer of

The King's Enemies Besiege Paris

1465 was indecisive, and the united enemies of the king began to besiege the capital. Louis avoided a battle, and tried to keep his enemies at bay. The feeding of such mighty armies was bound soon to break down. After an armistice, they concluded a peace towards the end of October, according to which the brother of the king, the Duke of Berry, who belonged to the insurgents, became ruler of Normandy, while the Duke of Brittany maintained his independent rights unimpaired.

The peace was tantamount to a victory of the nobles; but the king did not intend to abandon his policy. It is true that he recalled some of his father's councillors to his court, doubtless a concession to his opponents. But one by one all were overcome who had previously united themselves in common cause against him. The Duke of Berry soon lost Normandy again; other nobles were won over to the plans of the king, and the weaker ones were suppressed by force.

Burgundy alone offered a strenuous resistance; in place of Philip, now an old man, his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, had for some years held the reins of government there, and in the summer of 1467 became the lawful successor. Louis would have been glad to turn to his advantage the long-existing quarrel of Charles with Liège, but the Burgundian would not entertain the proposal, and after the conquest of the refractory town in autumn, 1467, his position became still stronger.

Brilliant Court of Arras

The Burgundian domain, which extended from Luxemburg to the sea, had only in the last generations, through the skilful policy of aggrandisement practised by its princes, become an important power interposed between France and Germany. The brilliant court of Arras became a model for other courts of European princes. Trade and industry, art and intellectual life flourished splendidly in the rich towns. But the government of the country, under Philip, and still more under Charles, had suppressed the local authority and attempted a uniform organisation of all political forces after depriving them of their independence.

The rich resources of the land enabled the duke to maintain permanently a powerful army, and to furnish it with artillery and waggons, so that it possessed the most complete military equipment of the time. His policy aimed at the protection and enlargement of his power on two sides especially; he wished to be as independent of France as he was of Germany. Even if the foundation of a Burgundian kingdom at the cost of Germany, a demand that Philip had made in 1447 from Frederic III., had not been realised, yet the position of Charles the Bold, in view of the importance of the German kingdom, which could not prevent

Independence of Charles the Bold

the growth of Burgundian influence in the territories of Western Germany, was really equivalent to independence. The oath of fealty, which was still taken to the French as well as to the German crown, could have little significance in the circumstances.

King Louis XI. had been obliged in 1467 to resume the war with the Dukes of Brittany and Berry and had been successful before Charles of Burgundy was able to lend aid to his friends. War with the latter seemed inevitable. Louis tried in vain to stir up the people of Liège once more against their lord, and to pacify Charles himself with money. At last he had a personal interview with his opponent at Peronne in order to come to terms.

But while he was still with him, the terrible tidings spread of a rising of the Liégeois, who had driven out their bishop, and Charles' fury was now turned on the king, since he thought that he

possessed unmistakable proof of his treacherous policy. It was with difficulty that Charles was induced to spare the king himself, and he did so only on the concession that he himself should rule for the future as sovereign over what had hitherto been the feudal dependencies of France. He exacted also some compensation for the Duke of Berry. Louis swore to all demands and was forced to consent to take the field in person against the rebellious town of Liège.

Possibly Louis was never very sincere in his concessions. He succeeded in persuading his brother, the Duke of Berry, to be content with the richer but more distant Guienne in place of the provinces of Champagne and Brie, so closely bordering on Burgundy; and by 1469, he effected a complete reconciliation with him. Other rebellious vassals were crushed. By these means the king soon felt such renewed



KING LOUIS XI.
The eldest son of Charles VII., Louis XI. succeeded his father on the throne; he did much to improve the internal administration of the country, and has been described as "the first of modern statesmen."



LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE, A PRISONER AT PERONNE

The feudal nobles of France were not too kindly disposed towards Louis XI., and in alliance with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, they gave the king much trouble. When war with this powerful lord seemed inevitable, Louis had a personal interview with him at Peronne in 1467 with the object of coming to terms, and was there practically a prisoner in the hands of his enemy. It was only with difficulty that Charles was prevailed upon to spare the king's life.

security that he began to despise the sovereignty of Burgundy, and commanded an assembly to proclaim the feudal tenant, Charles, guilty of high treason.

Since the duke did not appear before the court at Paris, royal troops invaded Burgundy at the beginning of the year 1471, and occupied some important places. It was only in February that Charles on his side proceeded to besiege Amiens. But he achieved no successes, and bad news came from home, so that in April he was willing to make a truce for a month. He again sought an alliance with the king's brother, but the latter died, possibly from poison. Before the expiry of the truce Charles renewed hostilities and now was more successful; but his army committed such depredations in the country that the inhabitants were roused to fury, and the citizens of Beauvais in particular offered a most stubborn resistance. The town was not captured, for the Duke of Brittany, being hard pressed by the king, did not come to aid.

Charles, therefore, was forced to retreat, owing to terrible scarcity of provisions, due to the devastation of the land. His retreat was rendered difficult by numerous skirmishes; at last he was compelled to make a new armistice. Louis availed himself of it to subdue his rebellious vassals in the south, especially the Duke of Alençon. But Charles did not remain quiet, and hoped by an alliance with Edward IV. of England finally to conquer Louis. Edward declared himself ready for a campaign against France in 1475, and actually appeared in June before Calais. Charles, however, whose forces had been considerably lessened by the disastrous siege of Neuss, could not give the expected assistance, especially since Louis had again fought with success in Burgundy. Edward had pictured to

himself a more favourable state of things in France, and in his disappointment he did not hesitate to accept the arrangement proposed by Louis, and, in consideration of a large indemnity, to return home again. Charles also, who now was intent on other plans, agreed in 1475 to a nine years' truce. France seemed freed from her most dangerous enemy, although Louis was always counting on a renewed attack of the Burgundian. The complications, however, with Lorraine and the Swiss now claimed the attention of the ambitious warrior so closely that he could not think of other hostilities.

On January 5th, 1477, Charles the Bold was killed after his defeat by the Swiss at Nancy.

His realm, however, through the marriage of his daughter and heiress Mary with the young Maximilian, son of Frederic III., passed to the house of the Austrian Hapsburgs, and not to France. Of all the enemies of Louis the only survivor was Duke Francis of Brittany, whose secret league with Edward of England had been discovered by the king in 1477. He here contented himself with the confiscation of one county and with a renewed oath of loyalty. But he treated the Duke of Nemours according to his old principle, and took bloody vengeance. His despotic aim, the

conquest of all imaginary and actual enemies of his kingdom, was attained. He acquired Provence by inheritance, and the people trembled more than ever before the king—but still more did the king tremble before the people. He suspiciously looked out for conspiracies everywhere among servants and ministers, and punished with great severity.

After a life of anxiety, at once full of work and empty of pleasures, Louis XI. died at the end of April, 1483. The government of France by the States had



STATUE OF LOUIS XI.



CHARLES THE BOLD, DUKE OF BURGUNDY

He headed the league of vassal nobles against Louis XI., and when he became Duke of Burgundy, on the death of his father, Philip the Good of Burgundy, in 1467, he made an attempt to throw off all allegiance to France and its king. He met his death fighting at Nancy in the year 1477.

completely disappeared under him and mainly through him. Modern absolutism, which influences all powers by the constitution, took its start under him, and reached its height through Louis XII.

Charles VIII., son of Louis XI., was only thirteen years old on his father's death. Of little ability, and still less education, he was incapable of reigning independently, and was entirely under the influence of his sister Anne, who was married to Peter, the subsequent Duke of Bourbon. In conformity with the wish of the people, the States-General were summoned at the beginning of 1484, and sat for two months at Tours. Complaints were raised on all sides about the pressure of taxation, but the deliberations had no lasting results.

The appointment of a regular regency was refused, to the injury of the country; for once more, as at the beginning of the century, civil war broke out. The husband of Louis' daughter Joanna, Duke Louis of Orleans, did not wish to acknowledge the influence of his sister-in-law, Anne, and, in alliance with the Duke of Brittany, began war against the party of the king,

but was defeated in the summer of 1488, and taken prisoner. Charles, however, wished to act independently and did not allow himself to be guided any longer by his sister. He released the Duke of Orleans from prison, and married, at the end of 1491, Anne, daughter of the deceased Duke Francis. Thus Brittany, the lords of which had hitherto been bitterly opposed to the king, was annexed to the crown of France.

The intended union of this heiress with Maximilian, king of the Romans, had thus been frustrated, and he demanded compensation for this as well as for the fact that the previously arranged marriage of his daughter Margaret with the French king had now become impossible. His ally, Henry VII. of England, was indemnified by a money payment. Maximilian himself lacked the means to make war; for this reason he finally, in 1493, preferred an amicable arrangement, and received back the counties of Burgundy and Artois, where the feeling of the population had already decided in favour of the German sovereign.

Since Charles, Count of Maine, had died in 1481, King Louis had acquired the



A CONSTABLE OF FRANCE

Under Louis XI., the Comte de St. Pol was Constable of France, an office equivalent to that of Commander of the Forces. This high official was executed at the Bastille.



LOUIS XI ENTERING PARIS ON JULY 1st, 1468. AFTER THE BATTLE OF MONTLHERY
From the painting by Tattagrath

heritage of Provence as well as claims to the kingdom of Naples, and Charles wished to assert this claim when, after the death of King Ferdinand in the beginning of 1494, party hatred began to spread its horrors over Italy. In order not to let slip

the favourable opportunity of interference, Charles marched in the autumn with a large army over the Alps. Contrary to expectation he obtained favourable concessions from Piero de Medici, but by so doing caused the banishment of the princely family, and could gain little from the indignant citizens of Florence. He now went to Rome, where Alexander VI. lived in the greatest fear. The Pope agreed to cede to the French some fortresses as bases of operation, and to hand over his son, Cesare Borgia, as hostage. Charles left Rome at the end of January, 1495, and marched to Naples, where Alfonso II.,

son of Ferdinand I., was governing, tormented by the stings of conscience for his past cruelties. In order to escape the hatred of the people, he resigned his rule

**Where the
French
Triumphed**

and gave over the country to his youthful son, Ferdinand II. The success of the French arms soon disheartened the Neapolitan troops; some of them deserted to Charles, who was able in February to enter Naples and was soon in possession of the whole country.

The French conquerors did not, however, understand how to win the goodwill of the people. The brutal treatment which the population received from the French soldiery roused a burning hatred which could not be quenched by the hastily introduced remission of taxation and the inauguration of public amusements. The Pope also refused to crown Charles king at Naples. The lords, formerly at enmity with each other, now united against the common foe, the French intruder. Lodovico Sforza of Milan, who had especially invited Charles to make the Italian expedition, Pope Alexander VI., Venice, Ferdinand of Sicily, and the king of the Romans, Maximilian, all united against the king of France. He marched away unsuspectingly from Naples, in May, left half his army behind, and turned

homewards with the remainder. But in July an army of Milanese and Venetians attacked him in superior force near Fornuovo; nevertheless, he succeeded in worsting them and continued his march. Before he left Italian soil, in October, a



KING CHARLES VIII.

The son of Louis XI., whom he succeeded as King of France in 1483. By his marriage to the heiress of the Duke of Brittany, he added Brittany to his own domain.

treaty was made with the allies, but nevertheless the final results of this Italian campaign were very unfavourable for Charles. Even before he reached France, the banished Ferdinand had attempted to recover his realm, and the revolt of the people against the French yoke assisted his effort. The remains of the French army disappeared in battle or from sickness, and King Charles VIII., in April, 1498, soon after his return home, died from the result of an accident.

Since Charles' sons had predeceased him, he was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Louis, of the elder

house of Orleans, as the twelfth of this name (1498-1515). He was in the prime of life when he took the reins of government, and had hitherto played little part in public affairs. But the people soon recognised that the best qualities of a ruler—justice, clemency, and appreciation of a nation's needs—were not wanting in him. In foreign policy, it is true, he was no better than the other monarchs of the time in a somewhat inglorious statesmanship, and ambition drove him to the most rash schemes. He procured a divorce from his wife, and married his predecessor's widow, Anne, the heiress of Brittany, in order to annex this duchy permanently to the crown. His predecessor on the throne had opened the road to Italy. Louis was determined to take it.

The acquisition of Milan was now the object of the French policy. The grandmother of the king had been the daughter of Galeazzo Visconti, the first Duke of Milan, who died in 1402. After preparations of every kind, which proved the shrewd and far-sighted calculations of the king, an army crossed the mountains in the summer of 1499, and conquered the country, from which the Duke Lodovico Sforza had to fly with incredible swiftness.

FRANCE UNDER THE LATER VALOIS

The French king made a solemn entry into Milan, and Genoa surrendered to him. Venice indeed, by virtue of an earlier treaty, received a share of the French victory; but France had thus won a strong base of operations which dangerously menaced Italy.

Soon after the departure of the king the storm burst against the foreign dominion; the inhabitants, bitterly exasperated by the outrages of the conquerors, welcomed the old duke when he entered his land in February, 1500, with an army of foreign mercenaries. The French garrisons could offer no resistance, and withdrew. Louis, however, sent reinforcements, and Sforza's Swiss mercenaries refused to fight against their countrymen in the French service.

The duke's cause was lost; he wished to fly, but was betrayed and led prisoner to France, where he spent ten years in captivity. Louis was not yet satisfied with his success; his wishes were now centred on

Naples. There he came into contact with the powerful Ferdinand and the Catholic of Aragon, who, as husband of Isabella of Castile, represented a formidable opponent. The two therefore joined, according to the terms of a treaty, in common action against the uncle of Ferdinand II., Frederic of Naples, whose friendly relations with the Turks were to form the pretext.

The two kings, thirsting for conquests, posed as the protectors of Christendom. Nothing was known of this alliance at Naples, where the people thought that Louis alone was their enemy, and actually hoped for Ferdinand's aid against him. When, in the summer of 1501, a French army appeared in Rome, the treaty was disclosed, since both sovereigns demanded and received the papal investiture of Naples. Under these circumstances Frederic could not resist; he surrendered to the French, and lived in



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII., KING OF FRANCE, INTO NAPLES

It was the great ambition of Charles VIII. to conquer Italy, and he invaded that country in 1495. Entering Naples, he found the people eager for French rule, and soon he found himself in possession of the whole country. But the conquerors did not understand how to win the goodwill of the people, who quickly rose up against them. Though Charles defeated the Milanese and Venetians at Fornuovo, the results of the Italian campaign were not at all to his advantage.

France with a large yearly allowance until his death, in 1504. Louis' pleasure at the possession of Naples did not last long. Since no agreement could be made with Ferdinand as to the frontier, war resulted. In it the Spanish general, Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, the "Great Captain," was repeatedly victorious, and finally gained sole possession of the capital. Louis, in furious indignation at the failure of his undertakings, immediately equipped several armies against the Spaniards; but at the end of 1503 the most powerful of them was completely routed by Gonsalvo on the Garigliano. A three years' truce was concluded in February, 1504, by the terms of which the whole of Naples was annexed to Spain. The events in Italy were of decisive importance for the king of the Romans, Maximilian, whose vassal had been

unceremoniously banished from Milan, and the acquisition of Naples threatened to furnish the French king with another strong centre for operations. King Maximilian, in order not to let his claims on Milan disappear, had already consented to the betrothal of his grandson, Charles, aged a year and a half, to Claudia, infant daughter of Louis, on the condition that both should inherit Milan, and had promised to invest Louis with the duchy. This treaty was, in 1504, extended, so that in the event of Louis dying without male issue, Naples, and both Brittany and the duchy of Burgundy in France, should fall to the future wife of Charles. Thereupon Louis was actually invested with Milan. But soon afterwards all idea was abandoned of a marriage between Claudia and Charles. Louis had possibly never seriously contemplated it. In fact, the fulfilment of the compact of



LOUIS XII. OF FRANCE

He succeeded his cousin, Charles VIII., in the year 1498, and reigned till 1515, dying three months after his marriage to Mary, the sister of Henry VIII. of England.



DEATH OF GASTON DE FOIX AT THE GREAT BATTLE OF RAVENNA, IN THE YEAR 1512. In this great battle the army of Louis XII. of France, under the youthful commander, Gaston de Foix, met the papal and Spanish forces and inflicted upon them a decisive defeat. France, however, lost her brilliant leader, who fell in the battle.

1504 would have been equivalent to a partition of France.

In all the negotiations between the kings, Louis and Maximilian, an important part had been played by the latter's son Philip. Out of hatred for him the Spaniard, Ferdinand, was drawn more closely to Louis, and received the hand of his niece, to whom Louis had granted his claims on Naples. Claudia was betrothed a little later to Count Francis of Angoulême, the heir-presumptive to the French throne, and the brilliant prospects of the Hapsburgs were destroyed. Philip would gladly have avenged the affront, but he died in 1506, and King Maximilian was too weak to venture on war with Louis, who successfully crushed a rising in Genoa in 1507.

Maximilian soon afterwards engaged in an unfortunate struggle with the powerful republic of Venice, which refused him a passage for his troops to Rome, and was forced to conclude a truce in April, 1508. Since the republic seemed equally dangerous to Louis and Maximilian, a treaty was signed at Cambray on December 10th, 1508, when it was arranged that each party should recover from the republic the territories to which he laid claim. The Pope and King Ferdinand of Aragon joined the league, as well as some smaller rulers. In the spring of 1509 a powerful Venetian army was in the field when the French advanced to the attack. Victory rested with the French arms, and each of the allies received the districts which he wished to occupy. Attempts of the Venetians to separate the allies by formal offers proved ineffectual. They succeeded, however, in regaining Padua by the help of the population. Shortly afterwards, King Maximilian, with a powerful army, supported by French and Spaniards,

appeared before the city and began the siege, but discontent and want of money finally forced him to abandon it. He marched back to Germany and dismissed the greater part of his army. Pope Julius II. also had obtained from Venice what he wanted. Ferdinand was invested with Naples, and desisted from the struggle, so that now only France and King Maximilian continued the war.

In order to crush the opposition of the Pope, their former ally, the two kings, supported by some cardinals, arranged to hold a general council in November, 1510. It was actually summoned at Pisa, but Julius forbade the assembly, and on his

part convened a Lateran Council at Rome. The Pope had now allies in Venice and the Swiss; Ferdinand of Aragon also was a firm supporter. Thus the so-called "Holy League" was formed in order to drive out Louis. But the French again were victorious, and captured Brescia with terrible slaughter in 1512. The Pope won over Henry VIII. of England for the League, and induced King Maximilian to make a truce at any rate with Venice, so that Louis now had to trust to his own power alone. He once more won a decisive victory at Ravenna, but, unfortunately, Gaston de Foix, the youthful



BAYARD WOUNDED AT BRESCIA

During the capture of the town of Brescia by the French in 1512 many brave deeds were witnessed, but they were all eclipsed by the exploit of Bayard, "the knight without fear and without reproach," who defended a castle against an overwhelming body of troops.

French commander, fell in it. The Pope, deeply concerned by the reverse, breathed again when he learned that an army of the Confederates had invaded Milan, and with the help of Venice was driving the French out of the country. Maximilian Sforza, a son of Lodovico Sforza, now became duke of the territory, reduced by the loss of some districts. A new danger was threatening King Louis from Spain, where Ferdinand brought the kingdom of Navarre under his dominion. Thus the end of the year 1512 showed a much less favourable prospect.

However, Pope Julius, who had been the soul of the league, died in February, 1513. Soon afterwards Louis concluded with his former bitter enemy, the republic of Venice, a treaty with regard to the joint conquest of Milan. The new Pope of the family of the Medici, Leo X., a determined enemy of the French, allied himself against them with King Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry VIII., in order to offer resistance to the combined power of Venice and France. After a preliminary success the French were defeated on June 6th, 1513, at Novara by the Swiss soldiers of Storza, and the Venetians now saw themselves abandoned by Louis. Picardy was overrun by an army of Henry VIII.,

which, supported by German knights, conquered the enemy in August and captured Tournay. At the same time an army of Swiss wished to conquer Burgundy. But the French commander entered into a treaty with them—which the king did not ratify—and thus this threatening danger was averted. Louis now tried to make terms with his enemies, and succeeded in doing so. Henry VIII. actually gave him the hand of his sister Mary. But on January 1st, 1515, only three months after his marriage, Louis XII. died, deeply mourned by his people, and left his kingdom to Francis, Count of Angoulême, a great-grandson of their common ancestor, Louis of Orleans. ARMIN TILLE



THE DEATH OF THE BRAVE BAYARD, FIGHTING FOR FRANCE IN 1524

Bayard, the most chivalrous hero of the Middle Ages, whose famous exploit at Brescia is referred to on the preceding page, met his death fighting for his country against Milan in 1524. With a handful of men he remained behind to hold the enemy in check while the French army retreated from a difficult position. He was thus engaged when a stone from a crossbow struck him, snapping his spine in two places. He was lifted from his horse, and laid beneath a tree, as shown in the above picture, and after breathing a prayer he begged his friends to turn his face to the foe

From the painting by Benjamin West



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES

By H. W. C. Davis, M.A. and Arthur D. Innes, M.A.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST ALFRED AND THE SAXON KINGS

WE left Egbert of Wessex, in the early years of the ninth century, engaged in establishing what may be called a single suzerainty among the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. But the progress of the work begun by him was delayed by the descent of a new storm of invaders on the English coasts. The Northmen, driven out from the Scandinavian countries by the love of adventure, the hope of booty, and repugnance to the centralising policy of their native kings, began to plunder Northumbria at the close of the eighth century. Gradually their raids brought them further to the south, and in the year 832 their bands wintered for the first time on English soil, in the Isle of Sheppey. From that year to 878 the English kingdoms were fighting for bare existence against ever increasing hosts, who came at first in the hope of plunder, and afterwards with the intention of founding a new state.

England was not the only victim: on the coast of Ireland, and from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Garonne, the Northmen made themselves felt as the worst foes of peace in a period of general anarchy; but in England they performed their work of destruction with special thoroughness. They destroyed the kingdoms of Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, and Alfred the Great, who came to the throne of Wessex in 871, found it necessary to

purchase a respite from the attacks which had brought his kingdom to the last gasp. After seven years of incessant fighting, and a final victory at Ethandune, in 878, the young king divided England with his enemies. By the Treaty of Wedmore a

The Great Alfred and the Danes

line drawn from Reading to the point where the Ribble takes a western turn in the direction of the sea was fixed as the boundary between the English and the Danes. In East Anglia the invaders formed a kingdom under the rule of Guthrum; in Eastern Mercia there arose a federation of five Danish boroughs. The rest of the Danelaw was settled by smaller communities organised on a republican model.

Alfred survived the treaty of Wedmore by more than twenty years. This period he occupied partly in warfare against new bands of Danes, partly in the reorganisation of his shattered kingdom. The pains which he took to improve his army, by a stricter enforcement of the service and by calling out the ordinary militia in relays, bore fruit even in his own time. He secured Wessex and West Mercia against sudden raids; he reannexed Essex and the town of London. He also fortified boroughs as places of refuge and posts of observation, and he was wiser than most of his successors in his attempts to create a powerful navy for the defence of the English coasts. But his warlike exploits were eclipsed by those of his descendants,

and he is more justly celebrated for his endeavours to revive religion and education, for his translations of such standard works as Boethius, Orosius, and Gregory's "Pastoral Care," and, finally, for his connection with the first English Chronicle, which appears to have been compiled under his supervision. His code of laws, though no more than a summary of custom and previous enactments with some few improvements, is at once a testimony to his care for the good order of his kingdom, and a historical monument

lands which had been ceded at the Peace of Wedmore; and every stage of their advance was marked by the establishment of new strongholds and the restoration of an ordered government. Edward the Elder (900-925), aided by his sister Ethelfleda, the lady of the Mercians, encroached steadily upon the Danes in the midlands and the eastern counties. Before his death the Five Boroughs and the kingdom of East Anglia had been incorporated with Wessex. Athelstan (925-940) is famous as the victor of Brunanburh, a battle



AN EARLY TRIAL BY JURY IN THE TIME OF KING ALFRED

In this picture the artist, Mr. C. W. Cope, R.A., depicts a trial by jury in the early days of English history. In his account of the reign of Alfred the Great, the historian Hume describes trial by jury as an institution "admirable in itself and the best calculated for the preservation of liberty and the administration of justice that was ever devised by the wit of man." Though trial by jury is generally supposed to have been founded by Alfred, the authorities are now agreed that it was probably transplanted from Germany and introduced by the Saxons after their settlement in England.

of the first importance. It is doubtful whether he should be regarded as the inventor of the administrative system which we find in the later Anglo-Saxon period; but his authentic acts are in themselves sufficient to place him among the heroes of the English nation.

The immediate successors of Alfred (900-978) were men of more than average ability and resolution; and it is less their fault than that of our authorities that the men, apart from their deeds, live only as shadows in the page of history. Step by step they completed the reconquest of the

which gave him possession of Northumbria. Edmund the Magnificent (940-946) crushed a rebellion of the Five Boroughs, conquered Cumberland, and gave it to Malcolm, King of Scots, as the price of an alliance which English vanity magnified into a submission. Under Edgar the Peaceful (958-976) and his able minister, Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, there was at length a respite from warfare. The chief energies of the government were now devoted to Church reforms, such as the enforcement of celibacy upon the clergy and the diffusion of a strict monastic rule, and to the obliteration

ENGLAND BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

of the feud between the native English and the Scandinavian immigrants. At this point we may pause to survey the political institutions of the West Saxon state, which in this period reached their highest point of elaboration and efficiency. Unless their nature is clearly grasped, much of later English history cannot be understood, for the story of the English constitution is one in which there are no violent breaches with the past, and the influence of West Saxon legislation remains a living force in England long after the close of the Middle Ages.

The English crown was regarded as the monopoly of the house of Cerdic—that is, the Wessex kings—but it was admitted that as between the members of that family the nation might exercise the traditional right of election, and that an incompetent or tyrannical king might always be deposed. But the prominent part taken by the crown in the struggle with the Danes, a brilliant series of conquests, and the moral support of the Church, gave to the West Saxon monarch of the tenth century a power as much greater in degree as it was more extensive in sphere than that of German tribal sovereigns. He had no standing army; but a large body of thegns held land from him as the price of military service, and every freeman was bound to muster at his summons for a defensive war. He imposed no taxes, but his demesnes and customary dues supplied him with ample resources for his ordinary needs. The old nobility had become extinct or had lost its former consequence; and the king's thegns, who now counted as nobles, were no mean

counterpoise to the hereditary aldermen in whose hands the government of the more recently conquered provinces was allowed to remain as a concession to the spirit of local and tribal independence. Absolute, however, the king was not, in theory or in practice. A folk-moot of the whole body of the freemen was impossible in a kingdom which extended from the English Channel to the Scottish border, but in all matters of importance the king was bound to take the opinion of his Witan, or wise men—a council composed of aldermen, bishops, and king's thegns. It was through this assembly that the national prerogative of electing and deposing kings was exercised.

For purposes of local government the whole of the Mersey and the Humber was divided into shires, of which some, such as Kent and Essex, represented kingdoms of the so-called

Heptarchic period, others were provinces of the old West Saxon state, while a third class were of more recent origin, the creation, as it would seem, of Alfred and his immediate successors. New or old, each shire possessed a folk-moot which met in full session three times in the year, to act partly as a local parliament and partly as a law court. For judicial purposes it might be summoned specially at other seasons, when only those immediately interested as judges or parties to the suits in progress were expected to attend. The position of president in the shire-moot was shared by the bishop, the sheriff, or royal steward of the shire, and the alderman, who was in theory elected by the Witan, but in practice was a hereditary official. The sheriff



EGBERT THE GREAT

Driven in his younger days to seek refuge at the Frankish court, Egbert of Wessex there learned many lessons that were valuable to him on his return to England. He extended his kingdom, and fought the invading Northmen.



THE GREAT KING ALFRED

The name and fame of King Alfred will never pass from the grateful remembrance of the English people. Born in 849, he was crowned at Winchester when twenty-three years old, and for many years he fought against the Danes.

From the portrait in the Bodleian Library at Oxford



THE CELEBRATED "ALFRED JEWEL" IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM AT OXFORD

This notable example of ancient cloisonné enamelling was found at Athelney in Somersetshire in 1693, and it is considered possible that the jewel, or, at any rate, the enamelled part, was brought from the East, and is not an example of Saxon workmanship. Around its edge is the legend, "Aelfred mec heht gevvrcean"—Alfred ordered me to be made.

administered the royal demesnes, collected the king's customary dues in kind or money, and enforced the three primary obligations of the freeman—that is to say, service in the field, repair of fortresses, and maintenance of bridges. The alderman led the

The Primitive Operations of the Law

militia of the shire to the royal host, and received in payment the third penny of the profits arising from the shire court. The shires were divided into districts, known by the name of hundreds, which appear to be in many cases of great antiquity, representing the original settlement of a single clan or military unit. In the tenth century the hundred is important for purposes of justice and police. Minor disputes and infractions of the peace were settled in the monthly hundred court; malefactors were pursued by the hue and cry of all the lawful men within the hundred.

The efforts of the hue and cry to suppress wrongdoing were supplemented by a system of sureties. Every lord was responsible for his men, and the inferior ranks of the population both in the country and in boroughs were divided into groups or tithings, in each of which each member was responsible for the good conduct of the rest. Often the tithing was coincident with a village. This system of frank-pledge

is the chief purpose for which the village community is recognised in Anglo-Saxon law. Yet there is evidence to show that villages, whether they still remained free, or whether they had fallen under the dominion of a lord, were communities with a truly corporate feeling. The common-field system of agriculture necessitated universal conformity to the traditional methods of cultivation; and private owners were thus debarred from making special profits by the development of improved methods. Hence it was only by trade, and in the towns, that capital could be accumulated. Of towns there were a fair number in the tenth century; and we have evidence of some degree of foreign trade with Normandy, Flanders, and the Rhine lands. But the towns had been founded, as a rule, more with a view to military requirements than to the convenience of buyers and sellers. Though

Where the Kings Lived

they received the privilege of special law courts, managed by their own portreeves, and of markets under the protection of the king's special peace, their prosperity developed slowly except in the southern and eastern counties. Gloucester, Winchester, and London were important as royal residences; Exeter, Bristol, and London, possessed some

foreign trade, and Norwich was beginning to attain prosperity. But London alone had any pretensions to influence the policy of the government.

In the institutions which we have described there is nothing of importance which can be ascribed either

Christianity's Influence on Legislation

to a Roman or a Keltic model. And what is true of institutions is also true in the main of private law, so far as it is preserved for us in the legislation of Alfred and his descendants. No doubt Christianity brought with it some maxims of the Code and Digest—the law relating to ecclesiastical persons and cases was constructed upon this foundation; we may also trace to the same source the right of testamentary bequests of movable property, and one form of real estate ("bocland").

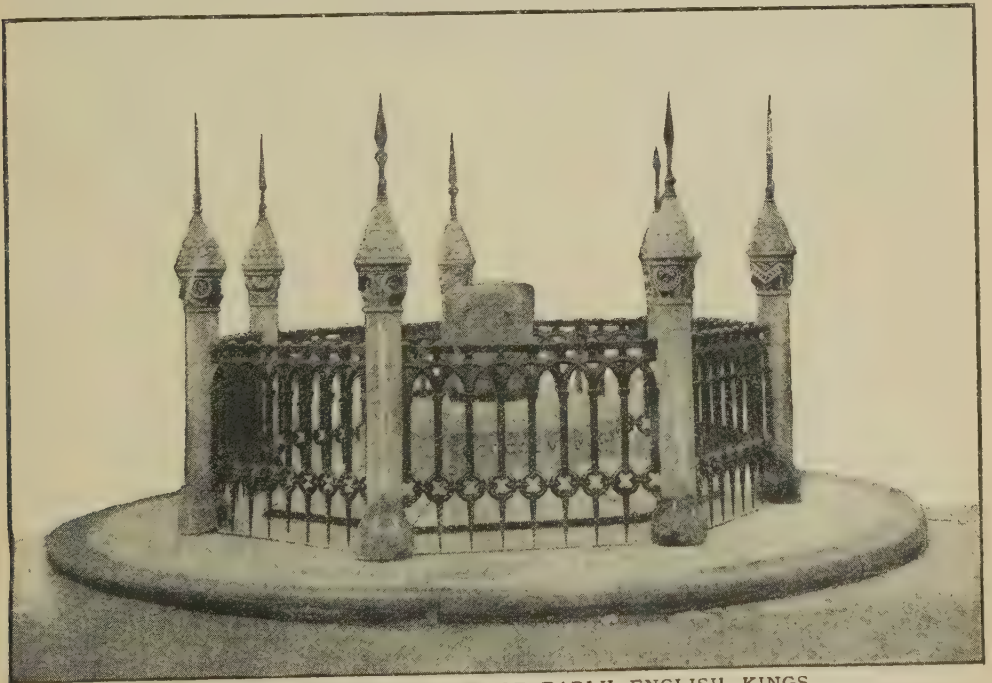
But the main substance of the customary law is Germanic. In the districts colonised by the Danes it received a Scandinavian tinge, as the very name of the Danelaw denotes; even under the rule of Edgar there was no attempt to impose one uniform law upon the local courts. In the Danelaw also we find some peculiar modifications of the Teutonic administrative

system; a patriciate of "lawmen" appears to exercise considerable influence in the Danish boroughs, and some of the eastern shires are divided, not into hundreds, but into ridings and wapentakes.

But the Danes, although by no means such barbarians as their enemies would have us believe, were inferior to the English in political intelligence; their fusion with the English race was more important for its invigorating effect upon the national type of character than for any changes of political theory which it produced. It must, however, be remembered that the struggle with the Danes accelerated the growth of a tendency towards feudalism which was inherent in the English, as in all other Germanic societies. During the period of invasions it became increasingly common for the poor freeholder to "commend" himself and his land to the protection of a powerful lord.

How Feudalism Grew

Society began to crystallise into groups, within which the bond of union was the tie of personal fidelity to a common superior. But, independently of the invasions, royal policy and the natural pressure of economic development did much to promote the



THE CORONATION STONE OF EARLY ENGLISH KINGS

This celebrated stone, on which some of England's earliest kings were crowned, stands at Kingston-on-Thames, in Surrey, and, as shown in the illustration, is protected by a stout iron railing. The kings crowned on this stone were Athelstan in 925, Edmund I. in 940, Edred in 946, Edward the Martyr in 975, Ethelred II. in 978, and Edmund II. in 1016. Under each of the columns surrounding the stone is a penny of one of the kings mentioned.

growth of feudalism. The crown was always ready to utilise the feudal tie for purposes of police, by making the lord responsible for the good conduct of his men ; and a bad harvest probably did as much as the worst of Danish raids to swell the ranks of the dependent class.

The last and the worst of the conflicts with the Northmen had still to come. In 980, immediately after the accession of Edgar's younger son, Ethelred the Unready—really *Unrede*, redeless or ill-advised—new hordes made their appearance on the English coast ; in 991

geld") was introduced. The subsequent attempts of the king to collect a fleet were frustrated by the dissensions or treachery of his aldermen ; and when, in 994, Olaf Tryggvesson, king of Norway, and Sweyn Forkbeard, king of Denmark, descended upon England, with designs of conquest and lasting colonisation, they found the country an easy prey. Their ships were repulsed from London by the valour of the citizens, and they were bribed by Ethelred to accept a truce ; but they withdrew from one point of the coast, only to reappear upon another. The



EDGAR THE PEACEABLE BEING ROWED DOWN THE DEE BY EIGHT TRIBUTARY PRINCES Known as the Peaceable, King Edgar brought a time of tranquillity to his kingdom to which it had long been a stranger. He reigned for thirteen years before his coronation took place, and it is said that when he visited Chester shortly after the ceremony, he was rowed on the Dee from the city to the Minster of St. John by his eight vassal princes, Kenneth of Scotland, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccus of the Isles, and five Welsh princes. Edgar was canonised after his death, at the age of thirty-two years, and miracles are said to have been worked at his shrine.

Brihtnoth, the heroic alderman of Essex, was defeated and slain at Maldon by Norwegian pirates, his household thegns falling to a man around the body of their lord. Their loyalty inspired the noblest of Anglo-Saxon ballads, and presaged success for their country in the coming struggle :

Mind shall the harder be, heart shall the keener be,

Mood shall the more be, as our might lessens.

But the sequel was not worthy of the prelude. Ethelred made peace with the invaders, giving them a bribe of ten thousand pounds of silver, and thus the fatal practice of paying blackmail (" Dane-

central government lay in the hands of Mercian favourites, who were mistrusted by the men of other provinces.

Combined preparations for defence were frustrated by provincial jealousies and by the shortsighted selfishness of the shire militias, who would arm only to defend their own homes. The English foot soldiers, moreover, toiled vainly in pursuit of the marauders, who seldom failed to obtain horses when they disembarked. Such was the discouragement of the English that small bands of Danes roamed freely through the length and breadth of the kingdom. Again and again the country



Valentino

THE MILLENNARY STATUE OF ALFRED THE GREAT AT WINCHESTER

The thousandth anniversary of Alfred's death was celebrated in 1901 at Winchester, England's ancient capital, and this striking statue of the great king, the work of the well-known sculptor, Mr. William Thornycroft, was then erected.



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

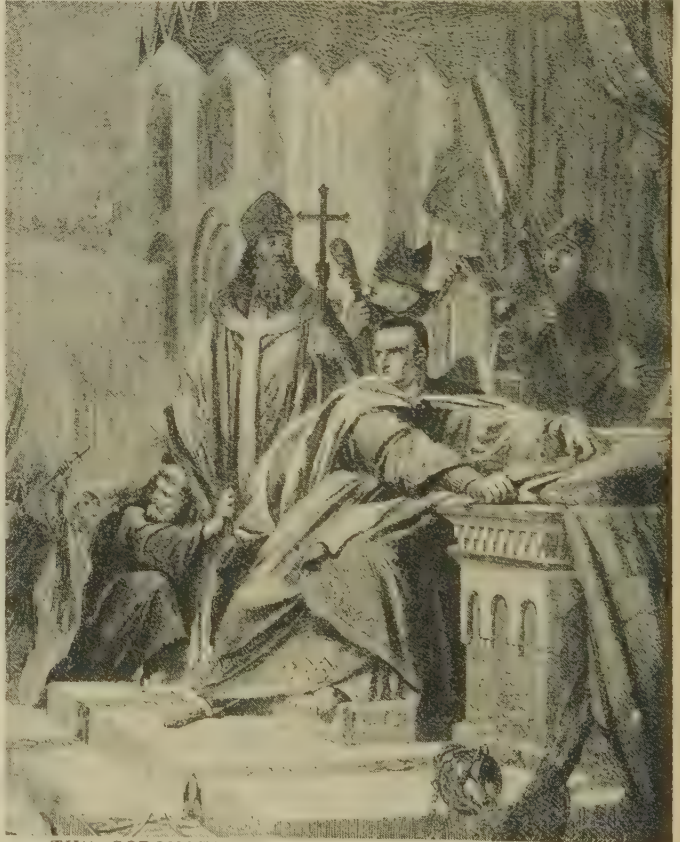
A natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror was born at Falaise in 1027 and in 1066 invaded England.

was oppressed with taxes to provide new Danegelds, which resulted in encouraging new visits.

In 1002 the English king sought to strengthen an alliance with Richard II. of Normandy by marrying Emma, the sister of the duke; he was successful in his immediate object of excluding the pirates from the harbours of this Scandinavian colony, which had enjoyed since the year 912 a recognised position as a dependency of the crown of France. The later results of the Norman alliance were portentous, and it at once produced a new phase in the Danish wars. The marriage emboldened Ethelred to command the massacre of St. Brice's Day—November 11th, 1002—in which a number of the more recent Danish settlers in England were slaughtered during a time of truce. But Sweyn, now king of Denmark, returned with an overwhelming force to avenge his countrymen; and a protracted war ended with the flight of Ethelred to Normandy in 1014 and the prostration of his king-

dom at the feet of Sweyn. The death of the conqueror in the same year enabled Ethelred to return and continue the struggle till his death in 1016. His son and successor, Edmund Ironsides, proved a warrior of no mean skill and fortune, but met his equal in Knut, or Canute, the son of Sweyn, and died, worn out, perhaps, with the strain of five pitched battles in six months, at the moment when his enemies had been forced to compromise with him for the partition of the kingdom. Upon his death Canute was elected king by the Witan, since all were weary of a struggle which now seemed hopeless. The remaining children of Ethelred and Emma found a shelter at the Norman court.

Under Canute and his sons Harold and Harthacnut (1016-1042), England became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire, which included Norway, Denmark,



THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The coronation of the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, witnessed an outburst of ill-feeling between the two peoples. When the Saxons within the Abbey shouted their assent to the coronation, according to time-honoured custom, the Normans outside mistook the noise for an attack on their leader and set upon them. The nobility rushed from the Abbey in alarm, and it was with considerable difficulty that William was able to quell the tumult.

From the picture by John Cross



THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND TOLD IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The extraordinary piece of needlework, 214 feet long, known as the Bayeux Tapestry, from which the above illustrations are reproduced, is said to have been worked by, or under the superintendence of, Matilda, the Conqueror's queen. It contains a detailed representation of the events connected with the invasion and conquest of England, and it is now preserved in the Library Museum at Bayeux, where it had for centuries been kept in the Cathedral, to which Matilda had presented it. As a historical document the tapestry is of the utmost value and it is wonderfully preserved.

and the south of Sweden. In Europe Canute held a position second only to that of the Emperor Conrad II.; and by his presence at Rome on the occasion of Conrad's coronation in 1027 the Danish sovereign proclaimed his desire for friendship and peaceful intercourse with the chiefs of Christendom. He aspired to complete the conquest of Scandinavia, but it was in England that he fixed his residence. Norway and Denmark were left to be ruled by his sons or other viceroys, and he attempted to civilise these countries on the English model. He endeavoured, not without success, to win the favour of his English subjects, dis-

and Harold, son of Godwin. It appears that he resisted the temptation of colonising England with his countrymen. The acts of treachery and injustice with which he is charged fell entirely on the few great families which were dangerously powerful. But his early death, in 1035, and the unpopularity of his sons snapped the tie with Scandinavia. On the death of Harthacnut, in 1042, there being no obvious Danish candidate for the vacant throne, Edward, the sole surviving son of Ethelred, was recalled from Normandy and elected by the Witan, acting under the suggestion of Earl Godwin.

From this point to the year 1066, the government was in dispute between the



RIVALS FOR ENGLISH TERRITORY. EDMUND IRONSIDES AND CANUTE

These two men, Edmund Ironsides and Canute, were engaged in a bitter struggle for the possession of English territory, and the outcome of the duel was that the country was partitioned between them in 1016. On the death of Edmund, Canute was proclaimed king of all England, which became the leading province in a Scandinavian empire.

missed the greater part of his fleet, retaining only a small force of huscarls as a bodyguard, enforced the best laws of his predecessors, and, as his position became better established, relied more and more upon Englishmen as his assistants. Of the four great earldoms into which he divided England, the most important, that of Wessex, was entrusted to the Englishman, Godwin.

The introduction of regular taxation was his one unpopular measure. Under the name of Danegeld he introduced an impost of 2s. on the hide of land (120 acres); but the tax was continued by his English successors, Edward the Confessor,

house of Godwin and the rival house of Mercia. The king was a puppet in the hands of these two families; he had little taste for political affairs, made it his chief ambition to provide for his Norman favourites, and incidentally earned the title of Confessor by attempting to infuse something of the austere Norman discipline into the degenerate English Church. He married Godwin's daughter, and lent himself to that ambitious statesman's plans of self-aggrandisement. Earldoms old and new were conferred upon the queen's relations, until only Mercia and Northumbria lay beyond the range of Godwin's influence. But the king chafed against



KING CANUTE REBUKING HIS FLATTERING COURTIER'S

When he became king of all England, on the death of Edmund Ironsides, Canute ruled with wisdom and with power, winning and subduing men by the greatness of his personality, and he gave to the distracted country eighteen years of peace and order. Trembled by obsequious courtiers, Canute, it is said, took them to the seashore, and rebuked their flattery by showing them that the advancing waves would not retire at his word and had no regard for his kingship. The story goes that never after would the king wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF SENLAC, NEAR HASTINGS, IN THE YEAR 1066

Important issues for England were at stake in the great battle of Senlac, near Hastings, which was fought on October 14th, 1066. Landing on the shores of this country, William I., Duke of Normandy, was determined to bring the kingdom of England under his power, and leading his great army to Senlac he awaited the attack of King Harold. In the battle which ensued the English troops were overthrown. Harold and his two brave brothers fell with many of their faithful followers. One of the first acts of William the Conqueror after his coronation was to build a convent at Senlac.

the yoke and resented the attempts of Godwin to deprive him of his Norman favourites. In the middle of the reign, in 1051, the earl and his family were expelled by a coalition between Edward and the house of Mercia. Godwin returned in a few months, leading a host which he had raised by the help of his allies, the King of Leinster and the Count of Flanders.

In the meantime the king had received a visit from his cousin, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, and this prince had obtained promises of the reversion of the English crown, which, although destitute of any legal value, sufficed to mark him out as the future rival of the house of Godwin. The West Saxon earl signalled his return to power by expelling the most dangerous of the foreign favourites, but compromised himself in the eyes of the devout by substituting an English archbishop, Stigand by name, for the Norman nominee of the king. It was a mistake, for which he partially atoned by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards his Mercian rival. But his son Harold, who succeeded him in the earldom of Wessex in 1053, pursued a policy which sowed dissension in the kingdom and in his own family. He thrust his brother Tostig into the earldom of Northumbria, and vainly endeavoured to outlaw Earl Ælfgar of Mercia; then, in 1065, alarmed perhaps

by the imminence of Edward's death, he reversed his policy, allowed the Northumbrians to expel Tostig, and acquiesced in their choice of an earl from the Mercian family. Harold was still strong enough to procure his own election by the Witan, when the Confessor died without issue on January 5th, 1066. But he was accepted only as an alternative to the dreaded Norman.

He was attacked almost simultaneously from two quarters: from the north by the exile Tostig and Tostig's brother in arms, Harald Hardrada, the king of Norway; from the south by William of Normandy, who came, supported by the blessing of the Pope and the treasures of his father-in-law, the Count of Flanders, to reform the English Church and to claim the inheritance of the Confessor. Over the northern army Harold won a signal victory at Stamford Bridge; Tostig and the king of Norway were left upon the field. But at the battle of Senlac, unsupported by the northern earls, Harold fell in his turn before the Norman duke. The country was paralysed by a disaster which probably affected only a fraction of its fighting force. The Normans made their way by easy

stages, and without encountering opposition, to London, the headquarters of Harold's government. On Christmas Day, 1066, the Conqueror was duly crowned at Westminster.



THE BURIAL OF HAROLD OF WESSEX AFTER THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR GRANTING A CHARTER TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON

This illustration, from the painting by Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., in the Royal Exchange, represents the moment when William the Conqueror, attended by his queen and surrounded by his bishops and nobles, is handing the charter to Godfrey. The architecture is taken from the Chapel of the Pyx at Westminster, which is generally accepted as having been built before the Norman Conquest, while the costume is taken from the Bayeux Tapestry.

William the Conqueror

Described by a Contemporary

This estimate of the character of the Conqueror, from the pen of one who knew him personally, is taken from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the earliest history written in the English language and the earliest vernacular record of national events in modern Europe. The name of the author is not given, but there is strong evidence to show that in its original form it was undertaken at the suggestion of King Alfred, and that some parts of it were actually written by him. Compiled in the form of a book of annals, the Chronicle is supposed to have been begun about 892, at Winchester, the capital of the West Saxon kingdom, and continued by various chroniclers down to 1154.

If any would know what manner of man King William was, the glory he obtained and of how many lands he was lord, then will we describe him as we have known him, we, who have looked upon him, and who once lived in his court. This King William, of whom we are speaking, was a very wise and a great man, and more honoured and more powerful than any of his predecessors. He was mild to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure towards those who withstood his will. He founded a noble monastery on the spot where God permitted him to conquer England, and he established monks in it, and he made it very rich. In his days the great monastery at Canterbury was built, and many others also throughout England. King William was also held in much reverence; he wore his crown three times every year when he was in England: at Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Pentecost at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester. And at these times, all the men of England were with him, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and earls, thanes, and knights. So also was he a very stern and a wrathful man, so that none durst do anything against his will, and he kept in prison those earls who acted against his pleasure. He removed bishops from their sees and abbots from their offices, and he imprisoned thanes, and at length he spared not his own brother Odo.

AMONGST other things, the good order that William established is not to be forgotten; it was such that any man, who was himself aught, might travel over the kingdom with a bosom-full of gold unmolested; and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him. He reigned over England, and being sharp-sighted to his own interest, he surveyed the kingdom so thoroughly that there was not a single hide of land throughout the whole of which he knew not the possession, and how much it was worth, and this he afterwards entered in his register. The land of the Britons (Wales) was under his sway, and he built castles therein; moreover, he had full dominion over the Isle of Mann (Anglesea): Scotland also was subject to him from his great strength; the land of Normandy was his by inheritance, and he possessed the earldom of Maine; and had he lived two years longer he would have subdued Ireland by his prowess, and that without a battle. Truly there was much trouble in these times, and very great distress; he caused castles to be built and oppressed the poor. The king was also of great sternness, and he took from his subjects many marks of gold, and many hundred pounds of silver, and this, either with or without right, and with little need. He was given to avarice and greedily loved gain. He made large forests for the deer, and enacted laws therewith, so that whoever killed a hart or a hind should be blinded. As he forbade killing the deer, so also the boars; and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father. He also appointed concerning the hares, that they should go free.

THE rich complained and the poor murmured, but he was so sturdy that he recked naught of them; they must will all that the king willed, if they would live; or would keep their lands; or would hold their possessions; or would be maintained in their rights. Alas! that any man should so exalt himself, and carry himself in his pride over all! May Almighty God show mercy to his soul, and grant him the forgiveness of his sins! We have written concerning him these things, both good and bad, that virtuous men might follow after the good and wholly avoid the evil, and might go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven.

A PAGEANT OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

In these forty pictures by Daniel Maclise, R.A., the story of the events leading up to the Norman invasion till the death of Harold is told in graphic form, giving a vivid outline of this period of great historic interest.



Harold, departing on a boat to Winchelsea, Normandy, takes leave of Edward the Confessor.



Harold and his knights take to their boats at night, crossing the English Channel.



Harold's ship stranded on the Norman coast, in the morning of Good Friday, Easter.



Harold and his companions brought as prisoners to Guy of Ponthieu and his Norman knights.



Harold and the Saxons are confined in the Castle of Beaurain, near Montreuil.



Harold's captivity announced to William of Normandy, who is informed that Guy of Ponthieu demands ransom for him.



Guy of Ponthieu gives further audience to Harold and his companions, whose release is demanded by heralds from Duke William.



Harold and Duke William meet.



Harold, William's companion in his campaign in Brittany, receives the submission of Conan, Earl of Bretagne.



William confers upon Harold the dignity of a Norman knight.



Harold's oath of fidelity to William, sworn over the concealed bones of the saints.



Harold, about to return to England, bids adieu to William, who loads him with farewell gifts.



Harold, returned from Normandy, presents himself to Edward the Confessor.



Morcar, elected Earl of Northumbria in place of Testig; Harold meets with the nuncios of the election.



The marriage of Harold with Aldyth, sister of Edwin and Morcar.



Edward the Confessor's death.



The coronation of Harold as King of England.



William, in his hunting-ground at Rouen, receives intelligence from Tostig of Harold's coronation.



Tostig, defeated in his attempt against Harold, flies in his galley from the English coast.



Hugues Maigrot, a monk, has audience of King Harold to propose conditions from Duke William.



Tostig, meditating another attack upon Harold, solicits the aid of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and of Harald Hardrada, of Norway.



William, bent upon invading England, begs for the aid of Philip I. of France, and of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, his father-in-law.



William consults the nobles and merchants of his dukedom for help in his design



Pope Alexander consecrates a banner for William's service, and plants a cross containing a hair of St. Peter.



Homage rendered to the consecrated banner



William displays the relics of St. Valery to allay the discontent of a portion of his troops at the proposed invasion



Duke William in his galley, and accompanied by his fleet, crosses to England



William stumbles as he lands, but, grasping the earth with his hand, calls out that he thus takes possession of English soil



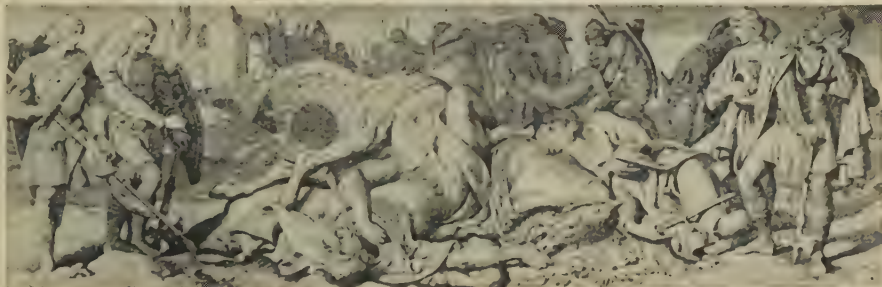
Meanwhile Tostig and Harold Godwinson are victorious, and receive the submission of the city of York



The retreat of Edwin and Morcar from York



Harold's interview with Tostig, his brother, and with Hardrada. Tostig's ally, before the battle of Stamford Bridge.



The death of Tostig and Harold Hardrada after the battle of Stamford Bridge.



Harold, conqueror at Stamford and wounded, sits at a banquet in York. A detail from the Bayeux Tapestry.



The day before the battle. A king at a banquet, and by William to negotiate with Harold.



The day before the battle. Pious observation of the Normans.



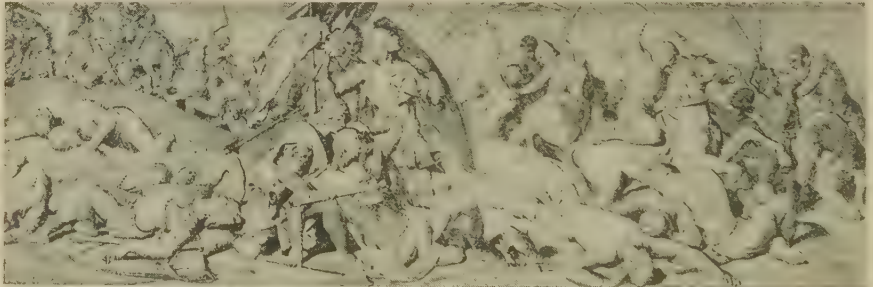
The eve before the battle: Riot and wassail of the Saxons.



Morning of battle. A Norman chief, leads Duke William's van, singing the song of Roland and juggling with his sword.



Normans, retreating, are stayed and turned by William, who discloses his face to counteract the rumour of his having fallen.



Harold, in front of the standard of England, is pierced by a falling arrow.



The night after the battle: Edith discovers amid the slain the body of Harold, last Saxon King of England.



THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

THE CONQUEROR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

THE Norman Conquest is one of the turning points in English history. It came at a moment when the Teutonic policy of Egbert, Alfred, and Edgar was falling to pieces through the growth of new disruptive forces. In another century the great earldoms, if left to run their natural course of development, would have become independent kingdoms in fact if not in name. The Anglo-Saxon intellect had touched its zenith three centuries before the battle of Senlac, and since then had remained stationary, or perhaps retrograded. Except under external pressure it was most likely that England would have remained impervious to the new ideas of law, politics, science, and religion, which had grown up under the fostering care of the Continental churches. A short period of devastating warfare, a longer experience of the evils of

The Political Ascendancy of the Norman

Norman despotism and Norman feudalism, were not too high a price to pay for re-admission to the European commonwealth. Nor is it a mere fancy to ascribe the higher qualities of the English nationality to the union of a stoical and freedom-loving, but sluggish and unimaginative, German stock with a race which had engrafted French taste, Italian statecraft, and Burgundian religious enthusiasm upon the robust moral qualities of Scandinavia.

We have first to sketch the process by which the political ascendancy of the Norman was riveted upon the nation. This was the work of William the Conqueror (1066-1087), and it was barely begun by the day of his coronation. South-east England alone was then in his hands, and the submission of the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, tendered shortly afterwards, did little to secure the loyalty of those provinces. The west was secured only by the surrender of Exeter, where Harold's family had found a temporary

refuge in the year 1068. The northerners were aided in their resistance by Malcolm of Scotland and Sven, or Sweyn, of Denmark. The English earls proved traitors, and the Confessor's nephew, Edgar Atheling, came forward as a claimant to the throne. The Danes, how-

Where England lay Desolate

ever, were bought off, the king of Scotland was intimidated into a profession of fidelity; England beyond the Humber was harried so mercilessly by the Normans that many parts lay desolate for sixty years after; and the famous stand of the native English under Hereward the outlaw, in the Isle of Ely, was, for want of Danish help, an episode of merely local importance.

In 1075 Waltheof, the last of the English earls, was lured by two of his Norman equals into a conspiracy of which the object was to raise the conquered people in a general rebellion for the benefit of the ringleaders. But the plot was disclosed, and Waltheof atoned for his folly with his life. Long before his fall the Church and the great mass of the common people had acquiesced in the foreign domination, and William's later campaigns against Norman and English elements of disaffection were waged partly with English troops. The explanation of his rapid success is to be found in the moderation with which he used his victory. While confiscating the lands of those who had actually fought against him, he left the great mass of proprietors in undisturbed possession. To all but the greatest

What the Conquest Meant

landowners and stoutest patriots the Conquest meant little more than the exchange of an English for a Norman lord. Representing himself as the lawful heir of Anglo-Saxon kings, the Conqueror pursued the general policy of exacting none but customary rights, and of respecting vested interests. None the less he contrived, without departing from the

strict letter of the law, to endow with English lands an army of between 5,000 and 6,000 Norman knights. His conquest, unlike that of Canute, swept away the native ruling class, and put in its place an alien aristocracy, permeated with the spirit of continental feudalism, unacquainted with the language and traditions of their social inferiors, and seldom restrained from lawless violence by motives of piety or prudence. Fortunately for the future of the

How William Safeguarded his Subjects

the nation, the Anglo-Norman nobility was almost as dangerous to its master as to the native English, and William was constrained to hold it in check by measures which directly and indirectly safeguarded his new subjects. Though he yielded to the theory that all landholders, as such, were entitled to civil jurisdiction over their free and unfree tenants, he maintained the courts of the shire and hundred, and kept a tight hold on cases of a capital nature. He was chary of granting compact estates which might develop into principalities; the earldoms of Kent, Cornwall, Shrewsbury,

Hereford, and Chester, and the episcopal palatinate of Durham, were created either in favour of his own kinsmen or for the protection of the frontiers against the Scots and Welsh. The enormous grants of land which he conferred upon others of his followers were composed of widely scattered manors; and in every shire the office of the sheriff was maintained as a check upon the feudatories. The great official earldoms were abolished, and those which he created carried with them no rights except over single shires.

In the central government there was a careful avoidance of the appearance of change. The Conqueror promised at his accession to observe the law of Edward. The promise was substantially fulfilled so far as the private and criminal law was concerned; where these were changed, for example by the abolition of the death penalty, the change was popular. With regard to the central government the promise could not be kept. The relation of the crown to the most important of its subjects was completely changed; those who had been primarily national



THE TRAGIC DEATH OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

Visiting Normandy in 1087, to deal with the French barons who had been making inroads into his dominions, William was riding down the steep street of the town of Mantes on the Seine, when his horse stumbled, throwing him against the high pommel of the saddle. Realising that the injury was serious, he requested that he might be carried to Rouen and laid in the monastery of St. Gervais, where he died on September 9th, 1087, at the age of sixty-one. In the above picture he is seen lying where he was stripped by the robber servants who watched him during his last hours.

From a drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.



FITZ-ARTHUR FORBIDDING THE BURIAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

The body of the Conqueror was taken to Caen, for burial in the monastery of St. Stephen. Mass had been celebrated, the corpse placed on the bier, and the panegyric on the deceased pronounced by the Bishop of Evreux, when Ascelin Fitz-Arthur, who had often complained of the Conqueror's dealings with him, declared that the man who had just been praised was a robber. "The very land on which you stand is mine," said he; "by violence he took it from my father, and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him in it." Although this protest failed, William's remains were not allowed to rest in peace.

officials were now feudal tenants of the king. The royal court of justice became feudal in composition, law, and procedure. For the Witan was substituted the Magnum Concilium, to which all tenants in chief were summoned. The new body had little influence upon the government, and served more as a means of publishing the king's will and obtaining the assent of his subjects to resolutions which he had framed without their help than as a constitutional check. The revenue, too, became feudal in its character. Though Danegelds were regularly levied, feudal aids and dues must have formed at least an equally important item in the royal budget. It is true that the Conqueror declined to consider his power as solely feudal in its character. In the year 1086 he summoned all the principal landowners of England, whether tenants-in-chief or not, to a *moot* at Salisbury, which reminds us of a Frankish May-field, and the assembled host was constrained to swear allegiance to the king as against all other lords. The principle thus enunciated was

Landowners and the Conqueror

ever afterwards upheld, and proved a valuable safeguard against feudal rebels. But neither the Conqueror nor his successors were completely successful in combating the theory that the allegiance of tenants in chief was limited by the terms of their feudal contract. The condition of the English Church had furnished a pretext for the Conquest, and it was therefore natural that William should encourage such reforms as would bring the English clergy into line with their brethren of the Continent. In his first steps towards this end he invited or tolerated the assistance of papal legates. But after 1070, Lanfranc, who replaced the schismatic Stigand in the primacy, was the chief counsellor of the crown in ecclesiastical matters. A native of Pavia, and trained originally as a lawyer, Lanfranc migrated in early life to Normandy and entered the monastery at Bec, a house which had been largely instrumental in reforming the Norman Church according to Cluniac ideas. A statesman rather than a saint, Lanfranc showed perhaps more vigour than justice in his dealings

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with the English clergy. Native prelates were deposed whenever possible and Normans were nominated in their place; but in general his measures were well conceived and adapted to the peculiar circumstances of England. While he insisted on the celibacy of the regular clergy,

Lanfranc's Greatest Reform

he did not require those parochial priests who were already married to put away their wives, but only made it illegal for the rest to contract marriage in the future. His most momentous reform was the separation of the ecclesiastical from the lay courts. Hitherto the bishops had sat in the shire courts to try spiritual cases, and the result had been a scandalous intermixture of the canon and the common

law. Henceforth all cases which concerned the cure of souls were to be tried before the bishop or arch-deacon sitting without lay assessors. The result was to create a chain of new tribunals which steadily encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts, and caused the greatest of the mediæval conflicts between the English Church and State. Lanfranc, however, can hardly be blamed for the distant effects of a measure which was primarily intended to disentangle the Church from secular interests. The concordat which he and William established between the Church and State is a proof of the archbishop's moderation. It provided that nothing should be done in any episcopal synod or council without the king's consent, and that no tenants in chief should be excommunicated except by the royal command.

A further clause is significant of the change which the Cluniac movement had produced in the position of the clergy. William insisted that no Pope should be acknowledged in England, and that no papal legates or letters should be received without his permission. He had cause to make these stipulations, for Gregory VII. claimed an oath of allegiance to the papacy in return for the support which, as a

cardinal, he had given to William's enterprise. The demand was refused. William promised to fulfil all the obligations which had been recognised by his predecessors, but would go no further, and Gregory was prudent enough not to press his point. But the abstract pretensions of the papacy, however cautiously they might be applied to particular cases, were still sufficient to justify William's uneasiness.

The Conqueror died in 1087 from the effects of an accident during the sack of Mantes, a frontier town of France. He was succeeded in Normandy by his son Robert, who had been a headstrong subject and proved a feeble ruler. In England the influence of Lanfranc and the expressed wishes of the Conqueror pro-



RUFUS: KING WILLIAM II.

The second son of the Conqueror, William II., known as Rufus, succeeded his father on the throne of England in 1087. He was of a savage and unrestrained nature, and showed respect neither for the baronage nor for the Church.

cured the recognition of Robert's younger brother, William Rufus. A feud between the two brothers was the natural consequence of a partition which both resented. In England there were conspiracies to replace William by his brother, and the king retaliated by invading Normandy. The struggle ended in 1096, when Robert, in order to provide himself with funds for the First Crusade, mortgaged Normandy to his brother. Rufus was now at liberty to engage in wild schemes for the incorporation of France with Normandy. But a chance arrow put an end to his career

as he was hunting in the New Forest in 1100; and in Robert's absence Henry Beauclerk, the third son of the Conqueror, obtained the recognition of his title from the English Church and nobles. The new king inherited from his brother two

The Hard Rule of Rufus

domestic problems. Rufus had oppressed both the baronage and the Church. In his dealings with the former he had insisted on regarding feudal grants as conferring only a life estate, had demanded extortionate reliefs as the price of confirming heirs in the lands of their ancestors, and had abused the rights of wardship and marriage which a feudal lord possessed over his infant and female tenants. Vacant

THE NORMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND

bishoprics and abbacies he had insisted on treating as though they were escheated fiefs; he had appropriated their revenues, prolonged the vacancies, and demanded, under the name of a relief, large sums from those whom he eventually appointed. Chief among the preferments which he had exploited was the see of Canterbury, left vacant by the death of Lanfranc in 1089. A fit of sick-bed repentance led him, in 1093, to appoint the saintly Anselm of Bec as Lanfranc's successor. He had, however, afterwards repented of his repentance. For Anselm, in his character of tenant in chief,

of Belesme, whose head, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was the rallying-point of the disaffected barons.

As much a foreigner as his father and Rufus had been, Henry still contrived to conciliate the native English by a marriage with Matilda of Scotland, the niece of Edgar Atheling, and a lineal descendant of Alfred the Great, by reviving the courts of shire and hundred which feudal usurpation had been undermining, and by taking stern but necessary measures for the maintenance of the public peace. His hand fell heavily upon insubordinate



THE DEATH OF WILLIAM RUFUS WHILE HUNTING IN THE NEW FOREST

The exact circumstances attending the death of William Rufus are shrouded in mystery. On August 3rd, 1100, he was hunting in the New Forest with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a Norman knight, who, so the story goes, anxious to display his skill, shot an arrow at a stag that had suddenly started up near them; the arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast and instantly killed him. It has been asserted that Tyrrel intentionally killed the king, while William's death has also been attributed to an aggrieved peasant. The king's body was buried in St. Swithin's, Winchester.

From the painting by E. F. Burney

was later exposed to incessant persecutions from the Curia Regis, or royal court, and went into a voluntary exile in 1097. Henry's first measures were designed to conciliate the classes whom his father had offended. He recalled Anselm, and issued a charter of liberties in which he promised to the Church her former freedom, to the barons a just assessment of their feudal liabilities, and to the people in general the restoration of the law of Edward. He was thus enabled to defeat an attempt to bring in his brother Robert as a counter-claimant, and to expel the unruly house

barons and more vulgar malefactors. He executed justice on them not merely through the Curia Regis, but also through itinerant judges whom he sent on circuit through the shires to hold extraordinary assizes in the local courts.

The repression of feudal independence was much facilitated by the conquest of Normandy. The single victory of Tinchebrai in 1106 gave the king the possession of his brother's person and the duchy. Robert passed the remainder of his life in English prisons. The English baronage lost their best ally and the asylum on

which they had always counted in the event of their rebellions proving unsuccessful. Normandy, however, proved an expensive acquisition. Until the death of Robert's son, William Clito, in 1127, the victor was never free from the danger of Norman rebellions aided by French gold and armies. Hence England was heavily taxed for Henry's foreign policy, and the greatness of his needs led to the establishment of an improved financial system, centring in the Exchequer, to which the royal sheriffs rendered a half-yearly account of the taxes, the proceeds of the law courts and demesnes, and the other sources of profit accruing from their shires.

The relations of Henry with the Church were troubled by the question of investitures, which had arisen on the continent long before 1100, but was first raised in England by Archbishop Anselm after his return from exile. The conflict was conducted without personal bitterness. But Anselm refused to depart a hair's-breadth from the policy enjoined upon him by the papacy, and Henry declined to renounce his claim upon the allegiance of the bishops. A compromise was, however, arranged with the Pope's sanction after Anselm had endured a second exile of four years' duration (1103-1106) rather than acknowledge the bishops invested by the king. Henry renounced the claim to invest newly appointed prelates with the insignia of spiritual office, but retained his former rights of patronage and feudal service practically undiminished. This compromise, though leaving the Church as far as ever from the freedom which it had been the object of

the struggle to obtain, supplied the model for the Concordat of Worms in 1122, which finally terminated the long war of investitures between the papacy and empire. It did not prevent further conflicts between Henry and the Church. In his later years he was harassed by the opposition of the Pope, and of a section among his own clergy, to that part of the Conqueror's ecclesiastical settlement which affected the power of the Pope. He made, however, strenuous and partially successful efforts to check the growing practice of appeals to Rome.

The catastrophe of the White Ship robbed him of his only son, and his death, in 1135, left England and Normandy in dispute between two claimants. On more than one occasion Henry had exacted from his barons an oath of allegiance to his daughter Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V., who had been married in 1129 to Geoffrey of Anjou. But the prospect of a female sovereign with an Angevin husband was equally displeasing to the Normans and the English. The majority of the barons on both sides of the Channel preferred the claim of Stephen of Boulogne, who was, through his mother, a grandson of the Conqueror, well known, moreover, in England and Normandy, and a model of knightly excellence. The precariousness of his position as an elective sovereign was, however, the strongest point in his favour. The barons and the Church alike sold their allegiance to him on conditions. He was expected to abate the rigid autocracy which his predecessor had established, to restore to the



HENRY I, KING OF ENGLAND
He was the younger brother of William Rufus, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1100. King Henry died suddenly at Angers in Normandy, and was buried at Reading.



MATILDA, QUEEN OF HENRY I.
Eadgyth, better known as Matilda, the queen of Henry I, was the daughter of Malcolm, the king of Scotland, and of Margaret, the grand-daughter of Edmund Ironsides.

had established, to restore to the



THE GREAT BATTLE OF THE STANDARD AT NORTHALLERTON, IN WHICH THE ENGLISH DEFEATED THE SCOTS

This picture represents a great battle between the English and the Scots in 1138. The crown of England having been seized by Stephen, grandson of William the Conqueror, a civil
 (2) war was kindled against him on behalf of Matilda, the rightful heir, whose cause was aided by David I., King of Scotland. The Scottish king crossed the border with an immense army,
 and was met at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, by the English troops. The battle was waged with great bravery, but the Scots fled when the cry was raised that their king had been
 (3) slain. The sacred standards of both English nobles were taken into the battle to arouse the enthusiasm of the troops, and thus the fight was become known as the Battle of the Standard.
 From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

Church her "freedom" of jurisdictions and elections, to leave the great feudatories practically sovereign in their fiefs. Disputes naturally arose as to the fulfilment of a compact so one-sided; disputes engendered conspiracies, and in his efforts to forestall the conspirators Stephen offended those men who were the mainstay of his government. He arrested and despoiled Bishop Roger of Salisbury, the great justiciar to whom the administrative reforms of Henry I. had been due. The cause of Roger was warmly espoused by his fellow churchmen, and furnished a convenient pretext to discontented barons.

Matilda was invited to England in 1139; with the help of her half-brother, Earl Robert of Gloucester, she gained possession of a considerable tract of country in and around the Severn valley, and castles were held in her name by rebels throughout the length and breadth of England. While Stephen hurried distractedly from castle to castle, and wasted in small enterprises the men and money which might have sufficed for a decisive campaign, the northern shires fell into the hands of David of Scotland, and the great feudatories sold their services alternately to him and to the empress, gaining new lands and new powers of jurisdiction by

each successive treason. Unlicensed castles were rapidly multiplied and became the nests of robber gangs which pillaged at large and robbed on the highways.

The courts of the Church profited by the general anarchy to draw into their net all suits affecting clerks and Church property. The issue of the dynastic struggle was decided more by accident than skill or strength. In 1141 Stephen was taken captive at the siege of Lincoln; but in the same year the Earl of Gloucester fell into the hands of the king's friends, and the two captives were exchanged. The Earl of Gloucester died in 1147, whereupon the Empress Matilda retired from England. The contest was

taken up by her son, Henry of Anjou, whose marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, gave him ample resources. In 1153 the death

of Stephen's eldest son, the ambitious Eustace, paved the way for a compromise; by the mediation of the Church Stephen was induced to recognise the young Angevin as his coadjutor and heir. The anarchy came to an end; king and count devoted themselves harmoniously to the suppression of feudal licence; and in 1154 the death of Stephen brought his rival to the throne and opened a brighter era in the national history.



STEPHEN, KING OF ENGLAND

Helped to the throne by his personal popularity on the death of Henry I. in 1135, Stephen, son of the Conqueror's daughter, Adela, did not remain in favour, and had to acknowledge Matilda's son Henry as heir to the throne.



QUEEN MAUD PLEADS FOR STEPHEN'S RELEASE

In 1141 Stephen became a prisoner in the hands of the Empress Matilda, and when Maud—Matilda's own cousin—appeared before her to beg for her husband's release, she drove the sorrowing wife from her presence.



KING JOHN GRANTING MAGNA CHARTA

From the design by Ernest Normand for the cartoon in the Royal Exchange, London, by permission of Messrs. Hildesheimer & Co., Ltd.
TO FACE PAGE 3865



ENGLAND'S ANGEVIN KINGS

THEIR QUARRELS WITH THE CHURCH AND THE NOBLES

HENRY II. was a true Angevin in his restless activity, his unbounded resourcefulness, and the furious determination with which he beat down resistance to his schemes. He had little sympathy with the English character or English traditions, and two-thirds of his reign were spent on the Continent in protecting, consolidating, or extending the heterogeneous collection of French fiefs which he inherited from his parents or acquired with his wife. But his marvellous administrative ability enabled him, in the intervals of other pursuits, to reform the whole fabric of English government. He revived and improved the fiscal machinery of his grandfather, and by the Inquest of Sheriffs in 1170 tore away from this office the privilege of hereditary, which had made the individual sheriff in preceding reigns as dangerous to the crown as any feudal baron. He gave to the royal court of justice a fixed consti-

Notable Achievements of Henry II.

tution, placed it entirely in the hands of professional lawyers, and separated it from the cabinet of administrative advisers. He extended the system of itinerant justices and made their circuits periodical. He modified the criminal law by ordering that in every shire sworn juries of inquest should be impanelled to present the names of suspected criminals, by forbidding the lords of private liberties to protect such criminals against arrest, and by limiting the opportunities of escape from punishment which were afforded by ecclesiastical sanctuaries and the ordeal.

In regard to the law of land, he substituted recognition by a jury for the detested Norman trial by battle, and offered new and more expeditious remedies to those who complained of unlawful dispossession. While refusing to give up the royal rights of the chase and his special jurisdiction over the forests, he did something to codify and mitigate the iniquitous forest laws. He reduced feudal privileges within the limits fixed by the

grants of his predecessors before 1135, and while encouraging trade, granting privileges to towns, and sanctioning the formation of trade guilds with extensive rights and monopolies, he prevented the communal movement from extending into his dominions. London, which was already in fact, and soon to be in law, the capital, he held in check; the illegal commune disappeared, and the privileges which the city had enjoyed under Henry I. were curtailed.

These wonderful successes were not unchequered with reverses. Henry attempted to curtail the judicial privileges of the Church, and with that end in view appointed his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, to the see of Canterbury in 1162. Class feeling proved too strong for the personal loyalty of this tried subordinate. Becket obstinately resisted the king's wish to bring criminal clerks and suits relating to Church lands within the purview of the royal courts. The claims of the Church were contrary to the usage which had obtained in the reigns of William I. and Henry I. The king therefore took his stand upon the "ancestral customs" which he formulated in the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1164. Becket went into exile rather than observe the Constitutions, and the fact that Henry had taken this opportunity to forbid appeals to Rome gave the archbishop the support of the papacy.

The precarious position of the papacy, then engaged in a fierce struggle with the empire, protracted the struggle. But Henry was at length compelled to recall the archbishop; and when, in consequence of new quarrels, Becket was murdered by overzealous supporters of the king, in 1170, it was necessary for Henry to renounce the constitutions altogether, in order to escape sentence of excommunication. On minor issues he and his successors

Murder of Thomas à Becket

evaded the consequences of renunciation; but it was not until the advent of the sixteenth century that the immunity of criminous clerks from the secular courts could be materially diminished.

On the continent also Henry fought a losing battle. Though he acquired Brittany by a marriage between his son Geoffrey and the heiress of that county, he failed to conquer Toulouse, Auvergne, Berri, and the French Vexin, possessions which he coveted as a means of strengthening his frontier on the side of France. His continental possessions were divided by violent provincial feuds, and his sons on the continent turned against one another and their father, set province against province, and called in the king of France to their aid. The great king's end, in 1189, was accelerated by the humiliation of a defeat which he experienced from a coalition of Richard and John, his eldest surviving sons, with

the astute Philip Augustus. His foreign empire was built on shifting sand, and only a few years more were needed to involve the whole fabric in utter ruin. Against these reverses we must, however, set the extension of English influence in the British Isles. At his accession Henry recovered the North of England from the Scot, taking advantage of the death of David and the minority of his son, William the Lion.

In 1173 the latter embraced the cause of Henry's rebellious sons and invaded Northern England. Defeated and captured, he was not released until he had recognised Henry as his overlord by the treaty of Falaise. In Ireland an Anglo-Norman occupation of the east and south coasts was effected between

1169 and 1171 by the enterprise of Welsh Marcher lords who, with the consent of Henry, had taken service under Dermot, king of Neath. In the latter year the king visited Ireland to receive the homage



KING HENRY II. OF ENGLAND

Succeeding Stephen on the throne of England in 1154, Henry II., by his marvellous administrative ability, reformed the whole fabric of English government. His later years were crowded with troubles, and he died in 1189.

The period of 1189-1215 was marked abroad by the loss of all the continental possessions with the exception of Guienne, at home by a reaction, partly if not mainly



QUEEN ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE

The divorced queen of Louis VII., Eleanor of Aquitaine married King Henry II., to whom she brought considerable territory and a nominal suzerainty over the west bank of the Rhone.

Hitherto England had played but a subordinate part in the movement for the exclusion of the infidel from the Holy Land. Some volunteers had gone

of the settlers and the Irish clergy. His lordship over Ireland is said on good authority to have been recognised by the papacy, though doubt has been cast on the genuineness of the famous Bull *Laudabiliter*, which is vouched by his historians to prove the grant. Whatever its justification, his authority was soon recognised in form by the whole of Ireland; the High King of Connaught and other native rulers became his vassals, while his warrior barons from England proceeded steadily with the conquest of the eastern districts of the island.

The period of 1189-1215 was marked abroad by the loss of all the continental possessions with the exception of Guienne, at home by a reaction, partly if not mainly feudal, against the growing centralisation of executive power, which culminated in the barons' war and the Great Charter. The two sets of events are closely connected, for ill success abroad increased taxation and discontent at home. Both were the natural result of circumstances, but both were accelerated by the faults of Henry's successors, Richard and John. The former took up the plan which his father had meditated, but wisely abandoned, of joining the Third Crusade to recover Jerusalem from Saladin, the sultan of Egypt.

to serve under Robert of Normandy in the first expedition; but those who joined in the second had gone no further than Lisbon, though the capture of this Moorish stronghold was largely due to the valour of the English contingent. The first occasion on which the English crown assisted the Crusaders was in 1188, when Henry II. levied for this purpose a tax of 10 per cent. on movable property (the Saladin Tithe).

through which the regency met their master's reiterated calls for fresh supplies, and afterwards by the crushing taxes which were needed for his ransom.

At the siege of Acre Richard quarrelled with the Duke of Austria, Leopold V. When the Crusade was abandoned, with its main object, the recovery of Jerusalem, unaccomplished, Richard was shipwrecked in the Adriatic, and caught by the duke's men while attempting to pass through



THE MURDER OF THOMAS A BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Appointed by Henry II. to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket became the champion of the rights of the Church, and differences arose between him and the king. Believing Henry desired his primate's death, four of the king's knights attacked and assassinated him at the altar of St. Benedict's Church on December 29th, 1170. The death of this great prelate sent a thrill of horror through Europe. In 1220 Becket's bones were enshrined in a chapel of the Cathedral; for a long while pilgrimages were made to his tomb, and reverence was paid to him as a martyr and a saint.

From the picture by C. H. Weigall

Richard preferred to raise the funds for his expedition by the sale of privileges, offices, and crown demesnes, including the Scottish suzerainty, which his father had acquired by the Treaty of Falaise; and his force was composed mainly of men who had taken the Crusading vow and therefore served without reward. But during the king's long absence—from August, 1190, to March, 1194—the nation was harassed, at first by the exactions

Austria in disguise. The full sum demanded for his release was £100,000; only a part was paid, but, to raise this, one-fourth of all rents and movable property had to be collected from the Church and laity. Nor was this the only bad result of the Crusade. In Richard's absence his brother John excited odium against the chancellor, William Longchamp, whom the king had left at the head of the government. Longchamp was exiled from

England by the baronage; and John then proceeded to form an alliance with Philip Augustus of France on the understanding that the dominions of Richard should be divided between them. Normandy was invaded by French forces, and John succeeded in raising a rebellion in England.

Although both attacks failed before the vigorous measures of the new regents, they left effects which were felt for the rest of Richard's reign. He found himself involved in an interminable war of skirmishes and intrigues against the King of France; and the English baronage was encouraged by John's example to resist the financial demands which the continental war entailed. The Great Council, which hitherto had been a source of strength to the crown, readily lending the weight of its name to new laws and new taxation, now became an instrument of opposition; and

But these boons, intended to mitigate the unpopularity of heavy taxation, were imperfectly appreciated, and Hubert Walter fell from power, sacrificed as a scapegoat to his master's unpopularity.

Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of John to conciliate the trading towns. As regent after Longchamp's expulsion, the prince had sold to London the right of setting up a commune. It was a new departure, for hitherto the crown had jealously denied the boroughs the privilege of self-government; but a number of similar concessions were made to other towns of England and Ireland in the period of John's reign. Thus the development of representative institutions in the boroughs kept pace with the similar development in the shires. But shires and boroughs alike were soon alienated from the cause of John, and London played a great part in the struggle for the Charter of Liberties.

For John the beginning of troubles was the feud with the French monarchy, which, in spite of his previous friendship with Philip Augustus, devolved upon him in 1199 at the same time as the crown of England. Philip's first expedient was to support the claims of John's nephew, Arthur of Brittany, to the French dominions of the house of Anjou. Arthur's career ended in 1202, when he was captured by his uncle. The young prince was shortly afterwards assassinated, but the indignation which this crime provoked encouraged

Philip to stretch his rights of suzerainty to their fullest extent. On various pretexts he declared John's continental possessions forfeit; and in 1204 the English



RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Going on a Crusade to the Holy Land, he defeated the Saracens, but failed to reach Jerusalem. He was made prisoner in 1192 by Leopold, Duke of Austria, and kept in captivity for two years. Richard passed less than one year of his reign in residence in England.



RICHARD'S QUEEN, BERENGARIA

She was the daughter of Sancho VI. of Navarre, and was married to Richard in Cyprus, in 1191, while the English king was on his way to the wars in the Holy Land.

them, and the middle class of landowners, who served as coroners and assessors, were trained for their more difficult political duties of the future.

were expelled without much resistance from Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. The English baronage refused to help in defending these provinces on the plea that they were not bound to foreign service; still less would they aid with men or money the expeditions which the king planned in later years for the recovery of his inheritance.

When John retaliated by punishing Langton's supporters with banishment and confiscation, the land was laid under an interdict, which was taken off in 1213 only upon condition that John recognised the papal candidate. John then endeavoured to secure the help of Rome against his irritated subjects by doing homage to Innocent for his dominions. The new arch-

bishop, however, although the nominee of Innocent, and ordered to support the king, placed himself at the head of the baronial opposition. The demands of the party were formulated in 1214, while John was engaged in his final effort to recover the Angevin possessions. These demands, based upon the charter of Henry I., were embodied in a great document of the same character. They were presented to John at the sword's point on his return, when, deserted by all but a few adherents, he was finally forced to sign the new (or Great) Charter at Runnymede, near Windsor, on June 15th, 1215.

This famous document effected little change in the institutions of central and local government, nor was such reform the object of the authors. Magna Charta enumerates those liberties of the various orders in the state which had been most flagrantly infringed during the preceding three reigns. It consists of special promises to the Church, the barons, the free towns, the ordinary freemen, and the villeins. The crown's rights were more carefully defined

and limited than heretofore. Abstract principles were, on the whole, avoided. But certain promises of a more general character, and affecting all classes equally, were included in the Charter—for example, that justice should not be sold, delayed, or denied to any man; that no judicial penalty should be inflicted except by lawful process; that fines should be



THE CORONATION OF RICHARD I. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The coronation of the Crusading king took place on September 3rd, 1189, the ceremony being marked by great pomp and splendour. In the illustration, which shows the procession along the aisle of the Abbey, the Earl of Albemarle is seen carrying the crown, while over the head of Richard is a silken canopy, supported by four lances, each one being held by a great baron of the kingdom.

The quarrel with the barons had already become acute when, in 1208, the king involved himself in a feud with the Church, by attempting to force into the primacy a creature of his own, John Grey, the Bishop of Norwich. Innocent III., to whom the monks of Canterbury appealed, encouraged them to elect an English cardinal, Stephen Langton.

proportionate to offences; and that no extraordinary feudal aids or scutages should be levied without the consent of the Great Council.

The Charter was no sooner signed than the terms of peace were violated on both sides. The barons declined to disarm; the king collected mercenaries from abroad and obtained a papal dispensation from the oath which he had taken to observe the Charter. Driven to despair by the coalition of the king and Pope, the barons invited Louis, the son and heir of Philip Augustus, to come and be their king. He accepted the invitation; and, soon after he had landed, was master of the eastern counties. John, however, upon recovering from his first alarm, raised the west against the rebels and showed the qualities of a skilled general. But in the midst of a campaign of forced marches he succumbed to illness in 1216, and died,

leaving a son of only nine years old to succeed him, under the title of Henry III.

John's death did more than his military successes to save the dynasty. The barons, already alienated from their foreign leader, who openly displayed his contempt for the disloyalty by which he had profited, returned one by one to the allegiance of the boy-king. A victory in the narrow streets of Lincoln, and a sea-fight in the straits of Dover which destroyed the French fleet, completed the ruin of the opposition. In 1217 Louis signed the Treaty of Lambeth and evacuated England. His followers received an amnesty, and some submitted, while others departed for the Holy Land. Henceforth Henry had more to fear from the party of the Crown than from that of the Charter. His minority was troubled by feuds between the English and the foreign supporters of his father. The papacy was with



THE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND KING JOHN

This picture, by Mr. William Martin, in the University Galleries at Oxford, represents the Barons of England making oath to compel King John to grant the Charter of Henry I., which had been found by Archbishop Langton in a monastery. The pressure brought to bear upon the king had the desired result, and the great Charter of Liberties, which imposed on him and his successors distinct limitations of the royal power, was signed in 1215.

difficulty induced to withdraw a claim to the guardianship of the king and kingdom, which was based upon John's oath of vassalage. In 1224 Falkes de Breauté, who had commanded the foreign mercenaries during the war and had been rewarded with six sheriffdoms in the midland counties, raised a rebellion which for a moment threatened to shake the stability of the throne. Even when he had been crushed, the situation remained difficult.

Peter des Roches, a Poitevin ecclesiastic, to whom John had given the see of Winchester, succeeded in retaining the control of the young king's education, and filled the weak but ambitious mind of Henry with dreams of conquest on the continent and of autocracy at home. Trained in this school, the king quarrelled at the first opportunity with the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, who had been for some years the head of the regency. The great minister was dismissed in 1232, and the king, now of age, attempted to govern, like the Capets of France, through insignificant ministers, who could be trusted to render an implicit obedience to their master's wishes.

Under this feeble despotism England continued to the year 1258, and the Great Council vainly protested against a policy which was expensive, unpopular, and fruitless. The king fell into the hands of two groups of foreign favourites; the one was composed of Poitevins related to his mother; the other, consisting of Provençals and Savoyards, owed their influence to the queen, Eleanor of Provence, whom Henry married in 1236. They monopolised the highest honours and were enriched from the royal demesnes. They encouraged the king in his idle dream of reconquering the French posses-

sions, with the result that he attempted the invasion of Poitou in 1242, and experienced a humiliating defeat from Louis IX. at Taillebourg; subsequently they induced him to accept for his second son, Edmund, the crown of Sicily, which the papacy was endeavouring to wrest from the heirs of the Emperor Frederic II., while they traduced and drove into opposition the king's brother-in-law, Simon de Montfort, who was the only able statesman of the royal party.

Henry himself contributed to the popular discontent by the facility with which he allowed every new claim of the papacy upon the Church. Under the stress of the war with the Hohenstauffen, Rome had begun

to claim the right of taxing the national Churches; and this pretension, resented by every class of Englishmen, was supported by the king, in whom religious feeling was developed to the point of pietism. Under the stress of these grievances, and encouraged by the general indignation which domestic misrule was daily aggravating, the Great Council made reiterated protests, refused



KING JOHN AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF ANGOULÊME. False, treacherous, and tyrannical, John, who became king of England in 1199, was guilty of many infamous deeds. Being excommunicated by Pope Innocent III., he yielded to the papal claims and agreed to hold his kingdom as a fief of the papacy. John has been described as "being odious and contemptible in public and private life."

to vote supplies, and finally demanded the right of nominating and controlling the royal ministers. In 1258 the king's financial embarrassments left him at the mercy of the Great Council; the result was the formulation of a new scheme of government—the Provisions of Oxford—under which supreme power was divided between two baronial committees, the one for executive and the other for legislative purposes. The crown on the one side, the Great Council on the other, were by this scheme reduced to insignificance. It was a device for transferring power to those who considered themselves in virtue of birth, wealth, and influence the natural leaders of English society.

The new government was not wholly ineffective. It expelled the alien favourites, cancelled the recent grants of royal demesnes, and by renouncing the Angevin claims to all French territory outside Gascony it purchased peace with France; but

The Claims of the Lesser Landholders

it had no satisfaction to offer either to the towns or to the lesser landholders, who since the time of Henry II. had been qualifying for political life by an active share in local administration. Both these classes had grievances to be redressed; both demanded a share in the government. Hence the ruling barons lacked popular support. Simon de Montfort and the king's eldest son, the Lord Edward, dissociated themselves at the first opportunity from the new government, which they had originally supported. The object of Montfort was simply to procure justice for the commonalty. Edward, on the other hand, thought merely of recovering popular support for the crown. Acting under his son's advice, the king renounced the Provisions in 1261, and proposed that Louis IX. of France should arbitrate between himself and the barons. The suggestion was accepted, and by the Mise of Amiens the French king declared the Provisions null and void.

The decision came as a crushing blow to the leaders of the oligarchic movement, and they retired from the struggle. But Montfort, at the head of a party which comprised some of the younger barons, the lesser tenants in chief, the towns, and a section of the clergy, refused to accept a settlement which left the king unfettered, and the people without a share in the government. At the battle of Lewes, in 1264, Montfort captured the king and Prince Edward. He immediately promulgated a new constitution, the most original and far-seeing scheme of political reform which the Middle Ages can show. It placed the nomination of councillors and ministers of state in the hands of a board of three, of whom Montfort was the

chief. But the three electors and their nominees were made responsible to the Great Council, and Montfort introduced a radical change into the constitution of this body. He summoned to it in 1265 not only prelates and barons, but also two knights from every shire, and burgesses from a certain number of cities and boroughs. Shire representatives had been summoned on previous occasions, both in this reign and in that of John, but the towns had never before been represented; and the knights, who represented the estate of the lesser landholders, had been consulted in the past only about taxation. In this parliament the third estate took part in all the deliberations, and their assent

to the final decisions is formally recorded.

Montfort appealed to two distinct interests in the nation. There was an ecclesiastical party, which resented the league between king and Pope and the consequent taxation of the national Church for the benefit of Rome. There was also a constitutional party, whose views were summed up in the thesis of their famous manifesto the Song of Lewes, that "the king is not above the law, but the law above the king," and in the doctrine that the law should be made, and its application controlled, by a representative

assembly. But it is the usual fate of enthusiasts to be dependent on the support of a well-intentioned but apathetic majority, which is easily converted from the new doctrine to the old. Montfort fell at Evesham in 1265. He had incurred the suspicion of designs upon the crown, he had failed to reform in a few months the accumulated abuses of centuries, and he had outraged the accepted ideas of loyalty and good faith. From the first he was confronted by a compact body of irreconcilables. As soon as his popularity waned, they fell upon him and restored the old order over his grave. He was long worshipped as a saint, but his party disappeared from English politics.



KING HENRY III.

Crowned King of England at Gloucester in 1216, Henry III. was a ruler who lacked energy and resoluteness, but he was pious and loved art and literature. He died in 1272.

The Fate of Simon de Montfort

Simon de Montfort

"THE HERO AND MARTYR OF ENGLAND IN THE
GREATEST OF HER CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES"

HE was indeed a mighty man, and prudent, and circumspect; in the use of arms and in experience of warfare superior to all others of his time; commendably endowed with knowledge of letters; fond of hearing the offices of the Church by day and night; sparing of food and drink, as those who were about him saw with their own eyes; in time of night watching more than he slept, as his more intimate friends have oft related. In the greatest difficulties which he went through while handling affairs of state, he was found trustworthy; notably in Gascony, whither he went by command of the king, and there subdued the king's majesty rebels beforetime unconquered, and sent them to England to his lord the king. He was, moreover, pleasant and witty in speech, and ever aimed at the reward of an admirable faith; on account of which he did not fear to undergo death, as shall be told hereafter. His constancy all men, even his enemies, admired; for when others had sworn to observe the Provisions of Oxford, and the most part of them despised and rejected that to which they had sworn, he, having once taken the oath, like an immovable pillar stood firm, and neither by threats, nor promises, nor gifts, nor flattery could be moved to depart in any way with the other magnates from the oath which he had taken to reform the state of the realm. . . . And the earl, like a second Joshua, worshipped justice, as the very medicine of his soul.

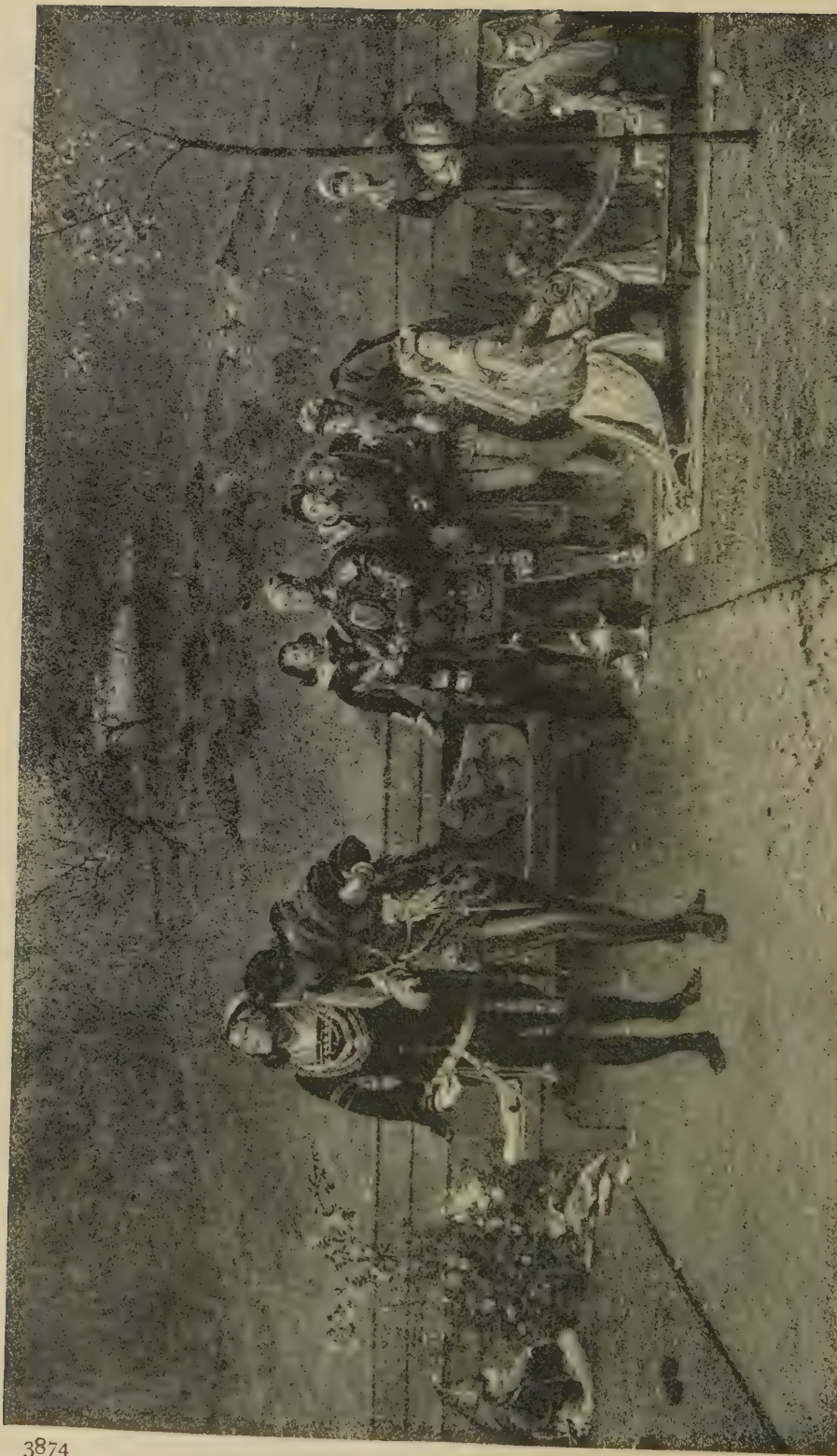
Rishanger, the Monk of St. Albans, in his "Chronicle"

HAD he lived longer, the prospect of the throne might have opened before him, and he might have become a destroyer instead of a saviour. If he had succeeded in such a design, he could not have made a better king than Edward; if he had failed, England would have lain at the feet of Edward, a ruler whose virtues would have made him more dangerous as a despot than his father's vices had made him in his attempt at despotism. He was greater as an opponent of tyranny than as a deviser of liberties; the fetters imposed on royal autocracy, cumbrous and entangled as they were, seem to have been an integral part of his policy; the means he took for admitting the nation to self-government wear very much the form of an occasional or party expedient, which a longer tenure of undivided power might have led him either to develop or to discard. The idea of representative government had, however, ripened under his hand; and although the germ of the growth lay in the primitive institutions of the land, Simon has the merit of having been one of the first to see the uses and the glories to which it would ultimately grow.

Bishop Stubbs in "The Early Plantagenets"

HE was more than a great general, more than a great politician, far more than a mere party leader, inasmuch as he obeyed to the death that ruling principle which his own words expressed, "I would rather die without a foot of land than break the oath that I have made." This was why he was worshipped as a saint and a martyr; and if we smile at the popular superstition which believed in the miracles wrought at his tomb, we can look up to the popular instinct which recognised in him that rarest of all miracles, a true patriot. The form of government which he set up, and the constitutional measures he adopted to strengthen it, sufficiently disprove the assertion that he used the pretext of reform to cover the designs of a purely selfish ambition. The fact that he never aimed at supreme power, in spite of the insults and injuries he received at the hands of Henry, until it became evident that in no other way could justice be done, acquits him of the charge of traitorous disloyalty to his king. The fact that he was the only one of the greater nobles who remained true to his cause shows how far he was above the prejudices of class, and what temptations he had to surmount before he left the common rut in which his peers were content to move, and marked out for himself the nobler and more dangerous course to which duty called him. A conviction of his own honesty of purpose, a firm faith that the right would triumph, as well as an overweening confidence in his own powers, led him to persevere in that course to the end, and to essay the impossible. He failed, but he was fortunate in that he did not live to feel the bitterness of failure.

W. G. Prothero in "Simon de Montfort"



KING EDWARD II. BEFORE HIS ACCESSION, WITH HIS FAVOURITE, PIERS GAVESTON

The son of a Gascon knight, Piers Gaveston ingratiated himself into the affections of Edward, the first Prince of Wales, but the friendship did not find favour with the king, Edward I., who banished Gaveston from the kingdom and made the prince promise never to recall him. No sooner, however, had the prince ascended the throne, than he sent for Gaveston, and loaded him with honours and riches. The king and his favourite are seen in the picture, the nobles, who later executed Gaveston, standing by in disgust.

From the picture by Marcus Stone, R.A., by permission of the "Art Journal."

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
BRITISH ISLES
IV

THE FIRST TWO EDWARDS AND THEIR WARS WITH THE SCOTTISH KINGS

THE influence of Montfort's ideas is apparent in the policy of Edward I. The overthrower of Montfort succeeded his father, in 1272, with no intention of satisfying the political aspirations of the third estate. But circumstances were too strong for him. He found the crown impoverished and heavily in debt; the hereditary revenue barely sufficed for ordinary expenses, and throughout his reign he was involved, partly by circumstances, but more often by his own choice, in prolonged wars. So far as he could, he used feudal levies, liable to serve for forty days at their own expense; but it was no longer possible to win campaigns with forces of this kind. Making an extensive use of paid knights and men-at-arms, he required frequent grants of taxation from the Great Council, and it soon became evident that taxes upon the property of the non-feudal classes would be tolerated only

The "Model" Parliament of Edward I. if these classes were consulted. From 1273 onwards we find him trying experiments in representation.

These culminate in the summoning of the so-called Model Parliament in 1295.

To this assembly the prelates and barons were summoned as to a Great Council, representatives of the inferior clergy as to a national synod, knights of the shire and burgesses as to Montfort's parliament of 1265, with this difference, that there was no attempt to pack the assembly as Montfort had done. Since 1295 the form of the English Parliament has undergone considerable changes. The estate of the lower clergy withdrew, by its own wish, soon after Edward's time, and thenceforth, till the reign of Charles II., voted supplies through the convocations of the two archiepiscopal provinces.

The list of magnates and of towns entitled to be summoned was frequently altered even in Edward's reign. But from the year 1295 a parliament including representatives of towns and shires has been an

essential feature of the English constitution.

The control of the new body over taxation was settled in principle as early as 1297, when the threat of rebellion, provoked by illegal imposts on exports and on the shires, compelled the king to sign the "Confirmatio Cartarum." The language of

The King Abandons the "Evil Dues" this document is guarded, and Edward, while abandoning the "evil dues," carefully

refrained from committing himself to any general principle. There is, however, little doubt that his concession was understood, and meant to be understood, as a promise that neither land nor movables should be in future taxed at the king's arbitrary will and pleasure. It should be noticed that it was the king's intention to consult the third estate on no other question save that of subsidies. For advice on legislation and policy he looked, as of old, exclusively to the magnates. But before the end of the reign the commons had asserted the principle that redress of the grievances expressed in their petitions ought to precede the grant of money; and thus the way was prepared for the claims which they advanced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to exercise a power of control and revision over almost every department of the administration.

The development of this new assembly, through which a definite, although a subordinate, share of political power was allotted to the commons, could not fail to

Barons' Weakened Powers weaken the position of the baronage. The significance of parliamentary institutions from this point of view was recognised

and resented shortly after Edward's death. But in his lifetime the new parliament was accepted by the estate of the barons as a necessity, and was no doubt the less criticised because it was the result of a gradual evolution. The reign of Henry III. had shown how powerful feudalism could be so long as it stood on the defensive,

and how little popular support would be worth in a protracted struggle with the traditional leaders of the nation.

Edward therefore shrank from declaring open war upon feudalism, and preferred to use it rather than to crush it. The concessions which he made to win the support of the barons were almost as important as his covert invasions of their privileges. Already, as the ally of Simon de Montfort, he had helped, by the Provisions of Westminster, to bind and define the judicial power of the great lords over their free tenants. In the statute of Gloucester in 1278 he went a step further, ordering a strict inquiry into the nature and source of all existing private jurisdictions. From this time forward a sharp distinction was drawn between "royal rights" of justice and ordinary seigniorial rights which might be regarded as inherent in the ownership of land. The crown resumed all royal rights which had passed into private hands otherwise than by express grant or immemorial prescription. Owing to this policy the higher feudal courts became

of little value to their owners and quickly fell into desuetude, while the importance of manorial courts was greatly diminished. On the other hand, the land laws of Edward I. ministered to the aggrandisement of the great families. The statute "De Donis" in 1285 restored the

power of strict and perpetual entail, which had been undermined by a series of judicial decisions; that of mortmain, in 1279, by forbidding religious bodies to acquire new lands, secured lay lords against one of the most frequent frauds

through which they were robbed of their feudal dues; and, finally, that of "Quia emptores" in 1290, which, while permitting the holder of unentailed land to sell it freely, made the buyer the immediate tenant of the seller's lord, came as a boon

both to great landlords and to the holders of encumbered estates. It is not surprising that Edward, though he had to deal with a hostile coalition of barons in the crisis of 1297, was generally able to count on their support. Feudal levies were a valuable element in the great armies with which he overran Wales and Scotland, and the estate of the barons did him excellent service in his determined conflict with the papacy.

This conflict assumed importance because it came at a time of friction between the monarchy and national Church.

The statute of mortmain was naturally resented by the clergy, and it was followed by the writ of "Circumspecte Agatis" in 1285, which defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in civil cases. The protests of Archbishop Peckham against these measures did not call for

serious consideration. But the hands of the next primate, Winchelsey, were strengthened by the daring and unexpected action of Boniface VIII. in issuing the Bull "Clericis Laicos." Boniface forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the lay power without the consent of

the Holy See; and it was not until the clergy had been outlawed and the Pope intimidated that the obligation of the Church to contribute subsidies for national purposes could be once more asserted. Winchelsey, defeated on the question of



THE GREAT EDWARD I.

Coming to the throne of England in 1272, Edward I. revealed high qualities as a general, a warrior, a lawgiver, and a statesman, and proved himself to be one of England's greatest rulers. He waged long war against Scotland.



Eleanor of Castile



Marguerite of France

THE TWO QUEENS OF EDWARD I.



THE LAST MARCH OF EDWARD I.: DEATH WITHIN SIGHT OF SCOTLAND

King Edward I. of England twice defeated the Scots, but after the crowning of Robert Bruce as King of Scotland the English were driven from that country. Edward, however, determined again to make war on the Scots, and he collected the whole of his forces at Carlisle to lead them northward. But while the troops were arriving the king fell ill, and at Burgh-upon-Sands, resting by the wayside, he died, his last moments gladdened by the sight of a flaming town that marked the course of his army. From his Scottish wars he was called "The Hammer of the Scots."

From the water-colour drawing by W. Bell Scott, by permission of Mrs. Hueffer

ecclesiastical privilege, made himself the leader of a baronial opposition; constitutional grievances were made a pretext for avenging those of the clergy. In 1300 Boniface VIII. claimed Scotland as a fief of the papacy, and forbade Edward to invade that country. Again Winchelsey and the orthodox clergy were to be found upon the side opposed to the king. The struggle ended with the removal of Winchelsey from the primacy through the good offices of a new and more moderate Pope; and the statute of Carlisle, forbidding men of religion to pay taxes to any foreign power, gave the papacy a significant hint of what might be expected if it encouraged the perverse ambition of the national Church.

Turning from the futile dreams of continental aggrandisement which had brought his father to the verge of ruin, Edward devoted his attention to consolidating the royal power within the British Isles. He interfered little with Ireland; but circumstances gave him the opportunity of asserting himself in Wales with permanent, and in Scotland with temporary, success. From the days of the Confessor, Wales, though divided between petty

dynasties and convulsed by internal wars, had been a thorn in the side of England; the raids conducted by the Norman kings and Henry II., often with imposing forces and a vast expenditure of treasure, seldom resulted in a real extension of English influence. The colonisation of the marches by predatory adventurers had proceeded steadily, and in the thirteenth century the plain country to the north and west and south of the Welsh mountains was securely held by a chain of castles, partly in royal and partly in private hands. But the growth of the Marcher aristocracy had led to a new danger. The great houses linked their fortunes by marriage and alliance with those of the chief Welsh dynasties; and the princes of North Wales had shown, first, in the struggle for the Charter, and again in the civil wars under Henry III., that they were disposed to encourage every movement which might paralyse the hostility of the English crown.

If North Wales were once subdued the whole country would be at the feet of England. To this object Edward devoted himself between 1277 and 1283. By a skilful combination of land and sea forces

Llewelyn, the ruling prince of North Wales, was hemmed up in Snowdon, and forced by the Treaty of Conway, in 1277, to acknowledge his dependency on England. An attempt to repudiate the submission led to a second invasion, to the flight and death of the prince, and to the enactment of the "Statutum Gwallie" in 1284 incorporating the principality with the dominions of the English crown. The marches kept their old privileges and organisation, except that the right of private war, which they alone of the English barons claimed to exercise, was abolished. The remainder of Wales was divided into shires—Cardigan, Carmarthen, Merioneth, Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Flint—which were governed, like those of England, through shire courts and sheriffs, but were unrepresented in the English parliament, and subject to the authority of special justices, whose headquarters were fixed at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. The Welsh shire courts administered the old Keltic private law, with such alterations as English ideas of reason and justice demanded; and the land remained Keltic in blood and speech and sentiment, though it is true that some attempt was made to create towns which should be centres of English influence.

More than a century after Edward's measures it was still possible for Owen Glendower to resuscitate the instinct of national independence in Wales, and seriously to prefer a claim to represent Llewelyn's dynasty. But the Tudors completed the work which Edward had begun. Most of the marches had then become, through forfeiture, escheat, or inheritance, the property of the crown. Under Henry VIII. they were partly grouped in new shires and partly incorporated with those already in existence. From 1536 onwards the shires and towns of Wales were represented in the English parliament; the remnants of Marcher lawlessness and privilege were stamped out of existence by the Council of Wales and the marches, a local Star Chamber with large discretionary powers, which continued in existence until the year 1640. The attempt to conquer Scotland

arose out of claims of suzerainty similar to those which had justified the conquest of Wales. The import of the homage usually tendered by the kings of Scotland to their southern neighbours was uncertain, the Scots themselves claiming that it was merely due for the English lands of which their kings were tenants, while the English naturally saw in it a proof of the dependency of Scotland as a whole. It is neither possible to determine nor profitable to discuss the original nature of a relation which began as early as the tenth century, and meant in practice so much as the stronger party could make it mean and no more. The facts of real importance are that Scotland had until recent times always proved a troublesome neighbour to England, that Alexander III., although a



THE FIRST PRINCE OF WALES

The independence of Wales came to an end when Edward I. led an army into the principality. Summoning the representatives of the subdued people, the king, it is said, promised them a prince who was a Welshman by birth, and who could speak no other language. Then he showed his infant son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon.

son-in-law of Henry III., had stoutly refused to acknowledge himself the vassal of Edward so far as his kingdom was concerned, and that it was imperative to prevent Scotland from taking part in European combinations as a free and independent state.

The death of Alexander III., in 1286, was followed at no long interval by that of his granddaughter, the Maid of Norway; the disputes which immediately arose among the numerous competitors for the vacant throne

enabled Edward to assert his suzerainty. With the consent of all the claimants he conducted an arbitration which ended in the recognition of John Balliol as the rightful heir. The new king did homage to the full extent of Edward's pretensions, and

New Scottish King

it would have been well if the latter had remained content with this guarantee of peace, the greatest that could reasonably be expected, and a far greater concession than the pride of the Scottish people approved. An ill-judged attempt to assert the jurisdiction of the English royal court over Balliol and his subjects led to the virtual deposition of the vassal king, the election of a baronial committee of regency, and, in 1296, to an alliance between the new government and Philip the Fair of France, who had recently declared war upon Edward with a view to the recovery of Guienne and Gascony. The policy of the English king had precipitated the danger which it was intended to prevent.

The danger was, however, promptly met. In 1296 the Lowlands were overrun by an English army, and Balliol, the nominal head of the national movement against the English supremacy, was taken and relegated to an English prison. Scotland was placed under English regents. The regalia of the crown were sent to Westminster as a sign that the independent existence of the kingdom had now ceased.

But in the following year, William Wallace, a poor knight of whose early life we know almost nothing, was able to collect an army, which at Stirling destroyed the garrison of occupation, and to make himself the head of a new national regency.

A timely truce with France enabled Edward in 1297 to return home from an uneventful expedition to Flanders, to effect a settlement with the leaders of the constitutional opposition at home, and to invade Scotland for the second time. At the



EDWARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ISABELLA OF FRANCE
Edward II. had none of the great qualities of his father, whom he succeeded on the throne of England in 1307, and in 1327 he was deposed because of his incompetence and murdered in Berkeley Castle.

battle of Falkirk the squares of Wallace's spearmen were shaken and shattered by the masterly tactics of the English king. Wallace became a homeless fugitive, to be betrayed and executed after years of wandering; and Scotland received a constitution under which the government was vested in a regent, a council, and the assembly of the Scottish Estates. The latter body was to be represented in the English parliament, but to legislate independently for Scotland; the English shire system and the law of the Lowlands were to be applied without exception over the whole country. Moderate and skilfully planned, so far as details went, the new constitution was in its essence intolerable to Scottish pride; it was hardly promulgated before a new national leader appeared in the person of Robert Bruce, the grandson and namesake of a competitor who had all but defeated Balliol's claim to the throne.

The Bruce, though overthrown almost as soon as crowned by a third army of invasion, defied his pursuers in the fastnesses of the Western Isles, and it was left for Edward's successor to complete the reduction of the rising, if he could. The old king, worn out by strenuous labours, died at Burgh-upon-Sands, on the Solway Firth, in the act of launching a new host against the supporters of Bruce in 1307. The greatest legislator and most

Death of the Great Edward

far-seeing reformer of an age which all over Europe was rich in statesmen, Edward bequeathed to his son a kingdom more extensive, more compact, and more highly organised than any which had hitherto existed in the British Isles, but at the same time loaded with debt, involved in a hopeless war, and weakened

Character of Edward II. by the discontent of an aristocracy whose political ambitions became more dangerous in proportion as their feudal privileges and responsibilities were diminished by increasing centralisation. The new king was the last man to extricate his inheritance from these embarrassments; profligate, extravagant, and idle, he abandoned public affairs to Piers Gaveston, an unpopular favourite of Gascon origin.

The Scottish war was dropped at the moment when there was the best prospect of ending it with success; and the next few years were wasted in bickerings with the great barons, for which Piers Gaveston was principally responsible. Led by the king's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the great earls clamoured for that influence in the royal counsels which, according to custom, should have been theirs. Incompetent and untrustworthy to a man, the malcontents would have merited little sympathy if the king had placed himself in the hands of an abler favourite. Even under Gaveston's guidance he pursued a more patriotic policy than that of his opponents; and it was an invasion of Scotland on his part which enabled them to assemble in council and pass, without the concurrence of clergy or commons, ordinances for the banishment of Gaveston, the regulating of the government, and the limitation of the king's prerogative.

The ordinances provided for annual parliaments; but the form of government which they set up was one in which supreme power was divided between the ordainers and the estate of the baronage. It was an oligarchic constitution, similar to the Provisions of Oxford, but with even less pretence of solicitude for the common weal. The king would have been justified in challenging the ordinances on the broad ground of constitutional principle. He chose rather to accept those which involved a question of principle, and only to disregard that which touched his

favourite. The concession was inadequate; Gaveston, having fallen into the hands of his rivals, was beheaded without a trial, and the king, after having weakly consented to a reconciliation with the murderers of his friend, in the hope that by so doing he might save the last of the English strongholds in Scotland, was left by the opposition to fight the national cause without their aid.

Attempting the relief of Stirling with a force which by no means represented the full strength of his kingdom, he lost the battle of Bannockburn in June, 1314, and with it his last hope of destroying Scottish independence. Stirling capitulated at once, and Berwick a few years later. The Scots in their turn took the offensive. Northern England was savagely raided, and Edward Bruce, crowned king of Ireland in 1315, waged incessant and successful war upon the English settlers of that island for the next three years. To the problem of meeting these attacks little thought was given by any English party. Edward's main thought was to be revenged upon his arch-enemy, the

The Fateful Battle of Bannockburn Earl of Lancaster. With the aid of new favourites, the Despensers, he sowed dissension in the ranks of his opponents; and in 1322 Lancaster, deserted by his adherents, experienced the same fate which he had meted out to Gaveston. A constitutional colour was put upon this act of vengeance by means of a parliament which declared the ordinances illegal, and laid down the important principle that all matters touching the king, the realm, and the people should be settled exclusively by a parliament composed of the three Estates.

It was, however, a time of general want and suffering. Famine and murrain proved no less destructive than the raids of the Scot; and for all misfortunes the king was held accountable. A miserable intrigue between his wife, Isabel of France, and Roger Mortimer, a lord of the Welsh Marches, gave the starting-point for a conspiracy which was joined by all the enemies of Edward and the Despensers. The latter were seized and hanged; the king was deposed in favour of his son by a parliament in which the commons were present as approving though silent spectators. Even the murder of Edward a few months later, in 1327, failed to produce a reaction.



THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

ENGLAND'S PART IN THE GREAT STRUGGLE

WHEN the queen-mother and Mortimer, acting as the self-constituted guardians of the young Edward III., concluded a humiliating peace with Scotland their popularity at once evaporated. A new conspiracy, in 1330, sent Mortimer to the scaffold, relegated the queen to a close though honourable confinement, and made Edward III. king in fact as well as name. The new ruler immediately established a name for vigour and military success. He once more attacked Scotland, which the death of Robert Bruce had left in the hands of an infant king. Edward, the son of John Balliol, was assisted in an invasion of Scotland, and the English Edward avenged Bannockburn by a signal victory which he gained at Halidon Hill over Bruce's partisans in 1333. Edward Balliol became King of Scotland for a time, while the heir of the national idea was taken for safety

Scotland Maintains Her Independence

to the court of France. It was a delusive success; Scotland could not be effectively conquered, the alliance of the nationalists with France was now more firmly cemented, and in 1339 Edward Balliol retired from the country in despair, leaving the field open for his rival's return. But the ephemeral success of his cause soothed English pride, and gave Edward III. a breathing space in which to make good his position.

The Hundred Years' War is, after the secular conflict of papacy and empire, the most important crisis of the Middle Ages. It was a trial of strength between the two most compact and highly developed of mediæval states. One of these it ruined, while upon the other it threw a strain which accelerated the natural processes of decay and transformation. It ushered in an era of complex diplomacy, shifting combinations, and protracted wars, in consequence of which despotism, more or less popular in its character, became the normal type of European policy.

Its various effects upon European policies, from Bohemia to Spain, and from Scotland to Sicily, belong properly to European history; but some account of its general

England's War of Self-defence

character is necessary to explain the nature and order of the changes to which it led in England. It was due to the desire of the French monarchy to recover the last shreds of the Angevin Empire from the heirs of Henry II.

Philip VI., the first Valois king, took up the plans which more than one of his predecessors had framed for this purpose. He sheltered David Bruce in exile, and afterwards assisted him in the recovery of Scotland; he attempted to break the long-standing alliance between England and the Flemish towns by imposing on the latter a count of French sympathies; in short, he neglected no opportunity of injuring English interests. Edward began the war in self-defence, although, after its beginning, he raised a counter-claim to the throne of France, in virtue of his descent on the maternal side from Philip the Bold, who died in 1285.

This step was mainly taken to remove the feudal scruples of the Flemings, who refused to serve against the king of France. The danger to the Flemish and Gascon trade and the piracies of the French made the war popular with the English commons. Their subsidies were generously granted, and the expenses of a war in which all ranks, from the duke to the man-at-arms, fought for daily wages were defrayed chiefly from the purses of the middle and lower classes. After

Why the War was Popular

1345, when the military operations took a wider scope, and plans of conquest shaped themselves in the minds of Edward and his son, national pride, the interests of a nobility growing rich on spoils and ransoms, and a series of brilliant victories, maintained the popularity of the war.

At first it appeared as though the victory of Edward would be soon complete. The navy of France was destroyed at Sluys in 1340, their main army was shattered at Crecy, and David of Scotland became an English prisoner at Neville's Cross in 1346. The victory of Roche Derrien, in 1347, though trivial in itself, placed Brittany at the disposal of the English party; and, finally, King John of France fell into the hands of the Black Prince at Poitiers in 1357. With this disaster anarchy was unchained in France. Threatened simultaneously by a sedition in the capital and by an insurrection of the oppressed peasantry in the surrounding country, the regency of France consented to the Treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, under which the English kept Calais—which had been captured in 1347—Poitou, Saintonge, the Angoumois, the Limousin, Perigord, Quercy, Rouergue, Guienne, and Gascony. This treaty marks the highest point of English fortunes in the first stage of the war.

Under John's successor, Charles V., the French monarchy slowly began to recover from the wounds inflicted in the preceding twenty years. The Black Prince, who, as Duke of Aquitaine, administered the continental possessions, rashly involved himself in a war respecting the Castilian succession. An expedition to Castile shattered his health, drained his resources, and, in spite of temporary success, ultimately led to an alliance between France and Castile, which cost the English their command of the sea and enabled Charles V. to resume the aggressive with some success. The Black Prince returned home to die. Under the

governorship of his younger brother, the incompetent John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, English power dwindled till, at the death of Edward III., Bordeaux, Bayonne, Dax, and Calais were the only French towns of importance left to his grandson.



EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND

Under this monarch England's prosperity rapidly advanced. Invading France, Edward won the great battle of Crecy in 1346, and in the following year he captured Calais after a long siege. His later years were full of trouble.

places was difficult. It was easier to overrun France than to hold it. When the war ceased to be self-supporting, the burden of maintaining an army on hostile territory became insupportable. Edward had undertaken a task which was beyond the powers of any feudal state. It would have been well if his successors had recognised this truth and impressed it on the nation. But under Richard, II. operations of an aimless kind were intermittently pursued, while allies fell away and the narrow seas were scoured by French and Scottish privateers.



PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT

This brave woman was the queen of Edward III. While the king was fighting in France, Philippa met the Scots at Neville's Cross, in 1346, and defeated them. She died in 1369.

The French government, grown bolder with success, began to lay plans for the invasion of England, and actually sent auxiliaries to Scotland. In 1396, Richard II., having freed himself from the trammels of the regency, was sufficiently wise and courageous to conclude a truce for twenty-eight years.



THE ORIGIN OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER: EDWARD III AND THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

The Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III, between 1344 and 1351, is said to have originated at a State ball. According to the story, a Countess of Salisbury dropped her garter, which the king picked up. Observing the smile of his courtiers, Edward exclaimed, "Honi soit qui mal y pense!"—"Evil be to him that evil thinks"—which words became the motto of the Order.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Teyler, R.P.A., by the artist's permission

But this step was made an additional count in the long list of charges which his enemies compiled against him. Although the truce was not formally renounced after his fall, the relations of the two countries

supply," made every new tax an excuse for demanding remedial legislation. In particular they claimed statutory recognition of their right to be the sole source of taxation, to appropriate for specific

purposes the supplies which they had voted, to audit the royal accounts, and to impeach or demand the removal of ministers of whom they disapproved. These rights the king was ready to grant, but no less ready to disregard whenever circumstances strengthened his position. The Commons were more successful in formulating than in applying valuable



RICHARD II. AND HIS QUEEN, ANNE OF BOHEMIA

The son of the Black Prince, Richard II. became king in 1377. He was overthrown by the rebellion of Henry of Lancaster—Bolingbroke—to whom he resigned the crown.

remained dubious and tense. The last and greatest stage in the struggle still belonged to the future.

The deposition of Edward II. was followed, in English politics, by fifty years

principles of parliamentary government; their formal separation from the House of Lords, which took place early in the reign, made it difficult to unite the various elements of the opposition, and

of unstable equilibrium. On the question of the war there was no radical difference of opinion between the king and the people. The constant demands for new subsidies gave rise to complaints, and new claims of control and audit on the part of the Commons. But their respect for the king prevented them from pushing remonstrance to extremes until years and infirmity



KING HENRY IV. AND JOANNA OF NAVARRE, HIS CONSORT

When Richard II. yielded up his crown it was assumed by Bolingbroke, under the title of Henry IV. In earlier life, Henry fought in the East; after becoming king he extended the powers of Parliament. He died in 1413 at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury.

some time had to elapse before the knights of the shire, who represented the lower gentry, realised the complete identity of their interests with those of the towns. When, as in 1371 and 1376, a court



LONDON'S ROYAL GUESTS IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Even in the Middle Ages the City of London stood first as a business centre, and, upon occasion, was the host of royalty. This picture, from a panel in the Royal Exchange, illustrates such an event, the artist showing Sir Henry Picard, the Mayor of the City and Master of the Vintners Company, in 1387, entertaining at the one time four kings—Edward III. of England, David II. of Scotland, John of France, and the King of Cyprus.

From the painting by A. Chevallier Tayler, R.B.A., by the artist's permission

faction placed itself at the head of the third estate, the true importance of the latter at once became manifest. On the second of these two occasions the Commons impeached and punished the two most obnoxious of the royal ministers. But the sequel is instructive. The Black Prince, who had instigated the attack

Death of the Black Prince

through jealousy of the influence which John of Gaunt possessed with the old king, died in the middle of the session. The opposition, left leaderless, collapsed; the ministers were released, and the Speaker of the Commons was thrown into prison. The next Parliament, in which the Lower House was packed with the friends of John of Gaunt, obediently condoned the duke's defiance of its predecessor.

Edward III. had usually been on good terms with his baronage. But the composition of this estate was different at the end of his reign from what it had been at the beginning. A single earl of the royal blood had been sufficiently influential to menace the safety of Edward II. But Edward III., blind to this warning, had given positions as great as that of Thomas of Lancaster to several of his younger sons and kinsmen. The intrigues of these princes were a fertile source of trouble from the moment when the crown devolved upon the infant son of the Black Prince.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, attempted to provide for a regency without reference to the wishes of Parliament. This design was frustrated, and Parliament successfully insisted on a share in the nominations to the Royal Council. But from 1377 to 1381 the government was practically in the hands of John of Gaunt; his inefficient and extravagant conduct and the French war necessitated burdensome taxation, which gave the signal for the Peasants' Revolt. Gaunt was scared into retirement by the evidence of his unpopularity which

Troubles of the Young Richard II.

the revolt afforded, and the king fell into the hands of a faction headed by his half-brothers, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon. Another faction no less formidable gathered head under the king's uncle, Thomas of Gloucester; in 1386 it impeached the Earl of Suffolk, and saddled the king with a board of eleven advisers whose functions resembled closely those of the Ordainers. Richard temporised and began to make preparations for attacking

his enemies by armed force. His purpose was forestalled; he fell into the hands of the Gloucester faction. A servile Parliament condemned to death the chief of Richard's ministers and friends, and the Gloucester faction continued to control the administration.

A few months later the king unexpectedly asserted his authority by declaring himself of age. He dismissed the obnoxious regents, and appointed a new council, to which, with sagacious moderation, he called some of those who had been his opponents. Parliament, formerly so zealous in the service of the opposition, acquiesced in the overthrow of a form of government which had been established by the authority of both Houses, and for eight years Richard ruled without hindrance from his relations and on good terms with the estates. The explanation is that he had succeeded in procuring the support of John of Gaunt, the most formidable among his uncles. The court parties were therefore evenly balanced; the natural respect of the Commons for an hereditary title was under these circumstances sufficient to guarantee his position.

The King's Dread of Conspiracies

In this position Richard might, with common prudence, have continued for the rest of his life. But he chafed against his dependence, and the fear of conspiracies affected his mind to the point of madness. In 1397 he suddenly arrested the heads of the Gloucester faction; some were executed, some imprisoned, and Earl Thomas himself was murdered in prison without a trial.

These proceedings, counterbalanced as they were by profuse grants of dignities to the Lancastrian faction, were passively accepted by Parliament, which was carefully packed with royal creatures and surrounded by the armed bodyguard of the king during its proceedings. In a second session, under constraint of the same kind, the estates voted to Richard a life revenue, and made him completely independent of their assembly for the future by sanctioning the appointment of a standing committee of eighteen members with full powers to act in the name of Parliament.

The power thus won was used oppressively in many instances. London and many of the shires were heavily fined on the charge, true or false, that they had abetted the king's enemies. The king's livery was granted to all who would wear



AN UNWORTHY KING: RICHARD II. RESIGNING HIS CROWN AND SCEPTRE

This illustration, from the water-colour drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., represents the most humiliating moment in the life of King Richard II. His attempts to govern without a parliament roused the indignation of his people, and the opposition, under Henry of Lancaster, compelled him to renounce the throne. We here see him giving up his crown and sceptre. He afterwards signed a statement declaring that he was not worthy to be king any longer.

it, and was treated as a licence for indiscriminate purveyances. But Richard was no tyrant, and the general body of the nation was long suffering. He might long have pursued his course of absolutism with impunity if he had not rashly attempted to rid himself of the Lancastrians, through whom he had gained his end. He banished Henry of Hereford, the son and heir of John of Gaunt, without the semblance of a trial; and on the death of the old duke, in 1399, he confiscated the Lancastrian estates.

Henry of Hereford was the most popular member of the royal house. He had been a Crusader in Prussia, he excelled in knightly exercises, and he had been treated with palpable injustice. When, in July, 1399, he took advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland to land and raise the standard of rebellion he was joined at once by numerous adherents; and Richard returned only to enter a captivity in which he perished mysteriously a year later. The crown, which he had resigned in the hope that his life would be spared, was claimed by Henry of Lancaster, and his right was confirmed by the three estates. So the long-dormant right of national election was revived; the house of Lancaster came to the throne with a title which, however they might cloak the fact, was, and was generally considered to be, parliamentary. Never had Parliament interfered so often and so decisively as in the reign of Richard II.

It alternately exalted and debased the king and his opponents. There was no department of the government too important for its interference, no custom so old that it might not alter or abolish it. But when we go beneath the surface of events and study the influences at work we find that

the personal and territorial influence of a few great nobles determined the acts of Parliament. The Commons had ceased to be significant by becoming the sharpest weapon of party warfare.

The reign of Henry IV. was not wholly untroubled by factions of the old kind, now the more dangerous because they



THE DEATH OF RICHARD II. IN PONTEFRAC CASTLE

Though no longer on the throne, Richard II. was not altogether without friends, as was shown by the endeavour which they made to reinstate him as king. But this attempt failed, and the failure meant the death not only of the ex-king but of many noblemen who had supported him. The exact manner of Richard's death is not known, but it is supposed that he was murdered in Pontefract Castle.

From the drawing by Sir John Gilbert, R.A.

were bound up with the claims of various pretenders. In Cheshire and the Welsh marches the personality of Richard had been popular; in Wales, Owen Glendower headed a growing band of nationalists; in the North of England, the Percies and other families which had been Lancastrian were alienated from Henry by disappointed

ambition. An impostor pretending to be Richard appeared for a time in Scotland; the Earl of March, whom Richard had designated as his heir, had the support of the Percies and Glendower. Fortunately, France was paralysed by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs, Scotland by a minority and the capture of the young James I. by the English in 1405. Hence the Welsh got little help from France, the Percies none from Scotland.

The Welsh rising, which began in 1400, was for a time successful, and Owen Glendower was actually crowned Prince of Wales by his followers in 1402. But, having formed a coalition with the Percies to set the Earl of March upon the English throne, Glendower was defeated by the royal forces at Shrewsbury, in 1403, though the Percies came to his aid. Harry Percy, "Hotspur," the life and soul of the English malcontents, perished in the battle. His father, Northumberland, failed ignominiously in the attempt to raise the north against the crown in 1404, fled to Scotland, and was subsequently slain at Bramham Moor in 1407, when conducting a raid into Yorkshire. Owen Glendower, although a thorn in the side of England for some years longer, failed to carry the war across the English border. His rebellion, which at one time had made him master of the principality, died down by degrees; the date of his death and the place of his burial are alike unknown.

After 1404 the chief difficulties of Henry IV. were caused by Parliament and by his own son. The king was personally unpopular; his title clearly rested on the goodwill of the nation. He had been elected to reform the state of the country and restore the rule of law; but his government was expensive, and no brilliant military achievements were placed to his credit. Parliament therefore criticised him freely, and it might have gone hard with him if he had not conciliated the clergy by helping them to pass the statute De

Hæretico Comburendō, the first persecuting measure in the national history. In 1404 the Commons clamoured for a reduction of expense and the dismissal of foreign favourites. They would grant a subsidy only on condition of being allowed to appoint treasurers who should supervise the expenditure of the sum voted. In 1406 they demanded "good and abundant governance," insisted on the choice of new and more acceptable counsellors, nominated by a controller of the royal household, and insisted upon appointing auditors of their subsidy.

In 1411 they were induced, perhaps by the heir apparent, Henry of Monmouth, to consider the question of setting aside the king, who was now worn out with sickness. At this point, however, the king showed an unexpected spirit, sent for the Speaker of the Lower House, and intimated that

he would have no novelties discussed. The Commons took the rebuke in a submissive spirit; the prince and his supporters were removed from the Privy Council, and the king enjoyed some measure of independence for the remainder of his reign. But in the years 1399-1413 the chief power in the state had passed from Crown to Parliament; the executive had

learned to take the orders of the Commons, and had begun to avoid responsibility by adopting submissively the advice of inexperienced representatives. The death of Henry IV., in 1413, left his son and namesake face to face with domestic problems of no small difficulty.

The terrible pestilence known as the Black Death, which was the greatest scourge of fourteenth-century Europe, visited England in 1348-1349, and on a smaller scale in subsequent years. Affecting the country districts almost as severely as the towns, it swept away from a third to a half of the total population. It is probable that a few years restored the population of the country to the old level; but in the meantime many changes of



THE FATHER OF ENGLISH POETRY
Born about the year 1340, Geoffrey Chaucer served the English government in various capacities, and had a wide experience of life. The famous "Canterbury Tales" were written when he was about fifty-four years of age.

far-reaching import had been set on foot. The passing scarcity of labour accelerated the rise which had already begun in the general rate of wages; increased wages and restricted cultivation led to a rise in the prices of agricultural produce, and against the double evil king and Parliament sought to provide by legislation. The Statute of Labourers fixed the maximum price of the important articles of food; it also gave power to the justices of the peace in every shire to fix the rates of wages.

Such measures could not produce the desired effect, but they caused great bitterness of feeling among producers and labourers, since hired labour was becoming daily more essential in the agricultural economy of the nation. Before 1300 the lords of manors depended chiefly upon serf labour for the cultivation of their demesnes. Since that date it had become a usual practice to commute labour services for money payments, according to the current rate of wages.

These bargains, advantageous to both parties when first arranged, proved ruinous to landlords when the rate of wages was doubled by the plague. Unable to obtain labour at the rates which were fixed under the new statute, they conspired with the labourers to defeat it, but at the same time sought to reimburse themselves by a stricter exaction of the labour services and dues in money or kind to which they were still entitled from their serfs. The two classes of the landless labourers,

oppressed by unjust legislation, and of the land-holding serfs, irritated by the claims of masters whom they had ceased to respect, drew together and formed a party of considerable size, which was skilfully knit together by concealed agitators. The teaching of John Wycliffe, himself the opposite of a socialist, was interpreted by popular preachers in such

a way as to fan the flame. Wycliffe, an Oxford doctor of theology, had become a public character by the mission which he undertook in 1374 to negotiate a concordat between the Pope and the national Church. Subsequently he distinguished himself by vigorous attacks upon the extortions of the papacy, which the captivity of Avignon and the great schism had discredited in general



KING HENRY V. AND HIS QUEEN, CATHARINE OF VALOIS

The son of Henry IV., whom he succeeded in 1413, the young king continued the severe policy of his father towards the Lollards. Having won by war the regency and succession of France, he married the Princess Catharine, daughter of the French king, Charles VI.

estimation, by supervising the preparation of an English Bible, and by sending out poor preachers to address the people in homely language on the evils of society and the necessity for amending them.

Though linked at one time with John of Gaunt by the tie of their common opposition to the hierarchy, Wycliffe was definitely committed to no political party. It was an abstract doctrine, borrowed from the scholastics, to the effect that power ceases to be legitimate when unlawfully used, which commended the preaching of his priests to the discontented classes. A rising of the peasants broke out in 1381; the occasion in some places was supplied by the collection of a poll tax, which, although graduated, weighed more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich.

But the area affected by the rising was so considerable—the whole of East and South-east England—that we must suppose the preparations to have been on foot before the unpopular impost was demanded. London was forcibly entered by the men of Hertford, Essex, and Kent; much damage was done to the property of John

ENGLAND DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR

of Gaunt, alien merchants, and court favourites; the primate, Simon Sudbury, was beheaded on Tower Hill.

But the boldness of the young Richard II. saved the situation. He induced the mob to disperse by granting manumission to the villeins; the more local risings were mercilessly crushed with the aid of the gentry and superior clergy. Parliament refused to confirm the bargain which Richard had made with the villeins, both Lords and Commons protesting that they would rather all die in one day than lose their rights. But the alarm which the rising had produced made landholders readier to adopt a new method of farming which was now coming into vogue. They began to let their demesne lands at a rent to tenant farmers; the remaining services of the villeins were rapidly commuted, and the class soon acquired the new name of copyholders. Henceforth the peasant holding land was practically a freeholder, His rent was a fixed one, and though he was still subject to the manor court the restraints upon his personal liberty disappeared. Some traces of villeinage

remained in certain parts of the country as late as the sixteenth century, but Tudor writers regard it as, for practical purposes, extinct. The chief disability which clung to the descendants of villeins was that of exclusion from the franchise. This was limited by a statute of 1430, which introduced as a necessary qualification for an elector in the shires the possession of a freehold of forty shillings' annual value. Copyholders, though often men of substance and education, did not acquire the franchise till the great Reform Bill of the year 1832.

Wycliffe's party survived the suppression of the villeins' revolt, from which the reformer entirely dissociated himself, denouncing the conduct of the peasants with great freedom. But he fell under the suspicion of heresy, chiefly because, in his attacks upon the sacerdotal theory, he was logically led on to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation. Condemned at the Lambeth Council of 1382, he nevertheless remained unmolested as parish priest at Lutterworth until his death, in 1384. The Lollards, as his followers were



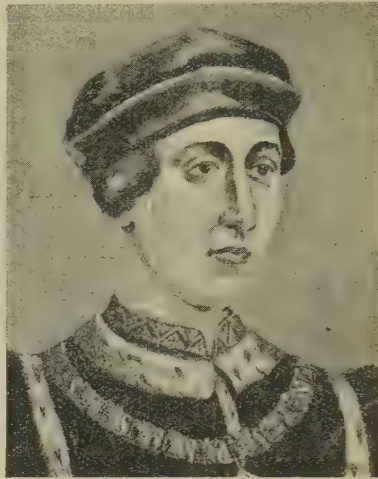
KING HENRY V. WOOLING THE FRENCH PRINCESS CATHARINE

This interesting picture represents the wooing of England's young king, Henry V., which had a successful termination, the wedding, attended with great pomp, taking place on Trinity Sunday, June 3rd, 1420, in the Parish Church at Troyes.

From the painting by W. F. Yeames, by permission of the "Art Journal."

called, distinguished themselves in the latter part of Richard's reign by bold attacks upon the chief superstitions and abuses of the mediæval Church. They had friends at court, and the queen, Anne of Bohemia, may possibly have favoured them; it is certain that their doctrines spread to her native country and formed the starting-point of the religious and patriotic movement to which Huss gave his name. But in England the persecution initiated by Henry IV. was rapidly successful. William Sautre, the first victim, burned in 1401, before the statute "De Hæretico" was passed, was followed to the stake by a number of fellow-believers. In 1414 Sir John Oldcastle, the most considerable representative of the sect, formed a plot to seize Henry V. with a view to extorting toleration. The plot was detected and suppressed; the last chance that the Lollards would become a political party faded away. There is some evidence to show that Lollard congregations evaded their persecutors and continued to meet in some of the eastern counties till the beginning of the sixteenth century. How far the survival served as a foundation for the later growth of Protestantism remains a matter of dispute among historians. The fourteenth century therefore gave indications of a new period to come, of impending changes in the structure of society, in religious dogma, and in secular and ecclesiastical government. It is the culminating period of mediæval civilisation; the seeds of decay are already implanted. But a century was to elapse before the need for social and religious reorganisation became

generally recognised. The chief interest of the Lancastrian and Yorkist period is to be found in the gradual breach with old manners, traditions, and ways of thought. The conservative and innovating tendencies of the century are alike illustrated by the first great poets who wrote in an English intelligible at the present day. Chaucer (1340-1399), the poet of the court and middle classes, Langland, the poet of the people, are sharply distinct, but both the creatures of their age. Chaucer reflects the cosmopolitanism of cultured mediæval society; he made free use of French and Italian models, and familiarised the English ear with foreign metres. But in his chief work, "The Canterbury Tales," he is a national poet of the best kind. The prologue introduces us to the members of a pilgrimage on the road to Canterbury; the tales which follow are fitted with the art of a dramatist to the characters of the pilgrims, all English men and women, who tell them to relieve the tedium of the journey. A genial humour pervades the prologue and many of the tales. Chaucer could be satirical, but was well satisfied with the England which he knew. Langland, an ecclesiastic of humble station and saturnine disposition, wrote his allegory of *Piers Plowman* with a moral object to illustrate the search of the religious soul for Christ and to reprove the disorders of every social rank. But his rough alliterative verse abounds in sketches of daily life and in comments upon their significance, which reveal the patriotic artist, deeply sympathising with those whose follies he chastises. In the sense



KING HENRY VI. OF ENGLAND
He was the son of Henry V., and became king when only one year old. During his long minority the government was in the hands of the Privy Council. In the year 1471 he was murdered in the Tower of London.



THE QUEEN OF HENRY VI.
Margaret of Anjou, the queen of Henry VI., was married to that monarch in the year 1445.



KING HENRY V. OF ENGLAND LEADING HIS ARMY AT THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR IN 1415

This spirited picture by Mr. C. M. Sheldon represents King Henry V. at the siege of Harfleur, in France, when he urged on his troops with the ancient battle-cry of the English
armes! God for Harry! England for George! With only 4,000 men Henry faced a French army six times as numerous. He won a great and memorable victory.

that he states the case for the poor and oppressed he is a democrat. But, like Wycliffe, he was altogether averse from the wild radicalism which found vogue among the peasant rebels. The last of Langland's works, "Richard the Redeless," is an invective against the misgovernment of Richard II., but is far from revolutionary in tone. The

Parliament on the Track of Heretics.

author makes some excuses for the king, and expresses a hope that he may be brought to see the error of his ways. The reign of Henry V. opened inauspiciously with the conspiracy of Oldcastle; and although the alarm which this produced had the effect of inducing Parliament, hitherto not ill-disposed towards the heretics, to sanction a more stringent search for them, there was a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction with the Church. Towards the king the Commons showed their independence by insisting that the statutes made at their request should be in conformity with the petitions submitted to him. Among the nobles a plot had been formed to depose Henry in favour of the Earl of March, Henry's nearest kinsman and the heir presumptive.

In the midst of these ominous symptoms, the king, perhaps with the object of distracting the popular mind from criticism of his government and of the Church, decided to revive his claims upon the Angevin inheritance. The madness of Charles VI. and the distracted state into which France had been brought by the feuds of Burgundians and Armagnacs afforded a tempting opportunity. Offers of a compromise were rejected at the English court and Henry set sail for France, at the head of a small force, in the summer of 1415. Landing at Harfleur, he marched, after its capture, on Calais, in the hope of provoking the French to a pitched battle. His wish was gratified, and at Agincourt the English

How the English Won Agincourt

won a brilliant victory by their superior skill in archery and tactics. But the real work of conquering began only in 1417, when the reduction of Normandy was methodically undertaken; Rouen was not taken until January, 1419, after a siege of almost six months.

It was an unforeseen event which in the following year left Henry master of the greater part of France. The Duke of Burgundy, in the act of going through a

reconciliation with the dauphin, who had espoused the Armagnac side, was foully murdered at the Bridge of Montereau. The Burgundians and the Queen of France revenged themselves by concluding with Henry V. the Treaty of Troyes, in 1420, under which the King of England concluded a marriage with the Princess Katherine, became regent in the present, and was recognised as the heir apparent. A national party headed by the dauphin maintained the cause of independence, and even achieved a victory at Beaugé, in 1421, over an English army. But the stain of the murder committed at Montereau told heavily against the future of Charles VII.; the birth of a son to Henry and Katherine appeared to set the seal upon the union of England and France; nor were English hopes dissipated by the untimely death of their king, in 1422, at the age of thirty-five.

The success of Henry V. had converted the Commons to a project which, in the first instance, they had viewed with marked disfavour, but the reaction against the expenditure which the new conquest entailed was all the more severe when it came. The English did not realise how

English Reverses in France

much the dissensions of France had contributed to their success, and did not understand that half the kingdom remained to be conquered. Their confidence was soon rudely shaken. The new king was an infant; his uncle, Bedford, upon whom the regency devolved, though a capable statesman and soldier, was hampered by the intrigues of his brother, Gloucester. The English cause soon began to suffer reverses.

A quarrel between Philip of Burgundy and Bedford's brother Gloucester had obliterated the resentments caused by the crime of Montereau. Bedford died immediately after the desertion of Burgundy was made public. In the hands of his uncle and brother, Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Gloucester, the tottering English cause was soon overthrown. An attempt to purchase peace by the arrangement of a marriage between the young Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou, a kinswoman of Charles VII., merely excited discontent in England without conciliating France. The new queen introduced a new bitterness into the factions of the court; and an alliance between herself and Beaufort was immediately followed by the arrest and mysterious death of Gloucester, in 1447.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
BRITISH ISLES
VI

THE WARS OF THE ROSES AND THE LEGACY OF THE MIDDLE AGES

BEAUFORT outlived his nephew and enemy by only a few days; but in the person of Suffolk the queen found a new minister through whom to rule; the place of Gloucester as head of the opposition was taken by Richard, Duke of York, a good administrator and one of the few generals who had won distinction in the French wars, but hateful to the queen because, uniting the claims of two lines descended from Edward III., he stood next in succession to her husband. The king counted for nothing in the government; he was of weak intellect even before the hereditary taint of madness became apparent, and left everything to his wife except that on occasion he endeavoured without effect to play the part of peacemaker.

York appears originally to have been a loyal subject. But there was much in the conduct of the government which might legitimately be criticised, and his censures were none the less plainly expressed because he was excluded from a share of power. The parliamentary constitution had proved a total failure; the House of Commons was composed of members returned by corrupt influences and in the interest of a few great families. Since these families furnished the members of the Privy Council, to which every royal minister was subject, their supremacy was assured. All business of any consequence, and much that was trivial, came before the council for settlement, and was transacted without method or despatch or technical knowledge. The result at the best of times was "lack of governance"; and throughout the country life and property were insecure. Only a change of system could mend the evil. But the people, encouraged by the Yorkist party, looked for individuals on whom to throw the blame. The queen and her favourites became the scapegoats of the constitution.

They cannot indeed be acquitted of mis-managing the war in France. Year by year ground was lost, and the positions of the English garrisons, ill-found, ill-fed, ill-paid, grew more desperate. Normandy was lost piecemeal in 1448-1449, Guienne in 1451; even Calais was in danger in 1452. The nation, which had never been

**English
Counties in
Revolt**

willing to pay for the defence of these possessions, cried out against the treachery through which they had been lost.

The first symptom of approaching trouble was the impeachment of Suffolk by the House of Commons in 1450. The unpopular minister was seized by his enemies and beheaded in mid-Channel while attempting to escape abroad; immediately afterwards the south-eastern counties rose in revolt and, marching upon London under the lead of one Cade, who was not improbably a Yorkist instrument, demanded that the Duke of York should be called to power, and the queen's favourites dismissed.

Although easily suppressed, this rebellion influenced the queen's mind against York. When, in 1452, he made a personal appearance, at the head of an armed force, to reiterate the demands of Cade, she answered with fair words; but the birth of an heir to the throne in 1453 gave her courage to attack York as a traitor. It became for the duke a matter of life and death that he should assert his right to a position on the council, and to the office of protector during the fits of madness which had begun to seize the king at intervals. The queen's determination to exclude him from power made war inevitable. It began with the battle of Blore-heath in 1459, and from that time until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485 the crown was in dispute between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. The duke found it necessary to assert his pretensions, and they passed, after the



YORK AND LANCASTER: THE BEGINNING OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The Wars of the Roses, which broke out in the reign of King Henry VI., were one long struggle for the crown of England between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and derived their name from the incident depicted above. In the Temple Gardens, in London, the heads of the rival houses met one day, and when the Duke of York plucked a white rose, calling upon his followers to do the same, the Lancastrian partisans promptly replied by plucking a red rose.

From the picture by John Pettie, R.A.

defeat and death of Richard at Wakefield in the year 1460. to his son Edward IV.

The war of the White Rose (York) and the Red (Lancaster) originated in a conflict of personal ambitions between two branches of the royal family. From first to last it was a war between aristocratic factions in which the Commons took as little part as possible. No principle was at stake, nor was the country divided, as usually happened in the civil wars of France and Germany, upon the lines of racial or provincial demarcations. Roughly speaking, the south and south-east shires held for the Yorkists, the north and Wales for the Lancastrians. But to this general rule there were many local exceptions; the attitude of every district depended upon the territorial

influence of the great families. The aristocracy had lost the more imposing of the old feudal privileges, but land was still the great source of wealth and consideration, while private ambition and the troublous state of the times had produced a new and bastard feudalism. The timid and the ambitious among the middle and lower classes assumed the livery of great lords, whose private quarrels they pursued in return for maintenance against the authority of the law-courts and the executive; thus every great proprietor could bring a little army into the field. To which side he would bring it depended chiefly upon the ties of blood and the private feuds in which he was entangled. Scores of quarrels were fought out under cover of the dynastic question.



THE QUEEN OF EDWARD IV.

Elizabeth Woodville, a Lancastrian, was married to King Edward IV. in 1464, three years after he had ascended England's throne.



THE GREAT BATTLE OF TOWTON, THAT WITNESSED THE DEFEAT OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER IN 1461
 In this great battle, the most stubborn that England had witnessed since the battle of Hastings, one hundred and twenty thousand men were engaged, and the artist, Mr. R. Caton Woodville, admirably pictures the historic struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster. The army of the former advanced through a heavy snowfall. For six long hours the fight proceeded without either side gaining an advantage, but the arrival of Norfolk's forces in the afternoon, and the defeat of the Lancastrians, finally decided the battle.

The Yorkists succeeded in winning the passive favour of the commercial classes, of whose grievances, as of many with far less foundation, Duke Richard had been the mouthpiece before the war broke out. The accidental circumstance that Margaret of Anjou was forced to rely upon the lawless barons of the north confirmed the towns in the prejudice which they entertained against her. Yet the Yorkists, if judged by the character of their claim, were the more unconstitutional party of the two. Richard and his son demanded, in effect, that the parliamentary title of Henry VI. should be set aside in favour of one which rested on hereditary right. The reign of Edward IV. is a sufficient proof that he had no respect for constitutional liberties, and that his own interests were his guiding star. He was allowed to overthrow the Lancastrians in the hope of establishing a more efficient government. He did, in fact, establish a personal system of rule which kept the country in a state of quiet; but he did his utmost to destroy all constitutional guarantees at the same time. He endeavoured to substitute a council of favourites and connections for one of territorial magnates. But he did not create a skilled executive, and he reduced the power of the legislature to a shadow.

The complicated story of his fortunes after 1460 is not worth tracing in detail. He was crowned in 1461, annihilated the Lancastrian army at Towton a few weeks later, and made himself master of his rival's person. Eight years later he was expelled in consequence of quarrels with Warwick, his ablest

supporter, and with Clarence, his brother and the heir-presumptive. These rebels overthrew their master by forming a coalition with the fugitive Lancastrian

queen and with Louis XI. of France in 1470. But Edward recovered his position with the aid of Charles the Rash, the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it was of vital importance that French influence should not reign supreme in the country from which the weavers of Flanders derived their raw material. Henry VI. was taken and put to death; Warwick ended his days on the hard fought field of Barnet; Margaret's son, the young Prince Edward, was taken after a victory over his mother's forces at Tewkesbury, and put to death upon the field; Margaret herself fled to

France, where she passed the remainder of her days in exile. Clarence, spared for a time in consideration of his treachery

to Warwick, was secretly executed some years later, in 1478. From 1471 to 1483 Edward ruled without a rival. The most notable event of his reign, after the destruction of the premature constitutionalism initiated by the Lancastrians, was the conclusion of the long strife with France which Henry V. had revived with such disastrous consequences. Edward held fast by the Burgundian alliance. But he refused to entangle himself deeply in the schemes of Charles the Rash for the dismemberment of France, and eventually sold the English claim on France for a round sum of money.

This bargain, concluded at Pecquigny in 1473, marks the close of the mediæval stage in English foreign policy; it is an unconscious concession to the new national



KING EDWARD IV. OF ENGLAND

He was the son of Richard, Duke of York, and was crowned king in 1461. One of his military triumphs was in 1471, when he occupied London and defeated and killed Warwick at Barnet; but his reign was a disappointment



THE UNFORTUNATE EDWARD V. The boy king reigned for only three months. His uncle usurped the throne, and shortly after his accession as Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., was, with his brother, cruelly put to death in the Tower of London.



QUEEN MARGARET AND THE GOOD ROBBER

Flying with her son, Edward, after the battle of Hedgeley Moor, Queen Margaret tried to find shelter in a wood, but was there set upon by robbers and deprived of all her jewels. While the robbers were quarrelling over their booty, the queen escaped, and wandered about the forest. There she met another robber, who, touched by her pitiable condition, lent her his aid. He concealed her, eventually leading her to the coast, and thus enabled her to escape across the sea.

From the painting by W. Christian Symons



BOY PRISONERS IN THE TOWER: EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK

We have represented a pathetic episode of English history. Imprisoned in the Tower of London by their uncle, Richard III., the rightful king, Edward V., and his brother, the Duke of York, seemed to understand the awful fate which awaited them, and they have been described as "clinging together in the vain hope of finding comfort in each other's embraces."

From the painting by Paul Delaroche in the Louvre, Paris

spirit made by the least national of kings. In domestic government the tyranny of Edward serves to bridge a period of transition. He broke with the traditions of the past, but he left it to a representative of the rival house to lay the foundations of the future. An ill-judged love-marriage with Elizabeth Woodville had caused his temporary expulsion; and after his death the Woodville connection was fatal to his children.

On the death of Edward, in 1483, his brother Richard of Gloucester, who had taken up the feud of Clarence with the Woodvilles, seized his two nephews, in whose name their mother and her relations hoped to rule, and in 1483 either put the boys to death or spirited them away. Parliament was induced to declare the children of Edward illegitimate and to accept the claim of Gloucester, who was

crowned as Richard III. But he held the crown for barely two years. The public conscience, though hardened by a long series of political crimes and judicial murders, revolted against Richard's culminating atrocity. He became a mark for the intrigues of every ambitious schemer, although he bought the friendship of the Woodville interest by offering to marry his niece Elizabeth. Buckingham failed to overthrow his former friend and master in 1484; but Henry Tudor, a representative in the female line of the claim derived from John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the Lancastrians, proved more successful. Deserted by his most popular supporters, Richard fell before this new rival at the battle of Bosworth Field. The Tudor was crowned on the battlefield as Henry VII.; and parliament and the nation acquiesced in the title thus

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

Irregularly asserted. A marriage between the new king and Elizabeth of York blended the White Rose with the Red. The country drew a deep breath of satisfaction at this omen of a lasting settlement. Twenty-five years of strife had created a longing for peace and ordered government which was one of the strongest forces in English politics for many years to come.

The hereditary claim of Henry VII. was of the slightest kind. His mother, Margaret Beaufort, was a descendant of John of Gaunt; on the paternal side he could claim as ancestors only a line of Welsh squires. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married the widow of Henry V., but was not otherwise distinguished; the family had acquired the earldom of Richmond only in his father's time. Henry owed his strongest claim to the Act of Parliament which decreed that the inheritance of the crown should rest in King Henry VII. and the heirs of his body. He fortified his position by a marriage with

Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. But the early years of the reign were disturbed by plots in favour of Yorkist candidates, among whom two laid claim to be princes of the blood. A certain Lambert Simnel won the support of the Irish in 1487 by alleging himself to be Edward of Warwick, the son of the ill-starred Clarence.

Between 1492 and 1499 more serious trouble was caused by a Flemish youth, one Perkin Warbeck, who passed as Richard, the second son of Edward IV., and claimed that he had escaped when his elder brother was murdered by Richard III. Warbeck was supported by Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV., and Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. He was received at the court of Scotland, married a kinswoman of James IV., and received promises of Scottish assistance. Each of these pretenders invaded England, and it would have gone hardly with the new king if he had not in each case defeated the pretender at the first encounter. The



THE MURDER OF THE TWO SONS OF EDWARD IV. IN THE TOWER OF LONDON
At midnight, as the brothers were sleeping together, the two miscreants hired for the deed entered their chamber and stifled them as they lay. Richard III. gained little by his wickedness, as he held the throne for barely two years.

great families connected with the Yorkist line, and all classes in the North of England, merely awaited a favourable opportunity to revolt. Of these, however, and of other possible claimants, Henry freed himself in good time. Simnel ended his days as a scullion in the royal kitchen; Warbeck, at first imprisoned in the Tower, was afterwards executed in consequence of an attempted escape. His fate was shared by his fellow-captive, the true Edward of Warwick. The two De la Poles, cousins of Edward IV., saved themselves by flight in 1501, a number of their kinsmen and friends were executed in 1502, and

England kept only Calais, a port valuable indeed for purposes of trade and for the command of the narrow seas, but a poor satisfaction for some four centuries of warfare and diplomacy. In the reign of Edward IV. the English were almost cured of their continental ambitions. Others, however, had yet to be developed. The discovery of the New World was only beginning, and England was far from being the first of the nations to realise the prizes which might be won in America, in Africa, in the Far East.

If we turn from foreign policy to the consideration of domestic institutions



THE WIDOW OF EDWARD IV. PARTING WITH HER SON, THE DUKE OF YORK

The fate of this unfortunate young prince is pictured on the two preceding pages. In this illustration we see the queen-mother grief stricken at her parting from her younger son, the Duke of York, who was then only nine years of age.

From the painting by Philip A. Calderon, R.A.

under these altered circumstances the Tudor cause seemed reasonably secure.

At the close of the Middle Ages we may pause for a moment to ask what was the legacy which they bequeathed to modern England. From many points of view the period 1066-1485 had been either sterile or disastrous. The foreign policy of the Norman and Plantagenet kings had been directed towards schemes of continental empire which were too great for the resources of their island dominions, especially when a growing national feeling in France brought all classes to the support of the Valois monarchy. In 1485, of all the possessions which she had won abroad,

the outlook in 1485 is brighter. The Lancastrian period had completed the parliamentary constitution, which was first outlined by Simon de Montfort and Edward I. In the fifteenth century it was understood that the power of imposing taxes, other than the ancient and customary dues of the crown, lay exclusively with parliament. Henry IV. had been compelled to admit that a money Bill must originate in the House of Commons. So, again, the right to petition had become the right to present Bills for the royal approval; the crown might reject them, but might not introduce unauthorised amendments. During the



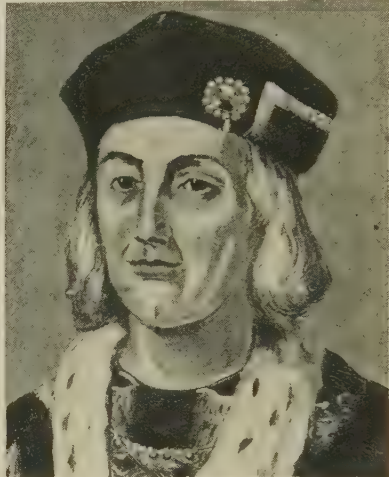
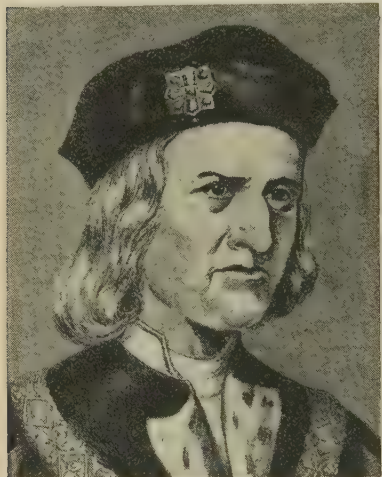
THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH: DEATH OF THE LAST OF THE PLANTAGENET KINGS

This celebrated battle, which was fought near Bosworth, an ancient market town in Leicestershire, in 1485, gave a new king to the throne of England, and brought peace to the kingdom. The opposing sides were those of King Richard III. and Henry, Earl of Richmond, victory resting with the latter. Richard died fighting fiercely, and after the battle his crown was found on the field and placed on the head of Richmond, who was saluted as King Henry VII. With the death of Richard the Plantagenet dynasty, which occupied the throne from 1154, came to an end.

From the picture by A. Cooper, by permission of Messrs, Henry Graves & Co.

Wars of the Roses the responsibility of ministers to Parliament had been asserted by both parties; the formidable procedures of impeachment and attainder had taken shape as weapons to be used against the complaisant tools of arbitrary power. Finally, the right of both Houses to perfect

the nation had ceased to reverence Parliament; the new wealth and influence of the crown was used to keep the national assembly in a state of weakness and humility. For a century after this date Parliament was rarely allowed an opportunity of dictating the conditions of a



TWO ENGLISH KINGS: RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII.

The former of these kings, Richard III., was a younger brother of Edward IV., and how he established himself on the throne of England has already been described. He was succeeded by Henry VII., after the battle of Bosworth, in 1485, whose reign lasted till his death in 1509.

freedom of debate had been admitted by the crown. But, on the other hand, the growth of Parliament had been premature. The two Houses had proved themselves capable of obstructing government; they had done nothing to increase the efficiency of the executive. The members of the Lower House showed neither capacity for rule nor independence of judgment. Parliament was Yorkist or Lancastrian, according to the fortune of war, and consistent in nothing but the readiness with which it proscribed the beaten party of the moment.

Elections were seldom fairly conducted in the fifteenth century. Where intimidation and corrupt influence failed to return the candidate of a local magnate, the sheriff could usually be suborned to make a false return. The Commons had represented the private interests of the great houses. There was now a hope that better days might come. The baronage emerged from the Wars of the Roses with shattered fortunes and prestige, while the crown was enriched by three successive sets of confiscations, those of the Lancastrians, of the Yorkists, and of the new Tudor sovereign. But for the time being

grant, or of offering an independent criticism upon royal policy. The constitutionalists of the Stuart period were the first to appeal consistently and with success to the precedents of parliamentary sovereignty which the reign of Henry IV. happily afforded.

Turning from the legislature to the executive we find that the case was even worse. The great offices of state, the

Privy Council, which controlled them, were archaic in constitution, and ill-adapted for the tasks imposed upon them. A new distribution of duties, more perfect organisation, the replacement of high-born but inexperienced magnates by energetic but expert statesmen—such were the crying needs of the central government. The local administration, which Henry VII. had made the most scientific of his age, was now totally inadequate to satisfy the requirements of the community. It was imperative to create new officials in the place of the sheriffs, who had so long fulfilled with equal inefficiency the various functions of the tax-collector, the magistrate, and the captain of militia; nor would

any system be successful which did not give the landowners, the national leaders of public opinion, an interest and a share in maintaining the public peace. In the towns the trammels which the guild system had imposed upon all kinds of industry could no longer be defended. Whatever advantages the guilds had once secured for the community by their inspection of goods, by their regulation of wages and the conditions of labour, by

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

their encouragement of local industry through the maintenance of a local monopoly, they were now more mischievous than useful. If the whole constitution of lay society stood in need of reform, the Church had suffered no less from the growth of abuses at headquarters, and in every department, from the failure of the clergy

The Degraded State of the Clergy

to maintain their former position as the pioneers of intellectual progress and the censors of national morality.

The inmates of the monasteries were sunk in sloth and ignorance. They may not have been so generally vicious as the Protestants of the next generations contended; but monasticism was no longer respected as serving any useful purpose. Popular liberality had almost ceased to flow in the direction of religious houses, and the wealth which they had derived from the piety of past generations was grudged to them by the laymen of the fifteenth century. The preaching friars were not so obviously useless as the monks; but even the friars had lost their high ideals, and earned their subsistence by flattering a contemptuous populace.

The bishops were for the most part engrossed in politics; nominated either

by the king or the Pope, they seldom owed their rank to any fitness for its religious duties. The reaction against Lollardy had made them staunch supporters of the papacy, which, in the time of Grosseteste, they had been inclined to criticise. Conscience of the slight hold which they possessed upon the respect of the laity, they sought to improve their

position by leaning on the support of Rome or of the crown. And, although Lollardy had been silenced, Lollard congregations still met in secret. Copies of Wycliffe's "Wicket" were widely circulated, and his teaching added point to the criticisms, which the merest commonsense suggested,

upon the abuses of the Church courts, the intolerable multiplication of ecclesiastical dues, the lax and immoral lives of the secular clergy. The springs and sources of religious idealism were running dry; if they could not be reopened it was certain that the Church would cease to be of any value or significance. Men would look elsewhere for guidance; they would shake off the weight of a system which no longer possessed any charm or authority.

There were, however, latent in society the seeds of a new and better order, and the Middle Ages produced in England some abiding results of value and importance. Within a hundred years from the battle of Senlac the fusion of the Norman ruling class with the native population was complete. The centralisation of the Angevins broke down the barriers of prejudice and custom and privilege which had separated province from province and class from class. Patriotism became intense in every rank of society; and in the fourteenth century the substitution of English for French as the common language of social intercourse bore witness to the growth of a national individuality.

Grasping and unscrupulous as the barons of the Lancastrian period showed



THE QUEEN-CONSORTS OF TWO ENGLISH KINGS

Anne of Warwick was the queen of Richard III., and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., was married to Henry VII. in 1486, their wedding taking place at Westminster Abbey.

themselves, they were less a source of danger to society than the aristocracies of France and Germany. The privileges of nobility were in England comparatively few, and the younger sons of a great house were, in the eyes of the law, but simple commoners; on the other hand, a writ

of summons to the House of Lords could be issued at the pleasure of the crown to any subject, and carried with it nobility of rank. Thus, although custom gave to the House of Lords a preponderant influence in the legislature and the larger half of places in the Privy Council, it was possible to recruit that chamber from time to time with

The Two Houses of Parliament the ablest and most influential members of the middle class; and in the House of Commons were to be found many knights of the shire whose pride of birth was hardly less than that of the peers. There was no inseparable gulf between the two Houses, and they were capable upon occasion of pursuing a common policy.

Respect for the law and the officers of the law was another hopeful feature of society. English law had developed steadily and without a break from the accession of Henry II.; the great legislative measures of that sovereign and of Edward I. were supplemented by the evolution of an elaborate case-law in the royal courts. The legal treatise attributed to Glanville, but more probably the work of Hubert Walter, which was written between 1187 and 1189, is a proof that the reduction of precedents to order had even then begun. Bracton, writing in the years 1250-1258, compiled mainly from recorded cases his "*Tractatus de Legibus*," a manual of legal principles, which was for generations the standard authority.

In his hands and that of later exponents, such as Britton about 1291, and Littleton in 1475, the common law became scientific without becoming tainted to any appreciable degree with the theories of civilians and canonists. Uncouth in terminology, abounding in archaisms, and so intricate that it could barely be mastered by the study of a lifetime, it was still regarded with pride as a national heritage, and was, on the whole, well adapted to the needs of the nation by which it had been

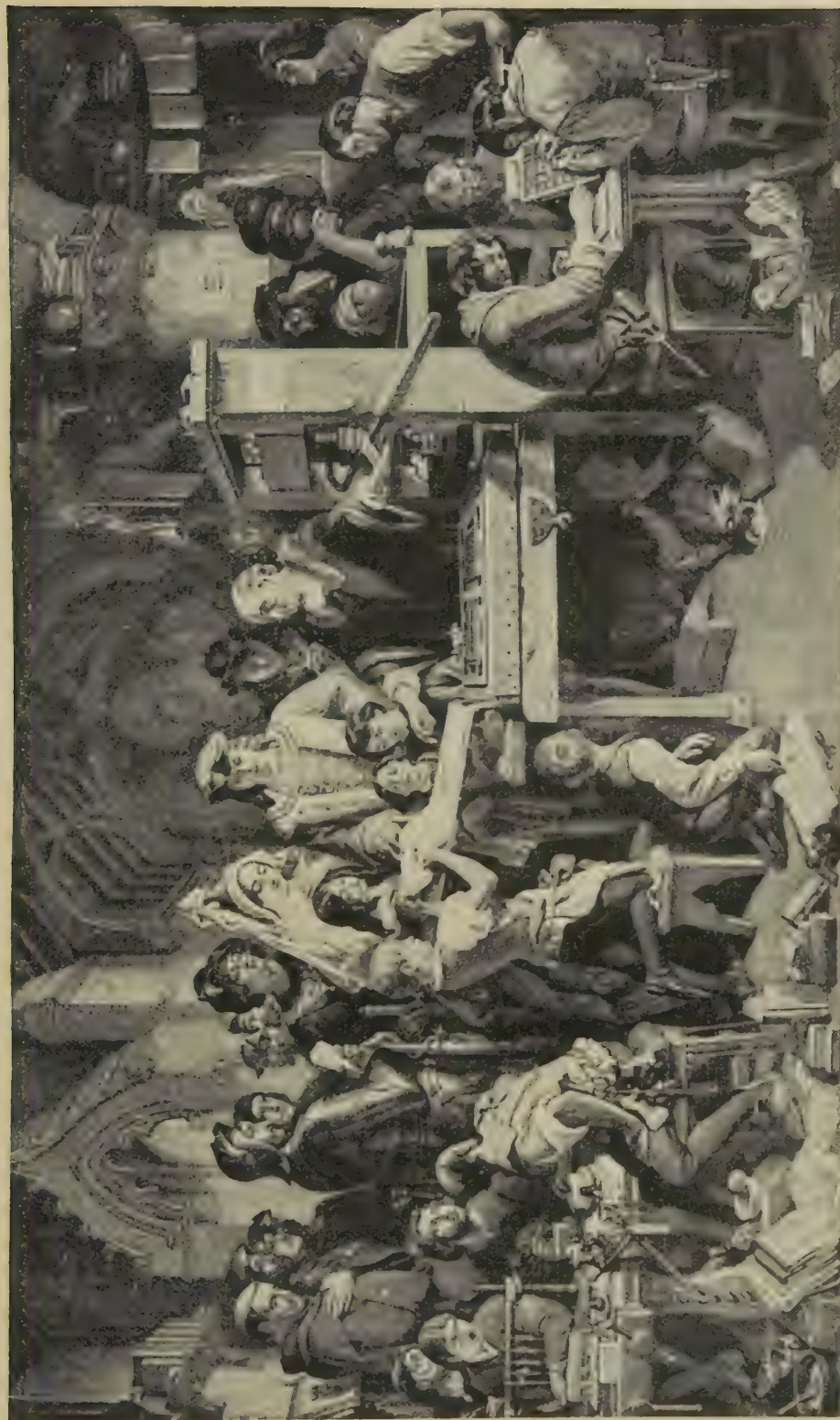
The Law Above King and Party developed. The judges and the lawyers of the English courts acted, at the worst of times, as a check upon royal despotism and feudal lawlessness. The personal intervention of the crown in matters of justice was a thing of the past. Edward IV. once sat in the King's Bench for three successive days; but this was noted as a surprising occurrence, and it is not recorded that he ventured to take a personal part in the proceedings. In the sixteenth

century the doctrine that the king could not lawfully interfere with justice became rooted in the common law.

Again we have to remark that the intellectual revival of the fifteenth century found a ready welcome upon English soil. Already before this time the nation had shown the promise of great things in literature, in science and philosophy. Among the vernacular poets of the Middle Ages the first place indeed belongs to those of Italy; but Chaucer and Langland are inferior only to Dante and to Petrarch. The Franciscan Roger Bacon—whose "*Opus Majus*," "*Opus Minus*," and "*Opus Tertium*" (1267-1271) ranged over the whole field of the known sciences—is the greatest of those inquirers into Nature who took the Aristotelian treatises at their starting point, and in his protest against the blind acceptance of authority he struck a note which is echoed by his more famous namesake of the seventeenth century. Among the great scholastics Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, and Occam hold a foremost place, and represent the subtlest forms of mediæval

Development of English Literature metaphysics. The Lancastrian and Yorkist periods cannot boast thinkers of such power and brilliance. But the lawyer Fortescue (1394-1476), the translator Caxton (1491), who is better remembered as the founder of the first English printing-press, and Sir Thomas Malory, the compiler of the "*Morte d'Arthur*" in 1485, gave an impetus to the development of English prose. The poetic tradition was handed on by Gower, Lydgate, and Hoccleve. By the middle of the century the English scholar was already a familiar figure in the class-rooms of the great Italian humanists, and the library which Bishop Gray of Ely, one of the earliest of these pioneers, bequeathed to Balliol College, Oxford, bears witness to the new direction which the studies of the universities were taking.

Early in the reign of Henry VII. the foundation of Greek studies was laid in Oxford by the teaching of William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. The new learning was still subordinate to the study of theology, but was rapidly acquiring an independent interest and value. The revival of an active impulse towards religious reformation followed as a natural consequence from the teaching of these two scholars, of their pupils More and Colet,



THE FAMOUS CAXTON PRINTING OFFICE AT WESTMINSTER: A VISIT FROM KING EDWARD IV.

Born about 1422, and learning the art of printing about the year 1471, William Caxton set up his printing press at Westminster, and soon received valuable patronage. In this picture Caxton is seen explaining the printing press and its working to King Edward IV, who was deeply interested in the invention that has done so much for the world's development and progress.

From the painting by Daniel Maclise, R.A., by permission of Messrs. Henry Graves & Co.

and of their Dutch colleague Erasmus, who came to Oxford in the year 1498.

Lastly, we may notice the beginnings of an economic revolution which, though incidentally productive of distress and discontent, was to increase the wealth of English society, and to give the industrial and commercial classes an importance far

Agriculture the Source of Wealth greater than they had hitherto possessed. Agriculture was still the main source of wealth, the landlord the most important member of the community. But sheep-farming was now more profitable than tillage. The rapidity with which arable land was converted into pasture at the close of the century is a proof that the demand for wool, the staple English export, had increased and was expected to increase still further. The wool trade, which before the time of Edward III. had been mainly in the hands of foreigners, was now almost monopolised by Englishmen; and when Edward IV. granted privileges to the Hanse merchants in 1474, he did so on condition that the ports of the Baltic should be opened to English traders. The chief claim of the Yorkists to popularity had been that by their foreign policy, and to some extent by their legislation, they aimed at the development of trade. The merchant class was a power with which the most autocratic sovereign was bound to reckon.

To improve his position was the one object which the king pursued through a reign of twenty-four years. In his domestic policy he improved upon the example of the Yorkists, aiming, like them, at the establishment of an autocracy based upon middle-class support, but pursuing this end with greater skill and caution. He took for his ministers ecclesiastics and men of humble origin upon whose devotion he could count implicitly. He devoted his main care to finance. By heavy fines imposed upon suspected nobles, by demanding benevolences from

How the King Amassed Treasure wealthy individuals, by the sale of privileges, by the unscrupulous exploitation of the law courts, and by strict enforcement of his feudal rights, he amassed a considerable treasure without demanding frequent subsidies. There was too much unrest in the country to permit of regular taxation. In 1488 and 1497 attempts to collect a tax which Parliament had voted were followed by local risings; and although the rebels

were easily defeated, the king took the double lesson to heart. His forbearance was rewarded by emancipation from parliamentary control; only once in the last thirteen years of his reign was it necessary for him to meet the House of Commons.

This policy was not resented. The king's exactions led to loud complaints from the victims, but the immediate burden fell upon the wealthy few. The Commons were more anxious to be protected than ambitious of a voice in determining the royal policy. The king gave them what they desired. He used the jurisdiction of the Privy Council to stamp out the practices of livery and maintenance through which the nobles had become a terror to their social inferiors. In spite of pretenders and rebellions his reign was one of security and peace. His legislation is commended by the high authority of Lord Bacon, but it was in administration that the king excelled. The two best known measures which were enacted in his reign, though important in their consequences, are by

Successful Diplomacy of Henry VII. no means elaborate. One of these in 1495 provided that no man should incur the guilt of treason by obedience to the king *de facto*; the other, passed in 1487, fixed the composition and powers of the Star Chamber, a judicial body in close connection with the Privy Council, and designed to exercise the council's jurisdiction for the punishment of powerful offenders.

The diplomacy of Henry VII. was both subtle and successful. He came to the throne at a time when the three great powers of the Continent, Spain, France, and the Empire, were on the point of opening a long conflict, in which the traditions of the mediæval state system were cast to the winds, and territorial aggrandisement became the sole aim of enterprising sovereigns. Though remote from Italy, which soon became the main theatre of strife, Henry held a strategic position of some value within striking distance of France and of the Netherlands; the power of England, while much inferior to that of the three states already mentioned, was consequently deemed sufficient to turn the balance in favour of any side which she espoused. Without committing himself too deeply, Henry sold his friendship dear, pressed every advantage, and was seldom outwitted in a bargain.



THE BROTHERS CABOT LEAVING BRISTOL ON A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

In the month of May, 1497, John and Sebastian Cabot sailed from the port of Bristol on a voyage of discovery. In the hope of reaching China, the ships steered north-west, and in this way Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were discovered.

From the painting by Ernest Board by the artist's permission

From Philip, the Archduke of Flanders, he obtained, in 1496, the treaty known as the "Magnus Intercursus," which secured freedom of trade for English merchants and closed the Netherlands against English rebels. In 1506 the archduke, having been accidentally driven ashore on the English coast, was detained until he granted further privileges so damaging to Flemish trade that the new agreement was called by his subjects the "Maius Intercursus." From Ferdinand of Aragon, the father-in-law of the archduke, Henry obtained a still more valuable concession. In 1501 the Princess Katharine of Aragon was given in marriage to Arthur, the heir of the English throne. The prince died in the following year, but Katharine was then betrothed, with her father's consent, to the future Henry VIII. In this way the Tudors established themselves upon an equal footing with the older dynasties of Europe, and secured a powerful ally.

Friendship with Spain and Burgundy was the sheet-anchor of the foreign policy of

Henry VII. But after 1492 he contrived to avoid hostilities with France, the chief enemy of his allies. At the king's death, in 1509, England, though still a power of the second rank, was universally courted and regarded as the arbiter of European politics. Not less skilfully had Henry conducted his dealings with the commercial powers, Venice, Portugal, and the Hanse towns, from all of whom he demanded reciprocity of privilege.

The great position which he had won was diligently used on behalf of English trade, although, with characteristic caution, he gave but slight encouragement to the great explorers of the period whose discoveries were to revolutionise the economic state of Europe. The voyage of the Cabots in 1497, which brought them within sight of North America, was undertaken with the sanction and protection of the king. The expedition sailed from Bristol, and in 1498 the Cabots received permission to engage English vessels for a second voyage. But a present of £10

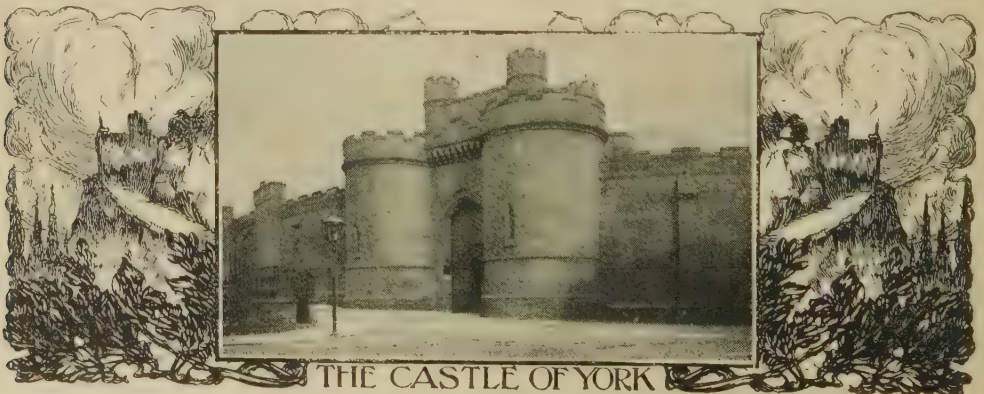
was the most substantial aid which the bold Venetians received from the king. Henry was in accord with his subjects on the subject of the explorations. The time had not yet come for Englishmen to show an active interest in the New

England's Relations with Scotland World. Short-sighted in this respect, Henry gave, in a business of a different character, an exhibition of exceptional sagacity. He it was who brought about the close connection of the Tudors with the Stuart dynasty of Scotland. In spite of the friendship between Edward III. and David Bruce, the subsequent relations of their kingdoms had been the reverse of friendly. French diplomacy and the raids of the borderers of both nations had kept alive the ill-feeling kindled by the war of independence. In the latter stages of the Hundred Years War the troops of Scotland shared the fortunes of more than one pitched battle with their French allies.

James IV. proved himself, after Bosworth, a loyal friend to the defeated Yorkists. Instead of avenging the injuries suffered in the past, Henry took the surest means of averting future collisions. He arranged in 1498, and brought to a conclusion four years later, a marriage between James and his eldest daughter, Margaret. The advisers of Henry expressed doubts as to the policy of a match which might have the ultimate effect of placing a Scot upon the English throne. The king, however, ridiculed their fears. The greater power, he said, would always draw the less; union would never redound to the hurt of England. The peace with Scotland which he desired was not to be secured for many years to come. Still, Henry may be fairly credited with the first project, since the time of

Edward I., for a peaceful union of the kingdoms. With the question of Ireland he dealt in an astute but less satisfactory manner. The English party had steadily lost ground in the island since the time of John, and in the reign of Edward III. the home government had definitely abandoned all hope of controlling the country outside the Pale, the district in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. The statute of Kilkenny in 1366 drew a sharp line between the inhabitants of the Pale and the remainder of the population, providing that the former were to live by English law, and forgo the use of the Irish language, but leaving the latter to their own devices. The statute had failed to attach the Pale to England; and outside the Pale the settlers had sunk to the level of the natives among whom they lived. Occasionally a vigorous governor, such as Richard of York, acquired a personal ascendancy, but the Irish Yorkists were even more trouble to the first Tudor than those who hated English authority in any shape or form. After vain experiments in the direction of firm government, Henry VII. adopted the plan of setting Irishmen to govern Ireland, with the result that the country remained in a state of anarchy, but ceased to trouble England. Before, however, this autonomy,

Ireland in a State of Anarchy if so it may be called, was granted, the parliament of the Pale had been induced in 1494 to pass a statute known as Poynings' Law, which was of more importance in after ages than at the time when it was first enacted. This law provided that no Bill should be laid before the Irish parliament without the consent of the English Privy Council. H. W. C. DAVIS



THE CASTLE OF YORK



SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES ITS LONG STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE THE DAYS OF BRUCE AND WALLACE

BEFORE Saxons and Angles invaded the island of Great Britain the Celtic or Pictish population of the northern portion were never brought into subjection by the Romans to the same extent as in the southern portion. The Wall of Hadrian, roughly corresponding to the later boundary between the English and Scottish kingdoms, marks the limit of the continuous effective occupation, though Roman legions marched into the mountains of Caledonia and maintained outposts as far as the Forth and the Wall of Antonine. As to the native tribes, it would seem that Brythonic Kelts held the Lowlands and Gaelic Kelts the Western Highlands, while it is uncertain whether the Picts, who occupied the rest of the north, were Kelts or a pre-Aryan race. In any case, the Picts were ultimately assimilated by their Celtic neighbours.

**Where the
Scots
Came From**

The Scots, who in later days gave their name to the whole, as the Angles did to England, were Gaelic Kelts who migrated from Ireland. The invasion of the Angles brought the eastern portion of the Lowlands under Teutonic dominion, the Kelts being driven either over the Forth or westwards into Galloway. Thus, the North of England and the South of Scotland were divided into Western Celtic Strathclyde, with Cumbria, and Eastern Anglian Northumbria. The Scottish kingdom, first known as Dalriada, corresponding roughly to Argyleshire, became united first with the Pictish kingdom as the kingdom of Alban, the crown remaining with the Scots dynasty, under Kenneth McAlpin, in 844. Meanwhile, both Picts and Scots had received Christianity from St. Columba and his missionaries, but, like Northumbria, transferred their allegiance to Rome.

By this time the Northmen and Danes were already establishing themselves in the

far north and the western islands, and very soon obtained the supremacy in Northumbria, King Alfred of Wessex conceding them the Danelaw. His son, Edward the Elder, making common cause with the kings of Strathclyde and Alban against the Danes,

**Scotland's
Relations with
England**

is stated very questionably to have been owned by them as "father and lord"—the original basis of the English claim to suzerainty over the Scots kingdom. Soon afterwards, the crown of Strathclyde also passed by election to a member of the royal house of Alban.

The relations between England, Alban, and Strathclyde remain exceedingly confused and disputable; but it is stated that Edgar the Peaceful at the close of the century ceded the Lothians to Kenneth of Alban as his vassal. More definitely assured is the fact that some years later, as a result of hostilities in the north, the Earl of Northumbria ceded the Lothians to Malcolm of Alban, to whom the crown of Strathclyde had already passed. Thus, the kingdom of Scotland was already in being.

Malcolm was succeeded by Duncan, who was displaced and killed by Macbeth, who was in turn displaced and killed by Malcolm III., shortly before the conquest of England by William of Normandy. The key to the relations between England and Scotland lies in the claim of the kings of England to suzerainty over Scotland, based on the English records, and the claims of the Scots kings to Southern as

**Refugees
at the Court
of Scotland**

well as Northern Northumbria, and to Southern as well as Northern Strathclyde — i.e., Cumbria. Neither claim was ever made continuously effective. With this Malcolm III., "Big-Head" — *Cean Mohr*, or Canmore, to use the familiar form of his nick-name—the historical fogs of earlier centuries begin to clear away. The Atheling Edgar, heir of the house of



SCHEMING FOR A THRONE: MACBETH INSTRUCTING THE MURDERERS

Acquiring a claim to the Scottish throne through his wife Gruoch, the granddaughter of King Kenneth II., Macbeth determined to wear the crown. But to do this he had first of all to get rid of King Duncan. Tradition says the pair plotted the murder of that sovereign, and carried out the crime near Elgin in 1040. Macbeth then succeeded to the throne, but in the year 1057 he was defeated and killed by Duncan's son, Malcolm, at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire.

From the water-colour drawing by George Cattermole, in South Kensington Museum

Cerdic, fled with his sisters to the Scots king's court; one of them, known in Scottish history as St. Margaret, Malcolm married. Their daughter, Edith, married Henry I. of England, and from her all subsequent kings and queens of England descended, except Stephen. Scotland was drawn altogether into closer relations with the southern country: the Lowlands, with a population mainly of Angles and Danes, became the progressive part of the country, in touch with the movement of European civilisation. Anglo-Norman

The Disputed Homage of Scots Kings

barons acquire fiefs in Scotland, the Scots kings hold baronies in England, notably the earldom of Huntingdon. They do homage to the English kings, but the Scots never admit that the homage was for Scotland; in the Scottish view, it was only for the English baronies. Evidence on the point is inconclusive; but quite certainly whatever allegiance was professed, it was held of very little account.

Meanwhile, the mountaineers held aloof, taking no part in the "Sassenach" development, and holding by their Keltic clan system, while the south became feudalised more or less on the Norman model. In the extreme north and in the

isles, the Northmen had so thoroughly planted themselves that Caithness and Sutherland and the Hebrides belonged to the Norwegian rather than to the Scottish kingdom. It was not till the middle of the thirteenth century was past that the Norwegian power was finally broken by Alexander III., at the battle of Largs, and a subsequent treaty ended Norway's claim to the lordship of Caithness and the isles.

To follow the details more closely: Malcolm espoused the cause of the Atheling against the usurpation of William, and raided Northumbria; William, in return, marched into Scotland, whereupon Malcolm did homage to him of some sort. Much the same thing happened in the time of Rufus; but Malcolm was again raiding England when he was ambushed and killed at Alnwick. Then came a chaos of contests between his sons for the crown. Finally Edgar was established by the aid of Rufus. When Edgar died he had to recognise the distinction between the old kingdom of Alban and the provinces of Lothian and Strathclyde; his brother, Alexander I., became king, but another brother, David, with the title of Earl, was virtual lord of the Lowlands. The earl succeeded his brother as King David I.,

SCOTLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES

and it was in his reign that the kingdom of Scotland took upon it the character of being primarily the Anglo-Norman kingdom of the Lowlands, claiming, and more or less maintaining, a suzerainty over the Highlands, but developing on its own lines. David's marriage with the daughter of Waltheof, son of Siward of Northumbria, brought sundry great English earldoms into his hands; while in his reign the Anglo-Norman Bruces and Balliols and Fitzalans, progenitors of the house of Stewart, appear with others as barons of Scotland as well as of England.

David made war upon England, chiefly in the character of a loyal liege-subject of the Empress Maud, who was claiming the throne in opposition to Stephen. In spite of the great defeat at Northallerton, known as the Battle of the Standard, David was able to strengthen his position greatly, and his reign was marked by great advance in the organisation of his kingdom.

David was followed by two successive grandsons—Malcolm IV., called the "Maiden," and William the Lion. William took the opportunity of invading England

when the sons of Henry II. were in revolt against their father; but he was taken prisoner by an accident, with the result that he was forced to sign the Treaty of Falaise, which definitely converted the Scots kingdom into a fief of the English crown. The rights thus acquired, however, were sold back a few years later on the accession of Cœur-de-Lion to the English throne: Richard was prepared to sell anything to get money for the

Independence of the Church in Scotland

Crusades, so the period of unquestioned legal subjection of Scotland to the Plantagenets was brief. Even during that period William managed to secure the Scottish Church from English domination by appealing to the Pope, with whom Henry II. could not afford to quarrel after the murder of Becket.

Under William's son and grandson, Alexander II. and III., Scotland prospered and acquired an unprecedented unity. Both kings followed, in the main, the policy of avoiding collisions with England. The father established a much more pronounced lordship over the Western



THE TRIAL OF THE GREAT SCOTTISH HERO, SIR WILLIAM WALLACE

On the roll of Scottish heroes there is no name dearer to the national heart than that of Sir William Wallace. He stood by his harassed country at a critical period in her history, and fought the English with courage and determination. At the battle of Stirling Bridge, in 1297, he gained a great victory for Scotland. Betrayed into the hands of Edward I. of England, he was taken to London, put on trial in Westminster Hall, and eventually executed at Smithfield.

Highlands and over Caithness. The son, "The Tamer of the Ravens," finally put an end to the claims of King Haakon of Norway at the battle of Largs. At an earlier stage, he had successfully evaded an attempt of the English king, Henry III., to beguile him into doing homage for Scotland. His death by accident in 1286 heralded a new era.

Alexander had thirteen successors before the crowns of England and Scotland were united in 1603. The first was his

grand-daughter Margaret, a little girl who died before she had well reached her kingdom, on the voyage from Norway. The next was the puppet John Balliol, set up and knocked down again by Edward I. of England. Then, in 1306, Robert Bruce got himself crowned, and gradually won back the independence of Scotland. When he died, in 1329, his heir was six years old. From that time till Queen Mary fled from her rebellious subjects to an English prison, leaving an infant son as King James VI., only two grown men succeeded to the throne; the rest were all under twelve except one, and five died by violence. That bare statement is enough to show that there was never any chance of establishing a strong central

government. A desperate struggle for independence against a country incomparably wealthier and more populous, and in political organisation the foremost state in the world, was followed by a long period of internecine rivalries between great houses, emulated by their lesser neighbours, all of whom had a common determination to resist control, and were ready to unite only in defying English aggression. Such conditions

made the development of a highly organised body politic a sheer impossibility. Yet the anarchical forces failed to break the state in pieces, partly at least, we cannot doubt, because the strenuous independence of the national character, vaunting the thistle as its appropriate national emblem, never had the chance of being enervated by luxury.

The death of the Maid of Norway gave Edward his opportunity. Alexander had

no other descendants.

The law was not clear as to the inheritance of the crown. The barons, with the higher clergy, appealed to the King of England to arbitrate. Edward was willing, if barons and claimants would acknowledge the English suzerainty. The claimants and many other barons were already barons of England as well as of Scotland; they accepted the terms. In the practice of English feudal law John Balliol's claim was the best, and judgment was given in his favour. But when it was realised that Edward meant his suzerainty to be very thoroughly recognised in fact as well as in form, uneasy acquiescence was changed into angry resistance. Balliol was stirred up to kick against the pricks. Edward

promptly declared his fief of Scotland forfeited under feudal law, and took possession. His consummate military skill and his superior forces were not to be gainsaid. But no hand less mighty than his own could hold down the defiance of an angry people, though the barons played fast and loose.

Whenever Edward's back was turned there were successful insurrections; for a time, William Wallace almost cleared



THE WALLACE MONUMENT AT STIRLING

This imposing memorial to Scotland's national hero stands in a district teeming with historic associations. It consists of a Scottish baronial tower, two hundred feet high. The heraldic arms of Sir William Wallace are above the gateway, and his famous sword may also be seen.

Photochrome photo

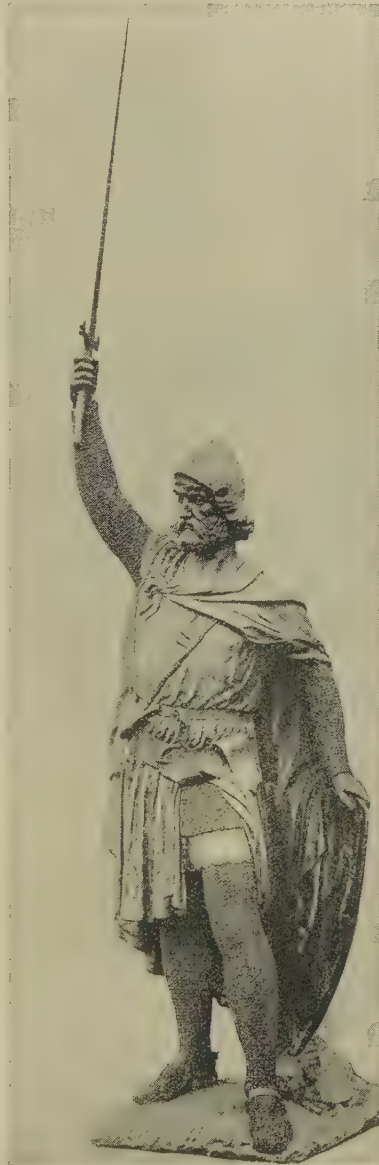
the English out of the land. Edward returned and struck hard—so hard that he expected no more resistance. Yet Robert Bruce, grandson of Balliol's old rival claimant, resolved to strike for a crown. Having seized it, he became the champion of national independence. Once more Edward marched north, but death took him before he could set foot on Scottish soil.

Year by year, while his son Edward II. quarrelled with his barons in England, Bruce and his paladins, Douglas and Randolph, wrested Scotland, fortress by fortress, from the grip of the English. At last Edward II. marched north at the head of the most splendid English armament that had ever taken the field, to redeem his dominion and his honour, and lost both irretrievably in the overwhelming rout of Bannockburn. For the rest of his reign the Scots, not the English, were the aggressors, ravaging the north of England in perpetual raids. A year after his death the independence of Scotland was formally acknowledged at the Peace of Northampton. King Robert passed away in 1329, his great work accomplished.

The able regency of Randolph, Earl of Moray, on behalf of the six-year old King David II. was all too brief. Then came an attempt at restoring the Balliols, with two notable battles at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. David was shipped off to France. The Scots would not submit to Balliol. Then Edward III. became absorbed in his great French war, and after that no serious attempt at an English conquest of Scotland was made again. But

from this time Scotland and France remained in close alliance. Whenever England was at war with France she had to reckon on Scottish invasions, and sometimes on Scottish contingents in French armies. A Scots invasion was repulsed at Neville's Cross in the same year as Crecy. Seventy-five years later the English met their shrewdest defeat on French soil at the hands of a force mostly of Scots, at Beaugé. When Henry VIII. invaded Picardy, James IV. led an army of invading Scots to its own destruction on Flodden Field. Until Queen Mary, the eighteen-year-old widow of a French king, returned from France to Scotland in the reign of Elizabeth, the "Auld Alliance" was an eternal clog on England in her dealings with France and in her designs on Scotland. Similarly, English rebels and pretenders, from the time of Henry IV. to the days of Perkin Warbeck, found frequent refuge and encouragement in Scotland.

When David II. died he was succeeded by the Fitzalan Robert II., the Steward or Stewart, David's nephew; and so began the line of Stewart kings. Neither in his reign, nor in that of his son John, re-named Robert III. for luck, did Scotland enjoy strong rule. When Robert III. died, his son James I. was a boy of eleven, a prisoner in the hands of the King of England, Henry IV. Some years later he went to France with Henry V., but was released by the regency which followed that king's death, and returned to Scotland with Jane Beaufort as his queen. He is distinguished as one of the few kings who have earned an indubitable title to the name of



THE WALLACE STATUE
This colossal bronze statue of Wallace in the act of wielding his sword stands in a niche of the tower shown on the preceding page.

Valentine photo

released by the regency which followed that king's death, and returned to Scotland with Jane Beaufort as his queen. He is distinguished as one of the few kings who have earned an indubitable title to the name of

poet. Meanwhile, Scotland had suffered under the regency of his uncle and cousin, successive Dukes of Albany, whose rule, however, was signalised by the overthrow at the battle of Harlaw in 1411 of an attempt on the part of the Lord of the Isles to throw off, if not himself to usurp, the "Saxon" domination. James had a hard task in the struggle to reduce the turbulent baronage to order and introduce the elements of a stable system of rule. A measure of success attended his efforts, but irritated members of the baronage accomplished his murder.

The accession of the child James II. meant another regency, with a normal

age treated him much as Edward II. had been treated, hanged his favourites, took the field against him, and killed him at Sauchie Burn.

His son, James IV., was nearer his majority than most of the Stewart kings of Scotland. Possessed of many of the royal qualities which his father lacked, and of brilliant accomplishments, he enjoyed also in a high degree the gift of popularity. Moreover, he was ambitious to raise the whole status of his kingdom. Notably, he devoted much attention to increasing the naval strength of Scotland. The newly established Tudor dynasty in England was decidedly anxious to establish a new era



THE CAPTURE OF BRUCE'S WIFE AND DAUGHTER AT TAIN

After the battle near Methven, in Perthshire, in the early days of Bruce's struggles against England, many Scottish nobles were executed. Bruce's wife and daughter Marjory were seized in the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain, and were held prisoners in England for eight years, while the knights who were in attendance upon them were put to death.

accompaniment of murders, with varying degrees of pretence at a judicial character. James gave promise of vigour and capacity, if also of violence, but was killed at the age of twenty-nine by the explosion of a cannon. The reign of James III. began, as usual, with a long minority. When the king came of age matters were hardly bettered by the reign of favourites. As prince of a well-ordered state, James III. might have left a fair record as a patron of art and literature; but he was wholly unfitted for a position in which a clear head, a strong hand, and a resolute will were imperatively demanded. His baron-

of friendly relations, and in spite of his active support of Perkin Warbeck, the diplomacy of Henry VII. secured James as the husband of his eldest daughter Margaret, whereby, when the offspring of Henry VIII. failed, a hundred years later, the King of Scotland became the legitimate successor of Elizabeth on the English throne. But capable though James IV. was—and it seemed during his reign that there was far better prospect than there had been before, except in the reign of James I., since Bruce's day, of the Scots kingdom being consolidated into a powerful state—he was still too prone to yield his better



A GROUP OF SCOTTISH KINGS FROM MACBETH TO JAMES V.



THE MURDER OF KING JAMES I OF SCOTLAND

After his long captivity in England, King James I. was permitted to return to Scotland with his bride, and for thirteen years he reigned an able and wise ruler. In this illustration the artist depicts his unhappy end. On February 23rd, 1567, he was a victim to the plots of his kinsman, the Duke of Archole, being murdered at Perth. There were, it is said, sixteen wounds on his breast alone, while the queen received two wounds in endeavouring to shield her husband.



THE EVE OF FLODDEN: JAMES IV HOLDING A COUNCIL OF WAR

The battle of Flodden, fought on September 9th 1513, between armies of Scotland and England, ended disastrously for the former country. Taking advantage of the absence in France of the English king, James IV. of Scotland crossed the Tweed with a large following and ravaged the country. An English army marched to meet the Scots, and in the illustration we see James holding a council of war, to the advice of which he turned a deaf ear.

From the painting by J. Paul R.S.A.



BLACK AGNES DEFENDING THE CASTLE OF DUNBAR AND REPULSING THE ENGLISH
 The great fortress of Dunbar was attacked by the English, under the Earl of Salisbury, in 1547. In the absence of the governor, the Earl of March, his wife, known as Black Agnes, defended the castle and drove back its assailants.

judgment to the impulse or caprice of the moment. And so, when Henry VIII. invaded France, and he, on behalf of the Auld Alliance, invaded England, he flung away almost certain victory, descended from a nearly unassailable position on Flodden Ridge to fight the English on even terms, and lost his life in the most disastrous of Scottish battles, in which the

tremendous death-roll robbed Scotland of the best material on which her hopes depended. And Scotland was left once more with a baby king, and to the miseries of a prolonged and incompetent regency, complicated by the fact that the queen-mother was a sister of the King of England, with all her brother's passion for matrimonial variety.

ARTHUR D. INNES

ROBERT ^{THE} BRUCE

AND WHAT HE DID FOR SCOTLAND

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT

REMARKABLE in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends, the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, on which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven-wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rathlin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes—the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honour on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labour.

Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and Sir Henry de Bohun, killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plans of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his "testament," as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen, which, had they known how to avail themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly



trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which liberally exercised is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners; it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strathclyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the single denomination of Scots, and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language.

This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distinguished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed faggot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that the great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner still separated the Highlander from his Lowland neighbour, but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce.



But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom, or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undaunted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors, and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, betwixt the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiments so spiritedly expressed by Barbour, the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
Freedom makes men to have liking
To man all solace freedom gives;
He lives at ease who freely lives;
And he that aye has lived free
May not well know the misery,
The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
That's compass'd in the name of thrall.

Scot's History of Scotland.



STATUE OF SCOTLAND'S DELIVERER, KING ROBERT THE BRUCE, AT STIRLING

This memorial of Scotland's great king, Robert the Bruce, which was erected in 1877 by public subscription, stands on the Castle Esplanade at Stirling. The famous warrior king is represented as a knight of the highest rank, clad in the fighting armour of the period, and in the act of sheathing his sword after victory. The figure is nearly eleven feet high and is looking in the direction of Bannockburn, the scene of Bruce's great triumph over the English in 1314.



STIRLING CASTLE: ONE OF SCOTLAND'S GREATEST STRONGHOLDS

Standing on a rocky eminence that rises 220 feet above the plain, Stirling Castle is one of the most picturesque and historic buildings in all Scotland. It is believed that even before the dawn of national history a stronghold stood on this commanding position. In the ninth and tenth centuries Stirling Castle figured in the semi-mythical battles between north and south, while it played an important part in subsequent history, and within its walls kings lived and died.

Photochrome photos

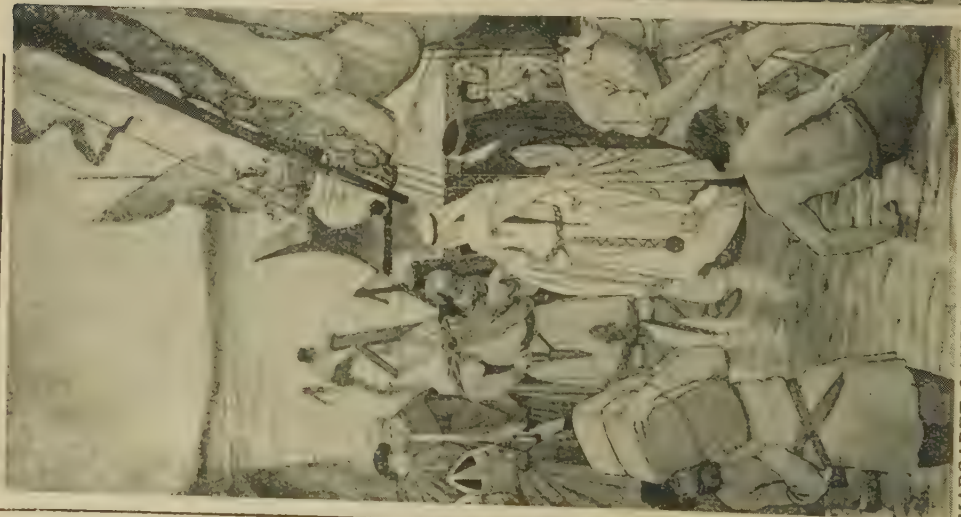
SCENES IN SCOTLAND'S STORY

By WILLIAM HOLE, R.S.A.

On this and the following pages we reproduce a selection of scenes from the fine series of mural paintings by Mr. William Hole, R.S.A., which adorn the walls of the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. Scottish history has never been represented with greater spirit or studied accuracy of detail than we find in this admirable and instructive series.



THE MISSION OF ST. COLUMBA TO THE PICTS, 563-97



MARGARET LANDING AT QUEENSFERRY, 1066



"THE GOOD DEEDS OF DAVID I," 1124-1153



THE BATTLE OF STIRLING BRIDGE IN 1297



SCENES FROM THE BATTLE OF LARGS IN WHICH KING ALEXANDER III OF SCOTLAND DEFEATED HACO OF NORWAY IN 1263



SCENES FROM THE BATTLE OF LARGS IN WHICH KING ALEXANDER III OF SCOTLAND DEFEATED HACO OF NORWAY IN 1263



BRUCE IN COMMAND OF THE SECOND LINE AT THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, IN 1314, AND THE ENGLISH ATTACK



THE LAST PUBLIC ACT OF KING ROBERT BRUCE
Conferring a charter upon the citizens of Edinburgh



THE CORONATION OF THE YOUNG KING JAMES II. AT HOLYROOD IN 1437



MARRIAGE PROCESSION OF JAMES IV. AND MARGARET TUDOR AT EDINBURGH, 1503



"NEWS OF FLODDEN": AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS IN THE YEAR 1513



A MARRIAGE ON THE BATTLEFIELD: THE WEDDING OF STRONGBOW TO EVA, DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF LEINSTER
From the painting by Daniel Maclise in the National Gallery of Ireland



BEGINNINGS OF IRISH HISTORY

THE COUNTRY UNDER ENGLISH RULE

IN Ireland the Keltic population remained free from any kind of foreign dominion far longer than in the sister island. There the Roman made no attempt to establish his sway; Saxons and Angles found enough to attract them in the territory which they converted into England. The early "history" of Hibernia is too palpably imaginative, her heroes too legendary, to permit the extraction of much solid fact. But this much is clear, that when Christianity had been spread through the island by St. Patrick, she became a great missionary centre. From Ireland St. Columba and his disciples went forth to convert the Kelts and Picts of Alban and the Angles of Northumbria; although, when the Roman and Keltic Churches collided, it was to Rome that the victory fell.

When the Northmen began those piratical expeditions, which presently assumed a colonising character, they went further afield than their Saxon predecessors, took possession of harbours on the east coast of Ireland, and set up petty kingdoms. The Kelts were divided into septs or clans. How far they all owed allegiance to one king is not clear; but each sept held by its own chief, the Tanist or successor to the chieftainship, who was elected from the same family. The septs were, at any rate, not sufficiently united to offer organised resistance to the Danes till Brian Boromhe combined them, forced the Northmen to restrict themselves to their coastal settlements, won recognition as king of all Ireland, and broke up the last Danish invasion at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. After that the Danish settlers showed their characteristic capacity for assimilating themselves with the surrounding population.

But the great deeds of Brian Boromhe failed to secure permanent unity. The land fell apart into separate kingdoms, alternately exercising a precarious supremacy over their neighbours much as the

kings of Kent or Northumbria or Mercia had claimed a general overlordship in England. And when Henry of Anjou, duke or count of half the provinces of France, became Henry II., King of England, he began to cherish vague ideas of adding Ireland to his dominions.

Irish King's Appeal to England By way of preliminary, he got the authorisation of the English Pope, Adrian IV., for the project, since the Keltic Church was regarded as rebellious, if not heretical, by the papacy. Henry, however, would probably never have found time to organise a conquest on his own account; it was Irish dissensions that opened a door for him. Dermot, king of Leinster, was hard put to it in a quarrel with a neighbour whose wife he had abducted; he appealed to Henry for aid.

Henry permitted sundry adventurous but impecunious barons to take up Dermot's cause—notably Richard de Clare, called Strongbow, various Fitzgeralds, Fitzurses, De Burghs, and others. Dermot was duly restored, and rewarded the Normans with baronies. Strongbow himself married Dermot's daughter, and was recognised as his heir. Then Henry himself appeared on the scene; the Normans, already his liegemen, acknowledged his suzerainty, and the native princes in general were constrained to do the like. The clergy made submission to the Roman authority. Henry added "Lord of Ireland" to his titles—the theory being that the country had been assigned to him by the Pope—and left a Norman "Justiciar" to represent the royal authority, and to establish within the Norman districts of Leinster, called "the Pale," a system of government based on that which Henry was organising in England. The Norman baronage was not limited to the Pale—a district roughly covering a semicircle of some four counties with the city of Dublin as its centre; the Geraldine or Kildare territories extended

Henry II. as Lord of Ireland

considerably south and west, while the Desmond branch of the same house was established in Munster, and the Butlers of Ormond occupied intervening territory. The De Burghs in Connaught became Burkes, and the Fitzurses translated their name into the Irish equivalent M'Mahon. The north remained entirely and the west mainly Keltic; but outside the Pale the Normans became, as the saying was, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." Within the Pale, English and feudal law was upheld; outside it the native "Brehon" law

prevailed in defiance of Englishry and feudalism; but neither within the Pale nor without was there any disposition on the part of magnates or population to pay superfluous respect to any law at all.

For nearly two hundred years no English king set foot in Ireland, nor was there even the beginning of a conception of loyalty to the English government. In the reign of Edward II., after the English had been fairly driven out of Scotland, Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert, went near to wresting Ireland from English rule and securing the crown of Ireland for himself; but the attempt ultimately collapsed, owing to the incapacity of the Irish clans for acting continuously in unison. The Pale and the rest of Ireland were increasingly antagonistic. In the reign of Edward III., under the governorship of his son Lionel of Clarence, the statute of Kilkenny forbade intermarriage, the recognition of Irish law, or the adoption by the English of Irish customs; birth in England was made a condition of holding government

appointments. The law was impossible to enforce effectively, but intensified racial hostilities. As "Deputies," Roger Mortimer, the grandson of Lionel of Clarence, and his grandson Richard of York, father of Edward IV., succeeded in making the House of York so far popular in Ireland that the country became Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, took up the cause of Lambert Simnel, and started Perkin Warbeck on his career as a Yorkist Pretender. The diplomatic Henry VII., however, conciliated the

great Earl of Kildare, who, except during a brief interval, was Deputy during most of the reign, on the principle that "since all Ireland could not rule this man, this man had better rule all Ireland."

But the interval itself forms a notable epoch in Irish history. Kildare's very doubtful loyalty caused the temporary appointment of Sir Edward Poynings as Deputy—the nominal Governor being the infant Prince Henry—and "Poynings' Law" established the system of government for Ireland which prevailed for nearly three centuries.

Ireland was to have its parliament; but the initiation of all legislation was reserved to the king and the English Privy Council.

Henry VII. was by no means unsuccessful in the policy of conciliating the Irish magnates and ruling through them; but the policy was followed by his successors only for brief intervals, alternating with prolonged periods of desultory rigour, which produced neither goodwill nor thorough subjection.

A. D. INNES



SCENE AT THE GREAT SIEGE OF WATERFORD



THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE AGES THE END OF CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

THE relations established by Charlemagne between the Frank dominion and Italy reveal a complete change in certain aspects of the social order in the peninsula. The side of Italy facing eastward has surrendered its historical importance to the westward side; Ravenna is dethroned, and Rome appears in a new, though for the moment a borrowed, splendour; the Teutonic civilisation, which is now paramount, gradually pervades all public institutions and the general conceptions of life and its duties, even in spheres which had hitherto been subject entirely to Byzantine influence. Apart from Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, where Greek influences remained predominant, Italy had now become an integral part of the Frankish Empire, and as its several districts gradually became unified and united, they adopted that peculiar form of territorial ownership which is denoted by the term "feudal system." This change forms the main portion of that section of Italian history to which, from its connection with Central Europe beyond the Alps, the name "Ultramontane" may be given, using the term in a sense precisely the reverse of its modern meaning.

Frankish Feudalism in Italy

The introduction of the Frankish feudal system into Italy of the ninth century is still regarded in many quarters as no great innovation and as possessing no decisive importance, for the reason that the country upon several occasions had previously been permeated with institutions of Teutonic origin; none the less we have before us an entirely new development. It must be remembered that the foundation upon

which the Goths and Lombards were obliged to build had never entirely lost the indelible stamp of Roman custom. Early and recent Roman law, Lombard edicts, Frankish tribal law, and German imperial law—these three or four influences have co-operated to determine the later constitutional developments of Upper and

Central Italy. Local divergences are easily explained as the result of special geographical influence. The character of the older economy had been determined by the predominance of territorial ownership and of the town with its peasant citizens.

The development of freehold property rights had started from two different forms of revocable conveyance—a hereditary freehold, especially in the case of Church property, might extend over three generations, or land might be held in usufruct. Then came the division of Italy into the Lombard and non-Lombard districts. In the latter portion, together with the militia and the ecclesiastical landed proprietors, who held a special position, the commanders of the castles—the *Tribuni*—had become hereditary lords and independent chieftains after the Byzantine protectorate had disappeared; in the other districts, under the Lombards, the colonists had become dependents, almost in the position of serfs. The period of lease was almost unlimited, a beneficial institution compared with the confusing system of yearly leases which continued from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

New social classes gradually became distinct within the Lombard territory; the smallest landholders and the farmer

who worked with forty yokes were inferior to the landowners who possessed at least seven hides of freehold, and of these the king did not necessarily hold the largest extent of property, as his possessions were largely divided among adherents who looked for some tangible reward. To these classes was afterwards added the mercantile class, possessed of

Italy Under Change and Development

personal property. The wide divergences which separated these groups were inevitably accentuated by the processes of internal consolidation and change, which in other cases was completed with comparative rapidity. For that very reason the Carolingian social order was first able to extend its influences with comparative uniformity over both portions and to produce a similarity, and for that reason again this influence is by no means so unimportant a matter as it would have been under other circumstances.

Thus the ninth century brought to Italy a further expansion of the beneficiary system. Investiture with Church property was connected with the entirely Teutonic institution of vassalage, and here even upon Italian soil we undoubtedly find the seeds of the feudal system. The protection demanded by the papacy against domestic and foreign enemies undoubtedly fostered and disseminated the Central European theory that possession of the fief obliged the holder to render faithful service in war.

By its very nature the feudal nobility aimed at separatism and independence, and its strength implied a gradual weakening of the central power, which suffered a corresponding loss of territorial and military power; this process continued in Italy, and an obvious example of a feudal state in process of disruption is Benevento, which broke up into Benevento, Salerno, and Capua. A number of petty subordinate vassals were often held in subjection by the more powerful vassals. These various

Prosperous State of the Cities

grades of separate power which had interposed themselves between the wearer of the crown and the general mass of his subjects were inspired by an invincible longing to make their property hereditary and their position independent; in Italy their attainment of this object was hindered for the moment by the prosperity of the cities, which, though surprising for its early maturity, can be explained by reference to the conditions of past centuries.

During that time the islands on the coast line were more and more disturbed by the Arabs, or Saracens, whose raids increased the traditional value attaching to fortified towns; in effect they occupied the position that was formerly held by the invading barbarians, who had advanced upon the country from the north.

The picture which we gain of Italy under the successors of Charles the Great is generally unsatisfactory. The founder of the world-empire, upon the premature death of his son Pippin on July 8th, 810, had personally placed Pippin's son Bernard in command of Italy in 812, and had made him king of the Lombards in the following year; Lewis, on the other hand, received the imperial crown on September 11th, 813. Lewis, after his father's death, proceeded to rearrange the imperial administration in July, 817, without consulting the interests of his nephew, who thereupon revolted. Bernard's rapid submission in December could not mitigate the severity of his punishment, that of being blinded, on April 15th, 818; he died two days afterwards. His fate foreshadows that of many another

Lothair on Italy's Throne

Italian prince. The emperor repented of his severity, and Bernard's son Pippin repaid evil with good by liberating the Empress Judith with a few faithful followers who had been banished to Italy in July, 833; in April, 834, Pippin restored her to her husband, whose descendants became counts of Vermandois.

From the year 822 the co-emperor Lothair ruled over Italy upon the basis of the "Divisio imperii" of 817; the country was involved in the struggles which broke out in 830 between Louis the Pious and his sons. From February 2nd, 831, to June 30th, 833, Lothair was king only of Italy, though by a rapid change of fortune he then became, sole emperor, until his subjugation in the autumn of 834. After that date his possessions were again confined to Italy, and he rewarded his faithful servants with estates at the expense both of the Church and of his secular adherents, with the result that from the autumn of 836 serious discontent was felt with his action. Eventually, at the end of May, 839, took place the final reconciliation with his weak father, which ended in a fresh partition of the empire.

By these arrangements Lothair chose the half to the east of the Maas, without Bavaria, and this portion naturally

included Italy, with which he was already connected. We can therefore understand that after the settlement with his brothers—that is to say, after the battle of Fontenoy-en-Puisaye on June 25th, 841, after the flight of Lothair in March, 842, and the Treaty of Verdun in August, 843—he preferred the central portion of the three parts, the rights and revenues of which were practically identical; this portion extended from Frisia along the Rhine and Moselle, the Saône and Rhone, as far as Italy.

In this way the Emperor Lothair united the three capitals of Rome, Pavia, and Aix-la-Chapelle, and secured the connection between them free from any interruption by foreign territory; more than this, his strong hand gained possession of the old and even then very important commercial route from the Mediterranean harbours of Southern Provence to the staple markets in Frisia and on the Lower Rhine, Duurstede, Ghent, and Antwerp. If the partition of Verdun had been maintained, this long and narrow central empire, known from 851 as the "Regnum Hlotharii"—Lotharingia in the

How Lothair Helped Commerce

wider sense of the term—would have had an advantageous prospect of economic development notwithstanding its ill-defined boundaries. Even though a considerable part of the Oriental trade had continued to pass Italy and to seek transmission northwards from Marseilles, the emperor's portion of the peninsula would at any rate have gained a continent for its export and retail trade such as was secured only centuries later when the difficulties of Alpine transport had been methodically overcome.

The reality proved very different. At first it appeared as if the permanence of the Lotharingian realm had been guaranteed; on June 15th, 844, the emperor's son Lewis II. was anointed and crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II.; the Duke Signulf of Benevento did homage in person. During those years the father was occupied in the north by the incursions of the Northmen and other events of the kind, and his prestige was diminished, in so far as the imperial rights of supremacy which Lothair had retained by his treaty with Pope Eugenius II. in November, 824—providing that coronation should take place before the arrival of the imperial ambassador—were disregarded for the second time in 847. On

the other hand, the aggressions of the Saracens were checked, though only for the moment, in 847 and 852, by comparatively successful campaigns which Lewis conducted in the south; in the course of these movements Salerno was definitely separated from Benevento in 847 for the purpose of securing an effective

Lewis II. Crowned as Emperor

frontier defence. Lewis was now indisputably master of Italy, and his position received formal recognition by his coronation as emperor at the beginning of April, 850, at the hands of Pope Leo IV.; Lothair naturally retained the supremacy, as Louis the Pious had done in 822, until his abdication and his death, which followed in September, 855.

The Emperor Louis II. retained the crown for fully twenty years. It may be at once admitted that he did his best to consolidate Italy at home and to secure her position against foreign powers. In 860 he crushed Benevento; he conquered Bari with Greek help on February 2nd, 871, after a four years' siege, and relieved Salerno in August, 872. It would hardly have been possible, however, even for a more powerful ruler to have checked the progress of anarchy, a symptom of which was the terrifying prevalence of highway robbery, as attested by punitive capitularies of 850 and 865. In any case, even before the Treaty of Mersen the unity of Greater Lotharingia had ceased to exist.

The economic projects and the plans entertained by Lothair in 843 were naturally brought to a sudden end by the transfer of Frisia to Lewis's brother, Lothair II., at the beginning of 855; he also secured Francia with Aix-la-Chapelle—Lotharingia in the narrower sense—six months later, while Charles, as the youngest son, obtained Provence and a part of Burgundy. After September, 855, Italy was again thrown upon her own resources. The situation was not materially altered

Death of Lothair II.

by the acquisition of Geneva and its environs in 859, or of Provence and other parts of Burgundy beyond the Jura in 863; the connection with the Carolingian north was definitely interrupted. The helplessness of the imperial power is shown with appalling clearness after the death of Lothair II., on August 8th, 869. The justifiable claims of Lewis II. were unable to secure a hearing, and his uncles, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald, divided

the inheritance which they were glad to grasp. The other side of the picture consists of the inevitable and successful action of the Popes Nicholas I. and Hadrian II. against Lothair III. upon the question of his unlawful marriages with Theutberga and Waldrada, in the years 865, 867, and 869, and the result displays a faithful reflection of the general superiority of the papacy to the Carolingian partition princes. Inglorious also for the Emperor Lewis was his surprise by Adelchis of Benevento and a band of conspirators on August 13th, 871; equally inglorious was the humiliation by which he secured his liberty on September 17th, though his self-respect may have been healed by Pope Hadrian, who released him from his extorted oath and performed his coronation on May 18th, 872. The friendly attitude of the Curia hardly blinded the emperor's eyes to the fact that he was further from the complete mastery of Italy at the end of his life than he had been at the beginning of his reign.

However, after the death of Lewis II., on August 12th, 875, even the cowardly Charles the Bald was tempted to claim the imperial crown, which he actually secured upon the Christmas Day of that year. Carloman, the eldest son of Lewis the German, to whom the crown had actually been bequeathed, was for the moment cheated of his hopes. At the rumour of his approach with an army, Charles fled in September, 877, and died on October 6th, when Pavia did homage to his nephew. Carloman, however, who had been ill at the end of November, succumbed to his malady in a short time, and died on March 22nd, 880. Previously, in 878, Pope John VIII., hard pressed by the Saracens, and turning the inactivity of the East Franks to his own advantage, had attempted, with a remarkable display of independence, to choose a more suitable emperor in the person of Boso of Lower Burgundy, who had become the son-in-law of Lewis II. by his abduction of Irmengard.

Boso, however, declined the honour, and Carloman in the middle of August, 878, averted a threatening loss by the cession of Italy to his "little" brother, Charles the Fat. The country was naturally suffering considerably under an uncertainty which accelerated its disruption, and offered a

joyful welcome to the new king, who entered Lombardy at the end of October. The desired support was, however, denied for the moment, for in the spring of 880 Charles turned his back upon Upper Italy in order to crush Boso of Vienne.

In November he re-entered Italy, and was actually crowned Emperor of Rome; the campaign which the Pope desired was, however, again deferred. It was not until the murder of John VIII., on December 15th, 882, that a new Italian expedition was undertaken. The deposition of Duke Wido II. of Spoleto and Camerino, in June 883, was an inadequate measure, as Charles afterwards returned to Germany in November, while the sentence of deposition was graciously removed on January 7th, 885. The same year brought Charles the homage of the West Franks. In consequence of this event he was overwhelmed with tasks demanding completion, and the short Italian visit of the spring of 886 brought no help to the papacy, which was hard pressed by the Arabs. Towards the end of the autumn of 887 the patience of the nations, who were irritated by the emperor's incapacity, gave way. Charles retired in favour of Arnulf, who had been chosen king, and died at Neidingen on the Danube. Thus, within the short space of barely ninety years the great creation of Charles the Great had disappeared. The want of some dominant centre once more became obvious; the separate political organisations could not be easily combined, owing to the extended configuration of the peninsula, and were connected only by the feeble ties of locality. Thus, disunited and broken into many fragments, Italy was unable to defend herself against the Arabs, whose raids became speedily bolder, or to check the disastrous insecurity of life and property which prevailed throughout the country.

Italy Disunited and Broken

Notwithstanding her insular position, and her protected situation, Venice was then an Italian community, like so many others, with a basis of Roman law modified by Greek, Lombard and Frankish edicts and customs; from the year 840 she had gradually withdrawn from the Byzantine protectorate, though some remnants of this supremacy survived in titles, etc., until the thirteenth century. The official representative of the emperor of East Rome had long ago been forced to make room

for the native Dux, Duke, or Doge, though he had not upon that account become dependent upon the Franks. Between 811 and 942 the dignity of Doge belonged to seven Parteciaci. Since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the summer of 812, the Frankish emperor, who wished to be recognised as such by the east, had renounced his claims to Venice, which he had hardly secured.

In the centre of the peninsula the Pope held sway, restricted in many respects, but none the less holding the balance of equality and capable of guiding his neighbours. The north and north-west formed in general the Italian kingdom with Pavia as the capital. From this centre the Frankish feudal system followed a course of domestic development which laid stress upon practical rights and their hereditary transmission, and triumphantly extended into the non-Frankish districts.

This was, however, the only case in which the Frankish nationality made any progress; elsewhere retrogression was but too clearly perceptible. The Margrave of Ivrea and the Duke of Friuli, the Margrave of Tuscany and the Duke of Spoletto, at times proved very restless under the Carolingian yoke. The crown seemed an object worthy of effort as much for the actual power which its possession implied as for the fictitious splendour of the imperial title.

It cannot, however, be asserted that this rivalry for the imperial crown at Rome conferred any benefit upon the peninsula. Arnulf found much difficulty in maintaining the Carolingian claim. At the end of 888 and in the early winter of 895 he subjugated Berengar of Friuli; at the end of January, 894, he stormed Bergamo, which had been defended by Ambrosius, the Count of Spoletto; he overthrew Adalbert of Tuscany in February, and was finally crowned Emperor of Rome in February, 896, after taking the capital by storm. Even at that moment the actual supremacy of the north and part of Central Italy was in other hands whose power was not disputed. For more than a generation (888-924) Berengar I. of Friuli, who was related through his mother to the Emperor Louis the Pious, held the throne of the Lombards and became Roman emperor in December, 915.

He, however, was severely defeated in 889 on the Trebbia by Wido II. of Spoletto, who was not related to the Carolingians; further defeats were suffered at the hands

of the Magyars, on the Brenta, and of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy at Fiorenzuola on July 17th, 923; during his lifetime it was only in the north-east that his position was fully recognised. With the exception of those months when Arnulf was staying in Italy the central part of the country was ruled by the above-mentioned Wido, the only Italian king without the most shadowy hereditary claim, who was elected by the nobles.

After his death, in December, 894, he was succeeded by his son Lambert, who was prudent enough to open friendly relations with the Curia after the final retreat of the East Franks. When he died, on October 15th, 898, Berengar might have been able to rule the entire kingdom of Italy in peace had not a second rival appeared; this was Louis III., king of Provence, then twenty years of age, a true Carolingian through his mother, and descended, moreover, from the Italian line. His efforts to secure the crown were at first successful, and Benedict IV. crowned him emperor in February, 901. He was surprised, however, at Verona, in July, 905, by Berengar and his Bavarian sympathisers, was blinded, and died twenty-three years afterwards in Arles.

Upon the removal of Louis, Berengar I. found a third opponent in 921 in the person of Rudolf II. of Upper Burgundy. Rudolf secured the supremacy in 923, but was obliged to share the favour of the nobles after 926 with Hugo of Provence, who was a Carolingian. The treaty of 933 left Hugo in possession of Italy, while he also succeeded in securing the inheritance of Lewis II. after his death; Rudolf received Lower Burgundy and retained Upper Burgundy.

The power of Hugo came to an end before Rome, and was soon to be limited from the north. The path was thus clear for Berengar II., who had been crowned with his son Adalbert. But the settlement was apparent rather than real. A more powerful character was even then approaching who was to reorganise and consolidate the affairs of Italy.

**Rivalry
for Italy's
Throne**

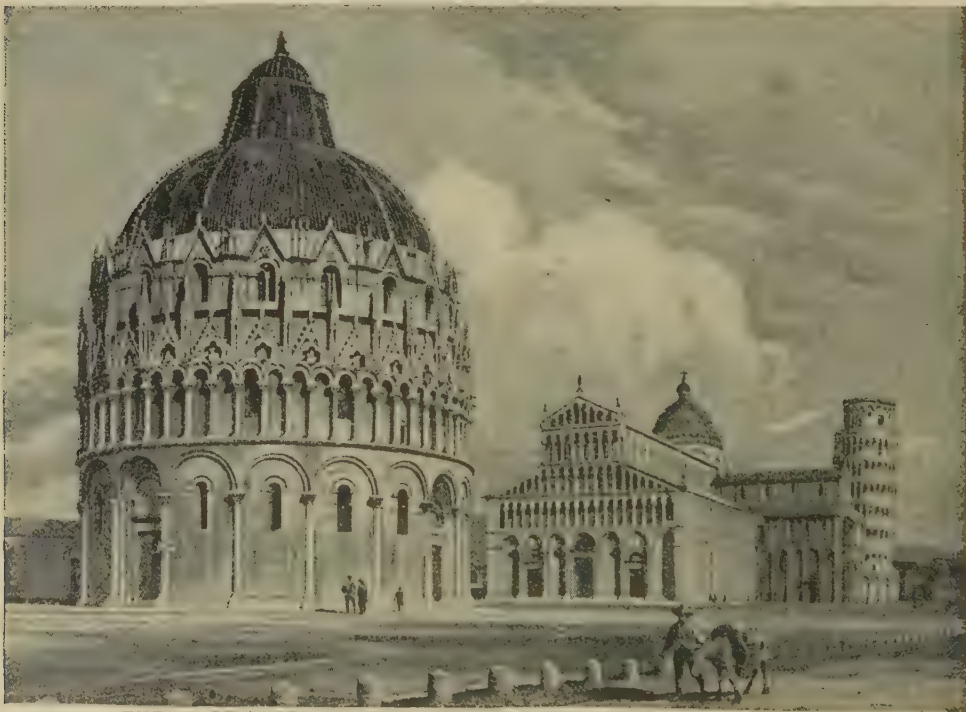
**Hugo's
Power at
an End**



THE BEAUTIFUL GOTHIC CATHEDRAL OF PALERMO

Photochrome

Chief of the beauties of Palermo is its cathedral, a magnificent Gothic structure, the building of which began in 1180. Within its walls are the porphyrys and marble tombs of Henry VI., Frederic II., and their queens, these indicating the connection of Italy with the German Empire—a period treated in the chapter which follows.



THE BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER OF PISA

The celebrity of the town of Pisa is due in large measure to the buildings shown in the illustration. In the foreground, on the left, stands the baptistry, the outer foundations of which were laid in 1153. Various alterations were carried out on this noble structure from time to time, until, in the fifteenth century, the dome was crowned by a cupola on which rises the bronze statue of John the Baptist. The cathedral adjoining the baptistry was, in its restored form, begun in 1006, while behind the cathedral stands the wonderful leaning tower, a campanile begun in 1174.



THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY AND THE FLOURISHING OF THE CITIES

THOUGH since the year 875 election had been the habitual method of imperial appointment, the theory of the hereditary rights of the dynasty, formulated in the Carolingian period, had never become extinct, and formed the basis of the emperor's supremacy. Evidence of this fact is found not only in the many secret transactions upon the occasion of a change of rulers and the repetition of the elections, but also in the fact that King Adalbert became a suitor for the hand of Lothair's widow, Adelaide. After his rejection she did not resign her claims to the crown, but combined legal possession of the Italian kingdom with prospects of securing Burgundy, and accepted the strong hand of the Saxon Otto I., who thus secured an indisputable claim to Italy. His first entry into Italy occurred in the sixteenth year of his rule in East Francia. At first his authority was by no means uniformly extended. In 956 his son Liudolf, who was possibly crowned at Parma in May, and who died in 957, was obliged to advance against Berengar, who, in August, 952, had been invested with Italy, not including Istria, Aquileia, Trient, and Verona. For the moment the powerful Alberic II. opposed his entry into Rome.

**A Second
Charles
the Great**

After Alberic's death, in 954, when Germany had been pacified and its eastern frontier secured, Otto was able to pay closer attention to those Italian problems awaiting his solution. This process began with his second journey to Italy in the winter of 961-962, which gave to Central Europe a second Charles the Great on February 2nd. In 936 John XII., the son of Alberic, was deposed by the new emperor, as also was Benedict V. in 964, while in 963 and 964 Leo VIII. was raised to the papacy, and John XIII. in 965 and 967. Compelled to surrender in the mountain fortress of St. Leo, or Montefeltro, in 964, Berengar II. died in Bamberg in 966; Queen Willa took the veil;

and Adalbert, who died between 971 and 975, was driven into exile with his brothers and sisters. Thus almost the last offshoots of the Carolingian dynasty in Italy became extinct. Capua, Benevento, and Salerno submitted to the Saxon emperor, and only the extreme south remained Byzantine and Arab. The connection between the cold

**Three-year-
old King
of Germany**

north and the warm south became steadily closer. Otto II., the son of Otto and Adelaide, who had been joint emperor from 967, married, in 972, the Greek princess Theophano, a member of the "Macedonian" dynasty of emperors, which was not altogether distinguished by greatness of descent. The centre of interest and inclination was thus transferred towards the south, and even more definitely so in 983, when Otto III. succeeded to the German throne at the age of three years. Apart from all other attraction, the influence of two previous generations will suffice to explain the enormous influence which Italy exercised upon the history of Germany from the close of the tenth century.

The extent to which the south was connected with German history, not only then but for a long period afterwards, is a matter with which we have already dealt. Here we can merely develop and extend our consideration of those movements which were temporarily or entirely Italian, and which lie outside the limits of the account of the East Frankish Empire provided by

**First
German
Pope**

the earlier section. The fact is in any case worthy of remark that King Otto III., when he made his youthful relation, Bruno, Pope, with the title of Gregory, placed the first German upon the papal throne. This was done from the point of view of Carolingian and Ottonian imperial theory, which regarded the Pope as nothing more than the first officer of the Church. The Crescentius who opposed the emperor in the person of his protégé

paid for his attempt by a dishonourable death at the end of April, 998. The end of the first Christian millennium was now at hand. In comparison with the state of affairs in 890, the position had considerably altered, notwithstanding the shortness of the intervening time. It is not to be supposed that the "Chiliast" doctrine,

The Great Age of Venetian Architecture which predicted the end of the world for the year 1000, had met with any general acceptance. Outside the

narrow circles of Otto III., Boleslav I. Chabri, and Vladimir of Kief, the doctrine met with few adherents and was probably but little known. The architectural activity of Venice at that time is an argument against its wide acceptance. But the relations of the various leading powers in Italy had undergone many modifications.

The first point which strikes us is the strong revival of the Byzantine power in the south. The Saracen advance had been checked between 850 and 870 only by Lewis II., and had been shattered after his death entirely by the tenacious resistance of the Byzantine garrisons. About the year 890 the Arabs were expelled from Calabria and Apulia, and in 915 these triumphs of Christianity were crowned by the splendid victory on the Garigliano. The supremacy of the emperor of East Rome extended once more over the thrones of Salerno, Naples, and Capua, including Benevento, and the rulers were no longer changed with the former astonishing rapidity.

Only a few isolated communities were able to retain their independence beyond the outset of the eleventh century, under favourable political circumstances and through the advantage of geographical position. A case in point is Amalfi, which had left the eastern empire without a struggle in 839, and had become a republic at that date and a family duchy in 958. Apart from the raids

Raids of the Wild Magyars upon the coasts and islands, which never entirely ceased, and apart from the occasional incursions of the Magyars, it may be said that the interior of the south was almost entirely pacified in the tenth century. The monasteries of Monte Cassino and of San Vincenzo on the Volturno rose once more from their ruins, and once again the disruption of the feudal states was checked. On one point, however, uncertainty still

remained; the Pandulfs of Capua and the Waimars of Salerno considered that their revived independence might enable them to dispense with the eastern emperor, while the Byzantine Strategist regarded that ancient Lombard principality as really belonging to the *Themes*, or provinces, of Longibardia and Calabria. There was naturally no definite delimitation of the frontier line.

In other respects much mutual consideration was shown, and the diplomacy of Byzantium was sufficiently far-sighted to spare the Lombard and Roman nationalities. The advantage of this policy was seen in the fact that even when the opportunity appeared most favourable for secession, as in 1010 and 1017, the South Italian towns were not to be seduced from their allegiance, or induced to throw open their gates to insurgents or Normans.

Northern Calabria, on the lower reaches of the Crati, and Southern and Eastern Lucania were so penetrated with the spirit of Greek imperialism that they appeared in the twelfth century under the name "Basilicata." The original

Influences in the Making of Italy substratum of the population in these districts remained Greek, and the proud edifice of Norman rule, which left

the local constitutions untouched, merely replaced the imperial governor, and is to be understood only by keeping this basis in mind. If the enormous influences which moulded Southern Italy in the Middle Ages be placed in due gradation, the series will appear as follows. At the head stand the Byzantine and Norman influences, which were followed by the Roman—in legal matters—the Lombard, and Frank, while last of all comes the Arab influence, which ended for Sicily in 1072. Striking evidence for these facts is afforded by the history of Christian art in Lower Italy, which was materially enriched by Greek and Eastern influences during the second half of the eleventh century.

After the extinction of the warlike Candiani, who provided four Doges for Venice between 932 and 979, this city reached the culmination of its remarkable course of development about the year 1000. Its restricted territory and its geographical situation directed the efforts of Venice to the sea and to foreign countries, and for the successful conduct of this difficult policy an almost monarchical

government seemed peculiarly appropriate. The family of the highly talented Doge Pietro Orsello II. (991-1009) was treated on terms of equality by the most distinguished dynasties of Europe. Great prestige was gained by the victorious expedition against the Croatian king, Dircislaw, in the year 1000.

The war and commercial fleets of the Venetians were never so powerful as then, and Greek models and patterns were as unmistakably followed here as in the reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Mark, begun by the father of Pietro of the same name who was Doge from 976 to 978. Together with Venice, the commercial cities of Genoa and Pisa began about this time to break away from the counts of Este and the Italian kings, who were unable to protect them against the Saracens of Corsica and Sardinia, so that they felt the necessity for independent measures of defence. The first real success of these efforts was the joint victory gained over the Arabs of Sardinia in 1015 and 1016. During the period of rivalry which then

**Where the
Germans
were Hated**

followed Pisa retained the preponderance during some decades. Throughout the rest of the empire the feudal system was now in its maturity, and had assumed an unwonted ecclesiastical character in consequence of the preference shown by the Ottos for the bishops.

This conscious co-operation of the government with the most distinguished clergy as the higher officials of the empire bore golden fruit immediately after the death of Otto III., in 1002. The nobles of Lombardy, inspired by hatred of Germany, or, in other words, by a spirit of nationalism, crowned the Margrave Arduin of Ivrea, who had been outlawed in 999, as king in Pavia on February 15th. At the earnest representations of the clergy, King Henry II., the Saint, crossed the Alps in 1004, and was elected and crowned king on May 14th. His triumph was not of long duration, and a second Italian campaign became necessary at the end of 1013.

After some short enjoyment of his success, Arduin was forced to yield in the summer of 1014, and died in the monastery of San Benigno at Fruttuaria on December 14th, 1015; he was the last native king of Italy for a long time to come. On the other hand, the power which a mutinous ecclesiastical vassal could acquire under

certain circumstances is proved by the defiant attitude of the proud Archbishop Aribert towards the Emperor Conrad II. (1037-1038); during his time Milan began to realise its own power. To these days of confusion belongs the famous "Edictum de beneficiis" of May 28th, 1027, also known as the "Constitutio de feudis," by which the mediate fiefs of smaller vassals not immediately dependent upon the king were expressly made hereditary from father to son and from brother to brother. By this means the importance of the feudal lords, who had grown too strong and had presumed upon the number of secondary vassals formerly dependent upon themselves and now transferred to the Crown, was reduced in favour of a stronger central power.

These changes are, however, unimportant in comparison with the strong influence which was exercised not only upon Italy, but upon the whole of Central and Western Europe, in the wider and final sense of the phrase, by the appearance of the Normans in Southern Italy in 1017. In itself, and considered from a purely geographical point of view, the change which the Byzantine south suffered as a consequence of the Norman attacks was by no means so extraordinarily decisive as is usually supposed. At the same time it remains one of the most important events in the mediæval history of Italy. Ranke regards it as no less important than the simultaneous invasion of the Turkish Seljuks in Iran. It was an important change, for the reason that the Norman invasion implied the entrance of a new member among the varied number of Italian powers, and of one which threatened unusual dangers, first to the Lombards, to Amalfi, and other city states, then to the Pope, and finally to the emperor.

So late as 1022 Henry II. had conducted a successful campaign, on the occasion of his third journey to Rome, against the Greeks in Apulia, against whom he had been summoned by Pope Benedict VIII., whose nationalism had been already tested in Sardinia in 1016. In April, 1027, his successor, Conrad II., who had been crowned in Milan at the end of March, 1026, easily reasserted the rights of the western empire over Lower Italy. Even at that day those germs existed which, though invisible for the moment, were

**Normans
in South
of Italy**

**Successful
Campaign
of Henry II.**

speedily to prove a devouring plague. The Lombard Prince Pandulf IV. of Capua, who had formerly been taken to Germany in captivity by Henry II., had been sent home by Conrad II., and had recovered his supremacy over Lower Italy within a short period. About 1035 this ruler advised the widowed Duchess Maria of Amalfi to marry

Circumstances that Favoured the Normans

her daughter to the Norman Rainulf, and to invest this chieftain with the "Terra di Lavoro"; here he was settled in 1029 by the Byzantine Duke Sergius IV. of Naples, and in 1030 founded the fortress town of Aversa. By this means the connection of this new neighbour with Byzantium was intentionally weakened; on the other hand, the position prepared for the Normans by the Lombards proved too advantageous to admit any possibility of voluntary retirement.

Other circumstances also favoured the Normans, who had thus established themselves at this point in the south. At that moment the Lombards were weakened by mutual quarrels; in 1038 the Emperor Conrad replaced Pandulf of Capua by Waimar IV. of Salerno, who also conferred Aversa as a fief upon Count Rainulf with the emperor's permission. After the murder of Waimar, on June 2nd or 3rd, 1052, the Normans strengthened their position by giving help to his son Gisulf II., who was aiming at the succession. This ruler was speedily hard pressed by Richard of Aversa, and was eventually forced to conclude peace with Amalfi in 1057, and to recognise the independence of that state merely in order to keep the Normans in check; on June 18th, 1053, they had already defeated and captured Pope Leo IX. at Civitate in Northern Apulia.

The impolitic aggression of Gisulf drove Amalfi at the end of 1073 into the arms of the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, the most capable of the twelve sons of Tancred of Hauteville; he conquered Calabria, became Count of Apulia in 1057,

The Great Robert Guiscard

and assumed the title of duke in 1059 with the consent of Pope Nicholas II. In 1071 Bari was wrested from the Byzantines, who had held it since 876; in 1074-1075 followed the Norman subjugation of Calabria, and on December 13th, 1076, Gisulf of Salerno surrendered in person to his ruthless brother-in-law. When Landolf IV. of Benevento was gathered to his fathers, on November 27th, 1077, the Lombard

kingdom in Lower Italy, which had survived the fall of its northern counterpart for fully three centuries, came to an end. The complete victory gained by the closely consolidated Norman state was crowned by the agreement which Pope Gregory VII. was forced to conclude on June 29th, 1080, with Robert Guiscard at Ceperano.

It was only upon the far side of the Adriatic that the ambitious king was unable to secure his objects; his designs upon Albania, which even at the present day is in a certain connection with Southern Italy, were shattered by the defeat of Alexios at Durazzo in 1081. On January 17th, 1085, this crafty leader died at Porto Phiscardo, in Cephallenia, without securing any tangible result.

In another direction, however, a highly desirable extension of the frontier had been secured. Robert's youngest brother, Roger, was dissatisfied with the position assigned to him in the southernmost part of Calabria; in 1061 he was invited to help the Arab ibn Timnah, who was unable to make head against the Normans at Castrogiovanni, and proceeded to begin the

The Arab Conqueror in Sicily

conquest of Sicily. In this island there were no inhabitants likely to oppose his action, and practically no feudal lords to interfere with his claims; the subjugation of the Mohammedans would secure the favour of heaven, and when completed by a system of religious and legal toleration, almost modern in its generosity and extraordinarily far-sighted for that time, would make it possible to extend a strong and uniform government over the subjugated population, which included numerous Jews, and to make them loyal subjects [see page 3547]. The theory is clearly obvious in the exceptional position which Count Roger I. was able to secure, without any quarrel about investitures, on July 5th, 1098, from Pope Urban II., who also granted him the highly important ecclesiastical dignity of apostolic legate for Sicily.

The monarchy of Sicily thus promised well for the future, and after the death of its founder, on June 22nd, 1101, his place was taken by a yet greater successor; this was Roger II., born so late as 1095, the second son of Roger I. by his third wife, Adelasia, a niece of Count Boniface I. of Vasto, who belonged to the north-western Italian family of the Aledramids. His was a long reign. Though he died on

February 26th, 1154, he ruled independently from 1112, and from September 27th, 1130, as "King of Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia, Prince of Capua, Lord of Naples and Benevento." To be strictly accurate, Malta should be added to this list, for from 1090 it formed part of the Sicilian Empire until its occupation by the Knights of Saint John in 1530. The work which his father had begun, the stern repression of the barons and the organisation of a uniform bureaucratic government, was completed by Roger II.

Thus in the island of Sicily, and extending thence to Lower Italy, we find the beginning of a policy which overpowered the feudal system at a time when feudalism gave no rest to continental Italy notwithstanding Conrad's "Edictum de beneficiis." In this respect also the Norman supremacy marks the entrance of a new element into Italian history. Cold and hard, cunning, prudent and experienced, such was the character of this Norman who appears to us as a romance product, or southern modification of that Teutonic spirit which was coming to the front elsewhere; he is,

**Revival of
Byzantine and
Arabic Art**

as it were, the prototype of a Maurice of Saxony or of a Wallenstein. In his predilection for intellectual Mohammedans, his liking for the great geographer Edrisi, his central position between the west and east, his extensive revival of old Byzantine and Arab art and science, Roger II. may be compared with the great Hohenstauffen, Frederic II. A splendid example of the hybrid civilisation which he promoted may still be admired in the Cappella Palatina in the castle of Palermo, which was consecrated on June 9th, 1140, and in point of time and construction is a worthy counterpart to the brilliant mosaic of the cathedral of Monreale.

This king was not merely "primus inter pares"; he was no mere prince who might be submerged by the baronial class which separated the crown and the nation, leaving no trace behind, but a supreme monarch, who did for Sicily and Southern Italy what Louis XI. did for France. The bold adventurer of former times was now replaced by the clever diplomatist, the restless but systematic statesman. The Norman intruder, who had struggled to secure a footing, and with difficulty had retained some few stations on the coast, had become a rich and powerful lord for whose favour Popes and kings were rivals.

Roger, however, was too far in advance of his age for the creation of his genius to outlast his death. Before the modification of social customs and of religious faiths was able to produce an amalgamation of the Sicilian peoples, racial antagonism overthrew the whole edifice. In this many-coloured fabric the warp of

**Where the
Normans
Perished**

nationalism was too weak, and that degree of settlement which guarantees progress was never secured, notwithstanding the initial promise of prosperity. Thus the Normans of Southern Italy add yet one more to the number of these Teutonic hordes which have perished in the land of the olives.

Lower Italy and Sicily had been united from 1061 to 1072 under conquerors of the same race and under the government of one sole ruler from 1127, and had developed with surprising rapidity into the most powerful state which had been seen in Italy during those centuries; meanwhile the centre and north of the country had been advancing in wholly different directions. Under Pope Benedict IX. it seemed as if the Curia would never rise from the depth to which it had fallen; it owed its salvation solely to the German, Henry III., and was able a generation later to triumph over his son. It was the complete subordination of the papal to the imperial power in the middle of the eleventh century which broke the tyranny of the degenerate Roman nobles and fostered or facilitated the moral revival of the papacy.

At the same time was revived the papal claim to complete independence of all secular power, a claim now advanced with new meaning. The capacity and farsightedness of Popes Leo IX., Nicholas II., Alexander II. and Gregory VII. secured the abolition of simony and other abuses, brought about the breach with Byzantium, which could only increase the prestige of the Roman Bishop as sole head of the

**What the
Popes
Demanded**

Western Church, passed the decree concerning the papal election in 1059, which replaced the changing influence of the Roman people, nobles, and emperor by that of the more reliable body of cardinals, and eventually secured a complete theocracy. These doctrinal developments represented the apostle of God upon earth as a supreme feudal lord to whom all believers in possession of ecclesiastical

or secular property owed obedience ; it is a precise reversal of the theory and of the practical situation which existed under Charles the Great and the Ottos.

The clergy were brought into closer dependence on the Pope by the oath of fidelity and the obligation of celibacy, which loosened their connection with the

Struggles of Emperor and Pope family and the secular state ; in the universal state of the Church they were to be what

the Rogers were then making the Sicilians—namely, a bureaucracy. Obviously if this goal were ever to be attained it was necessary to abolish the conflicting right of the emperor and of his greater vassals to institute bishops and abbots and to invest them with the ring and staff. The struggle upon this point forms the content of the investiture quarrel. This spiritual war was not ended by the conventions of February and April, 1111, and of October, 1119, or by the concordat of Worms in 1122, which was in close documentary and legal connection with those conventions ; none the less the concordat was recognised as a binding contract by both parties, and was supposed to form a permanent principle of imperial and ecclesiastical government.

It was impossible for the Church to abide by the compromise, which the cleverness of the Emperor Henry V. had provided unless she were willing to surrender all prospect of realising the ambitions of Gregory, and to face that possibility of sacrificing her own existence which the course of events rendered probable. Hence Pope Innocent III. turned the favourable situation to the best advantage, and on July 13th, 1213, obliged the young Frederic II. to renounce his right of interference in episcopal elections—a right which the Curia considered had been misused since 1139.

This great revival of the papal power was further strengthened about 1078, and

Revival of the Papal Power on November 17th, 1102, by the magnificent legacy of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, which provided a desirable,

though soon disputed, secular support ; as might be expected, the new power exercised an indisputable influence upon the relations of the German emperor with that part of Upper Italy which was not under the Pope, or, more exactly, was outside the states of the Church. Apart from all other considerations, it

must be noticed that in strict nationalist circles the imperial power of the Germans produced the bad impression of a foreign supremacy ; moreover, since Popes of Germanic nationality had no longer been chosen, the chair of St. Peter had been occupied for the most part by Italians or Romans, and in consequence the papacy was regarded by the natives as the natural representative of their interests, inso-much that even in the middle of the nineteenth century the idea of an Italian federation, with the Pope at its head, showed some prospect of realisation. The place of a shattered and disorganised state was taken by the free communes about 1100.

Especially in the department of judicial administration we find at an early period those members of the community who were prominent by birth, position, or wealth distinguished by the title of "nobiles" or "majores," "tribuni," "primates" or "judices," "fideles" or "sapientes," "boni homines" or "homines idonei." They secured an increasing importance in course of time ; from 1100 onwards, and

Treaties of Venice and Constance somewhat earlier in the valley of the Po than in Tuscany, there arose the institution of the consulate. The resolutions of the imperial diet of Roncaglia in 1158 were strongly opposed to this highly inconvenient innovation, but after the defeat of Legnano in 1176 they were almost entirely annulled by the Treaties of Venice and Constance in 1177 and 1183 ; only the imperial investiture of the consuls betrayed the continuance of the old imperial supremacy.

In the second half of the twelfth century—in 1151 in Bologna, Ferrara and Siena, in 1176 in Parma, and in 1190 in Genoa—the position of the consuls was taken by the Podestà, the supreme official of the commune, who was summoned in every case from without ; upon his entry into office he swore to observe the municipal statutes—the first printed copies of which are some of the finest extant incunabula—concentrated in his own power various functions which had previously been in different hands, and became in particular supreme judge and leader in war.

Prosperity was by no means impossible under papal government, as is, for instance, shown by the rapid rise of Benevento to the position of a city state after the time when it came under the Pope's

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

supremacy upon the extinction of its Lombard ducal family. In the north, also, the position of those towns which were but loosely dependent upon the states of the Church, or had shaken off the burdensome rule of their episcopal counts, developed to no less advantage. Freedom, indeed, in this quarter eventually reached a far more brilliant development than in the south, which from 1130 onwards was systematically subjugated by the Norman monarchs, and commercially outstripped by Venice, Pisa, and Genoa.

The impulse to town independence was never so violently opposed by the Curia as

transitory successes, such as the subjugation of Chieri, Asti, and Tortona in 1155, the destruction of the defiant Spoleto in 1155, and the overthrow of Crema in 1160, Milan, Brescia and Piacenza in 1162 by Frederic Barbarossa; this was due chiefly to the fact that the empire was unable to amalgamate the rising power of the German towns with that of the state.

This special grouping and attitude of the great powers enabled Italy to survive some centuries, but could not prevent her eventual disruption, and the inevitable weakness which resulted. Those



THE EARLIEST HOME OF THE POPES IN ITS MEDIÆVAL STATE

The most ancient basilica of Rome is the great Church of St. John Lateran, which is regarded as the mother church of Rome. Here stood the old palaces of the Laterani family, which were confiscated by Nero and subsequently ordained by Constantine as the patrimony of the Popes of Rome. In these palaces the Popes had their residence till the fourteenth century, when the Vatican became the permanent seat of the papacy after the return from Avignon, in 1377.

by the more powerful German emperors to the time of Henry VI. Consequently the good relations subsisting between the Pope and the towns speedily proved to the advantage of both parties; the Pope had a strong protecting force at his service, and the towns could develop as they pleased. Hence arose the heroic period of the Verona federation of 1164 and the Lombard federation of 1167, which, among other points, was so important for the military training of the infantry gathered about its Carroccio. The party which suffered under that arrangement was the empire, notwithstanding some

neighbours, indeed, who might have turned this weakness to their own account were occupied too entirely with their own affairs. Moreover, the participation of their ruling classes in the Crusades forbade any interference or expansion at home; the interests of the Christian nations of the West were for many centuries attracted to the East. Thus upon this side no danger was to be feared for a long time; on the contrary, the task of transporting the numerous forces of the Crusades proved a profitable commercial enterprise, and largely increased the prosperity of the more important coast

towns affected by the movement. During the centuries in which the greater part of the Mediterranean trade belonging to such harbours in Lower Italy as Bari and Amalfi was transferred to the north for general or local reasons, Venice, Pisa, and Genoa became predominant over the other towns. Venice had been ruled by a Doge,

Venice an office which had become almost hereditary until the final overthrow of the Orseoli **Ruled by** in 1032 gradually introduced an oligarchical government; eventually the oligarchy of the *Comune Venetiarum* was definitely founded by the constitutional oath of the Doge Domenico Morosini of 1148, and was finally completed by the undertaking given by Giacomo Tiepolo upon his accession to office in 1229.

So early as the close of the eleventh century Venice displayed a principle of division, remarkable at that period, between Church and State, which was expressed in the phrase "religion is a private matter, but one of serious import"; five hundred years later this separation was to find its proudest expression in the invincible defiance of the Servite Paoli Sarpi to Pope Paul V

Venice was recognised as mistress of the Adriatic even by the Normans in 1154 and 1157, and availed herself of that great piratical expedition generally known as the Fourth Crusade to secure an extensive colonial empire in 1204 in the Ægean Sea. From the outset the Venetian merchant had been anxious to grow rich by means of trade and commercial profit, but the attainment of this object was made possible only by extending the limits within which his mercantile activity could operate. Throughout the habitable globe no one was able to develop his activities and increase his prosperity with greater freedom than the commercial Venetian.

For a considerable period Pisa had shared the fate of Adria, Amalfi, Aquileia, Metapontum, Ravenna, and many other towns upon the coast. This was due to unfavourable political conditions, and to a shifting of the coast line, which greatly reduced the value of the harbours. When the Arno ran a shorter course and entered

the sea at a different point from that of modern times, ships of considerable size could sail up stream as far as Pisa. The pennon of Pisa pointed to bold seafarers the road to victory over the Saracens, as far as Corsica and Sardinia, the Balearic Isles and North Africa. In 1063 rich booty had been secured by a raid upon Palermo, and the produce was employed in extending with magnificent splendour the cathedral, which had been begun in 1006. This became the model of many cupolas-basilicas, which are evidence of an ancient art once more revived. During the years 1153-1154 the foundations of the outer and inner circuit of the noble baptistery were laid, and twenty years later the building of the tower was begun; it gradually sank towards the south, but by a clever

device of compensation was raised to a height of fifty-five metres. Lastly, the construction of the Campo Santo, begun in the famous north-west corner of Pisa between 1278 and 1282, betokens both in point of time and fact the memorable conclusion of the heroic period of this highly religious commercial republic.

In the meantime, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, Pisa had been outstripped by Genoa. The rise of this town is certainly to be dated from the vigorous impulse to prosperity given by the Crusades. At first, by means of an alliance with Pisa for the war against the

infidels in the Western Mediterranean, Genoa attempted to avoid the obligations which the powerful town on the Arno did not hesitate to lay upon a rival whose progress had aroused her jealousy; but neither during the years between 1070 and 1080 nor during the period from 1110 to 1120

was Genoa able entirely to shake off the yoke of Pisa. However, in 1133, the latter town lost half of her influence

upon Corsica, which was really papal territory, and in 1175 a quarter of her dominions in Sardinia. Finally, upon August 6th, 1284, the battle of the island of Meloria decided the preponderance of Genoa, which, from 1270 to 1291, was under the uniform leadership of two Ghibelline "capitani," over Pisa, which



"LAST OF THE TRIBUNES"
The Roman patriot, Cola di Rienzi, was violently opposed to the nobles, and incited the citizens to revolt. He was elected tribune in 1347, but his haughty manner eventually turned the Romans against him, and he was murdered in 1354.

The Lost Dominions of Pisa

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

was also for the most part a Ghibelline town, but was too deeply entangled in the faction quarrels of Tuscany, and was therefore losing her maritime power. After the year 1261 Genoa was able to expand successfully in the Greek east, a possibility provided and secured by the victory of Meloria, and thus came into conflict with Venice, which had been firmly established in that region after the advantageous Golden Bull of 1082 and the Fourth Crusade; this conflict of interests caused continual friction, and did not come to an end until the year 1381.

The rising prosperity of the three great commercial towns during the eleventh century naturally exercised a stimulating influence upon the aspirations of other city states. We find, indeed, the inland town now assuming that preponderance which the maritime town had previously claimed. Though her extensive seaboard appears to offer every advantage to maritime communication, Italy at that period does not seem to have produced an essentially maritime nation. Of her general area, seventeen and five-tenths per cent. is island territory; but even though the importance of Sicily be very highly estimated, the influence of the sea upon Italian history is by no means so obvious as the conditions would lead us to expect. In the case of

Denmark or England, the surrounding water is the striking feature, but in Italy attention is attracted by the products of the soil. The connection with Central Europe overpowers the attraction to the Mediterranean, and from the age of the communes this influence grows steadily stronger.

Italy displayed that result which invariably occurs upon the disruption or partition of the forces latent within a nation which is from the outset not a uniform whole: numerous centres of

civilisation were simultaneously formed, and almost every one of them proved surprisingly successful. If to these influences be added the Italian climate and the atmospheric conditions of the south, there can be no surprise at the fact that during those centuries, so barren of political result, art was able to develop and to produce achievements which could stimulate and delight the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Apart from Petrarch, how many celebrities have been produced by the bright and cheerful Apennine town

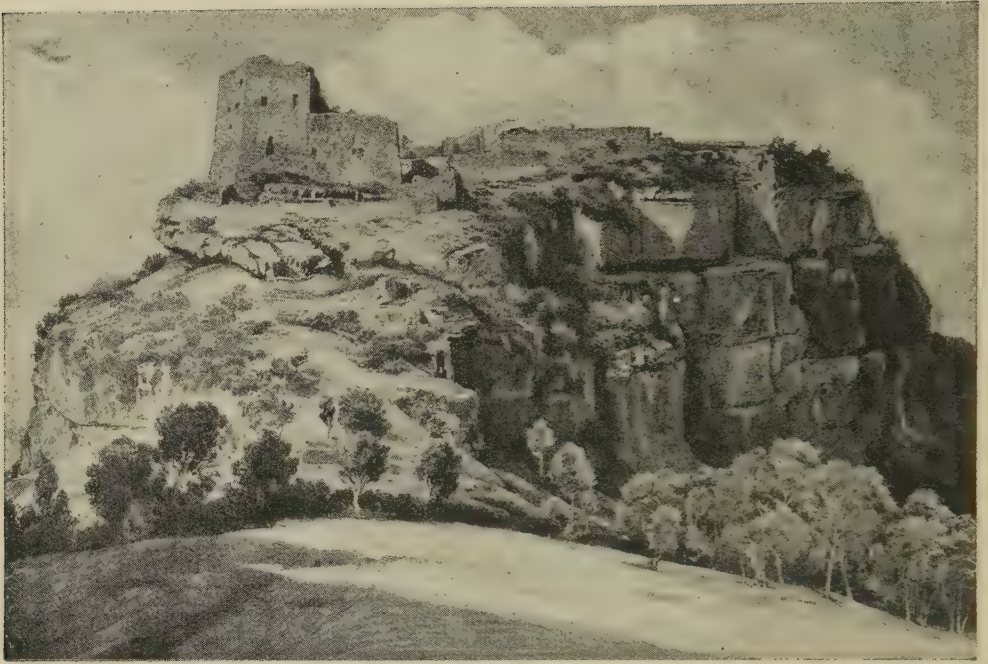
of Arezzo, notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, its thin, pure air! How entirely harmonious is the intellectual clarity visible in the masterpieces in the Umbrian school of painters with the beneficial seclusion of the town of Perugia! In colder latitudes the comforts and luxuries of civilisation are invariably connected with an impetus to artistic performance, and much more was this the case in those favoured spots. The fact that the Teutonic peoples began their renaissance one hundred and fifty years later than Italy is due not merely to the less favourable climate, but also to the later rise of commercial prosperity.

Notwithstanding the favours of fortune, the Italian towns from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries secured,

as a general rule, no permanent political power; this fact is due not merely to the continual jealousies and feuds of the several communities — for even the economic policy of the maritime town, with its comprehensive character, was modified by definite tendencies in favour of monopoly—but in a specially high degree to the fact that political parties within individual towns were continually in violent conflict. It would be wrong to suppose that the policy of the more famous city republics was entirely



RIENZI'S MONUMENT AT ROME



THE RUINS OF THE FAMOUS CASTLE OF CANOSSA

The ancient castle of Canossa, high up in the Apennines, is no longer a proud fortress, for it has fallen into decay and ruins. It is famous in history on account of its association with the humiliation of the German Emperor, Henry IV. [see page 3590], who, having been excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII., in 1077, followed the papal autocrat to its gates, and for three days stood shivering in the snow before obtaining absolution on terms of abject humiliation.

uniform; such catchwords as "Ghibelline tendencies" or "a citadel of the Guelfs" may easily give rise to these erroneous views. On the contrary, in those districts of Upper and Central Italy which were generally under the power of the emperor loyalty and fear of imperial interference gave an extraordinary impetus to the formation of domestic factions.

L'un l'altro si rode

Di quei ch'un muro ed una fossa serra

is the complaint of Dante.

There were, indeed, city fortresses, which were almost invariably in defiant revolt with gates closed to the traveller journeying towards Rome, either because they were attempting some theoretical revival of the early Roman tradition of freedom, or because they were essentially hostile to the imperial policy. But at least as great was the number of those in which an increasing minority succeeded within a few years in cutting off the majority from their resources and driving them out, themselves to suffer a similar fate in their turn after a certain lapse of time. "Two powers were always opposed in Italy, because in this country a party could easily be

formed against any ruler." The Montecchi and the Cappelletti—Montagues and Capulets—are not to be regarded as two families bitterly opposed to one another in the same town (Verona), since the Cappelletti belonged to Cremona; but this fact does not impair the correctness of the other view, that the development of such communities, which might have achieved great results under a system of stern self-discipline, was more often checked by their own social and family feuds than by wars with their neighbours. The guilds revolt against the nobility, the young generation against the old, and even within these groups we find a social line of demarcation which betokens discord. Thus, the obstinate division into imperial and papal, into aristocratic and democratic republics, distorted and destroyed such unity as Henry III. had secured in the northern half of Italy, and also prevented the formation of any permanent unity within the more important towns. Hence, the history of Italy during these centuries is marked by the disadvantageous feature of disruption, notwithstanding the heroic achievements

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

of individual communities; and it is consequently impossible for a brief narrative to attempt any detailed account of the several stages of development.

Autonomous city government naturally did not possess precisely the same strength and permanence in every district of Upper and Central Italy. Indeed, in isolated districts native or immigrant princes were able to maintain their ground; such were the powerful Aledramids in Piedmont, a family which had divided from the tenth century into the several branches of Sezzè, Albissola, Busca, and Ponzona of Vasto and of Montferrat, which on their side inherited the possessions of the dynasty of the Palæologi in 1305. Other families of this kind were the counts of Turin, whose line began with Humbert White Hand of Maurienne, the counts of Savoy, and the Lombard Otbertini or Estensi, with their rich countries of Milan, Genoa, Tortona, Luni, Gavello, Padua, Este—after the eleventh century—and Bobbio. More short-lived were the counts

of Canossa, who secured the possessions of the Widoni of Tuscany about 1030. After the emperor and Pope had fought for the valuable inheritance until 1120, these western portions passed to the greedy towns of Pistoria and Bologna, Mantua and Reggio, Modena and Lucca. All these counts—at that time the term was not official, but merely titular—were able to bring into immediate dependence upon themselves all towns and districts which were dissatisfied with their state of tutelage under mesne vassals. By this means such districts were transferred from the feudal system and were incorporated in a petty state without further difficulty.

On the other hand, Rome repeatedly experienced dangerous revolts of the citizens against the papal power. The inspiring example of Lombard civic freedom induced the Romans, who had already been excited by various schisms, to entertain the project of restoring the old republic in the autumn of 1143. This



THE BEGINNING OF THE GUELF AND Ghibelline Wars

The incident depicted in this painting by Sabatelli, at Florence, was the prelude to long and bloody warfare between two factions in Italy. A young Florentine of high rank named Buondelmonte was murdered by the friends of the young lady to whom he had pledged himself in marriage, and whom he had forsaken in order to marry another, and this led to the community dividing itself into Guefs and Ghibellines, and carrying on a long and bitter quarrel.

successful attempt was met half way by the inflammatory preaching of Arnold of Brescia, whose powerful moral exhortations brought the capital to his feet after 1147 and enabled him to gain a remarkable triumph, both over the deceased Pope, Innocent II. (1130-1143), his unfortunate opponent of 1139, and over the living Pope, Eugenius III. (1145-1153); eventually in 1153 he was defeated by the tenacity of the Englishman Hadrian IV., who declined to abate any portion of his rights. Of less importance were the revolts against Alexander III., Lucius III. (1180-1182), Gregory IX. (1234-1235), and others. Throughout the years in which Rome was left to itself, during the "Babylonish exile" of the papacy, the symptoms of decay are so plainly marked that the hopes of noble optimists such as Dante and Petrarch, who considered that but for the Pope Rome might become the head of a new universal monarchy, were wholly nullified. The two violent persecutions began in 1347 and 1354 by the "Tribune of the People," Rienzi, originally in the name of the Pope, against the Roman nobility, the Colonna, eventually developed into grossest tyranny, fruitless of result.

At one time it had seemed as if civic freedom in Upper and Central Italy, hemmed in as it was upon both the north and south, was doomed to speedy destruction. It was the period when, in the midst of infinite confusion, the brilliant eldest son of the mighty Barbarossa, the Emperor Henry VI., succeeded in incorporating the deserted Norman Empire in Lower Italy and Sicily. Basing his action upon indisputable hereditary right, Henry did not shrink, in April 1199, from the treacherous abandonment of Tusculum, a town loyal to the emperor, in order to secure the compliance of the vacillating Pope Celestine III. His hands would now have been free for the humiliation of Naples had not his action been checked by the devastations of the plague during the summer and by a conspiracy of his princes at home. This emperor, however, though not thirty years of age, inexorably pursued his object,

and secured it, at the expense of some cruelty, in the course of the year 1194. In the meanwhile his cause was vigorously and tenaciously defended by the brave persistence of his wife, by Conrad of Lützelhard, by Diepold of Schweinspeunt, by the vigorous Dean Adenulf of Monte Cassino, and others. These facts are recorded in a Latin poem of Magister Petrus de Ebulo, with magnificent enthusiasm.



THE TYRANT EZZELINO
He was a Ghibelline leader in the reign of King Manfred, and fought stubbornly on behalf of that cause.

That union of the German and Lower Italian Sicilian kingdoms, which Italian nationalism feared, and German nationalism disliked, had now become an accomplished fact. The Duke of Spoleto at that time was Conrad of Urslingen; the Count of Ancona and Duke of the Romagna was the faithful High Steward, Markward of Annweiler, while the Duke of Tuscany and of the inheritance of Matilda was the emperor's brother Philip. Mediaeval German history very rarely displayed a power so far-reaching and so cen-

tralised as that which belonged to the occupant of the imperial throne in the year 1195.

The more striking was the sudden collapse of this proud world-empire immediately after the death of Henry VI., in 1197. The process was begun by Constance, the queen-widow, who received her empire as a fief from the Pope, and banished the Germans. In 1198 the powers of the apostolic legate, so inconvenient to the Curia, also disappeared. So early as November, 1197, a federation was formed in Tuscany between Florence, Siena, Lucca, Volterra, Arezzo, Prato, and other towns. Ancona and Spoleto overthrew their masters in 1198. Alessandria, the name which had been changed on March 14th, 1183, to "Cæsarea," resumed the offensive name of 1168. To these facts was added the double election of March 8th and June 9th, 1198, which shattered and paralysed the powers of Germany. Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) was precisely the man to turn this favourable situation to the best account, though it must also be admitted that as guardian of the emperor's son, Frederic II., he administered his Southern Italian inheritance upon disinterested principles. At

THE GERMAN SUPREMACY IN ITALY

the same time, fifty years of imperial government in Upper Italy had so firmly rooted that institution that the year 1210 seemed to reverse the position of 1197. However, with the Pope's help, Frederic II. expelled the victorious Guelfs from 1212 onwards.

The Northern Italian towns were unable, as usual, to resolve upon any uniform policy, by reason of their mutual mistrust, and the opposition between the Guelfs and Ghibellines steadily increased. The Church State, in that expansion guaranteed in 1213 by the Golden Bull of Eger, now again included Tuscany and the inheritance of Matilda, Spoleto and Ancona, Ravenna and the Pentapolis. The Curia was also the feudal superior of Sicily, which was under a strong

monarchical government, connected with Germany only by personal union. Frederic II., however, transferred the centre of his wide activities to the south in the midsummer of 1220, and the struggle between the Pope and emperor was consequently renewed. Upon this occasion it was a struggle for life or death. Frederic showed great dexterity in turning to the best account the originally meagre support which the emperor had found among the towns in 1226, 1231, and 1236. On November 27th, 1237, at Cortenuova, between Crema and Bergamo, he succeeded in inflicting a complete defeat upon the hostile towns; In 1238 he subjugated Tuscany, united Sardinia to his dynasty by the marriage of Enzo with Adelasia, and remained



THE LAST HOURS OF EZZELINO, A PRISONER AT SONCINO

Failing to surprise Milan in 1259 and to conquer the Lombard crown and rule as a Ghibelline, Ezzelino, a leader of that cause, was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds at Soncino on September 27th of that year.

From the painting by C. F. Lessing

master of almost the whole of Italy until the death of Gregory IX., on August 21st, 1241, and even after the election of Innocent IV., on June 25th, 1243.

The Lombard question, however, cut off all hopes of any general pacification. The month of July, 1244, when the Pope retired from Rome and went to Lyons

The Death of King Conrad IV.

by way of Genoa, marks the declension of the Hohenstauffen domination, which was unable to maintain its ground after the surprise of Parma in June, 1247, though it offered a bold resistance and secured isolated successes. "Stravit inimicum Christi colubrum Fredericum" (He crushed the enemy of Christ, the serpent Frederic) is the inscription upon the tomb of Innocent in the Cathedral of Naples. After the premature death by fever of King Conrad IV., who had overpowered Capua and Naples in 1253, the disaster proved irreparable, notwithstanding the noble efforts of King Manfred, who revived the splendour of the court of Palermo in 1258, and the energetic support of his viceroy, the Count Jordan d'Agliano.

The day of Montaperti, September 4th, 1260, remained a disaster for the Guelf town of Florence and a triumph for the Ghibellines of Siena. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of Ezzelino to surprise Milan in 1259, to conquer the Lombard crown, and to rule, in intention at least, as a Ghibelline. The tyrant died of his wounds on September 27th of that year, as a prisoner in Soncino. The period of German supremacy was definitely at an end. Roman nationalism triumphed in the person of Charles of Anjou, who was brought forward by the French Popes, Urban IV. and Clement IV. On February 26th, 1266, he overthrew Manfred at Benevento; on August 23rd, 1268, he conquered the last male Hohenstauffen, Conradin, a son of Conrad IV., in the plain of Palentina, between Tagliacozzo and Alba at Scurcola, by a timely advance

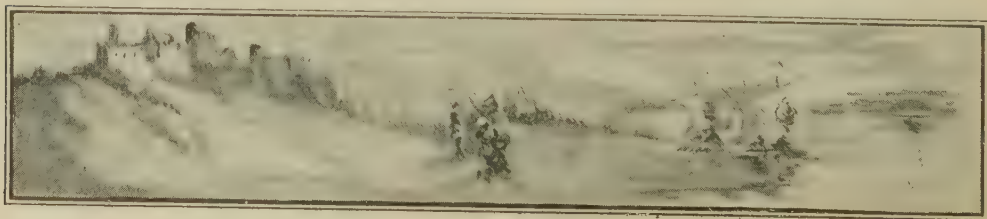
of his reserves, while on June 11th, 1266, he routed Provenzano Salvani of Siena at Colle di Val d'Elsa.

It must not, however, be supposed that German influence in the south was but a transitory phenomenon which left no traces behind. The foundation of Manfredonia at Siponto in 1261-1263 is a direct reference to its founder by name. The fairest ruins of Apulia, from the magnificent fortress of Castel del Monte to the scanty remnants of the tombs of two empresses in Andria, are memorials of the brilliant period when the favourite settlements of a world-wide ruler were situated in the "Capitanata," and when Foggia was his capital. The name of Frederic II. is revered among the Apulians of to-day as that of Napoleon among the French. The inhabitants of Bitonti still show with pride the stone tablet on which the great emperor has termed them "asinini."

He who stands in the Cathedral of Palermo, before the porphyry and marble tombs of Henry VI., Frederic II., and their queens, will realise that the connection of Italy with the German Empire was no mere empty theory, maintained with difficulty for a few decades, but was, on the contrary, a stern fact to which numerous generations, voluntarily or involuntarily, were forced to yield. The Guelfs may, in excess of patriotism, regard the German domination as one of the "barbarian invasions;" the Hohenstauffen dynasty can confidently confront the question whether it gave more than it

Renaissance Debt to Germany

received to the country. The Renaissance owes something to the infusion of German blood, whether of knights or craftsmen, which certainly modified the mixed Italian nationality, though to what extent is a matter of conjecture rather than of demonstration. In any case the calm and unprejudiced observer will avoid the error of estimating the magnificent imperialism of past ages by the measure of German particularism.





FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THE DAYS OF THEIR SPLENDOUR AND THE RENAISSANCE PERIOD IN ITALY

FROM the Italian point of view the fall of the Hohenstauffen dynasty implied liberation from an oppressive alien rule. In view of the Angevin supremacy on the one hand, and the revival of the German claims under Henry VII. upon the other, it might reasonably be supposed that the liberation had been purely nominal, and that the old tyranny remained. In this view there was some truth. The devastating quarrel between the Guelfs and Ghibellines continued, though the recollection of its origin had gradually died away.

The last emperor who was crowned in Rome belongs to the fifteenth century—Frederic III., crowned on March 16th, 1452, with the Lombard crown, and on March 19th with the imperial crown; the last emperor who assumed the title of king and emperor from Italy does not appear until the sixteenth century—Charles V., crowned on February 22nd and 24th,

German Supremacy in Italy 1530, at Bologna. The German supremacy was thus by no means entirely brought to an end by the overthrow of 1268, though in the meanwhile the general situation had undergone great transformation and modification.

Apart from the meteoric revival of the true imperial ruler in the person of Henry VII., we know of no German king who was able to realise in practice the tradition of northern supremacy. After his time we meet only with vague theories and mere shadows of the former power. It is a paper supremacy, which the Germans from the time of Lewis of Bavaria could no more renounce than the Hansa towns were able at a later time to surrender their privileges, which, though attested by documents, had long fallen into disuse. A country divided by nature into two parts at least, and by its previous history into countless divisions, could not be permanently governed by means of expeditions to Rome as occasion arose. Hence Upper and Central Italy went their

own ways. Conditions in the south were somewhat different, for this part of the country long remained under the domination of foreign rulers.

The question has been raised whether the decay and downfall of the supremacy of the "emperors from different dynasties" between 1273 and 1437, who were respected only occasionally or not at all,

Why Italy was Unhappy implied the outset of a happier age for those districts of Italy which had hitherto been primarily anti-German. It is a question which can be answered definitely in the negative; sufficient evidence for the answer may be gained by a glance at Dante's "Divina Commedia." The responsibility for failure rests chiefly upon the incompetence of the contemporary Popes after Innocent IV., who had even made a formal entry into Naples shortly before his death, in 1254, and after the important Nicholas III. Orsini (1277-1280). This incompetence is twice manifested—in 1282 when Sicily was lost to Aragon, and in 1303 when the papacy was defeated by French nationalism.

It cannot be denied that during the first half of the thirteenth century Italy displayed fair possibilities of development to an independent and national course of existence. In this respect the first place must be given to the movement connected with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, and to his disciples who carried their inspiring enthusiasm abroad, after 1210, from the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church. It is

The Zeal of Francis of Assisi difficult in a few words to give an adequate account of the enormous effect produced by these reformers, which continued almost uninterruptedly till the time of Bernardino of Siena, who died in 1444.

The national life of Italy in the thirteenth century displayed the most varied features. Geographical configuration and climate, position with reference to neighbours and



THE HOME OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER: THE FORTRESS CHURCH OF ASSISI

Among the movements that were witnessed in Italy during the early part of the thirteenth century that associated with the preaching of Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order was significant. From the beautiful Umbrian mountain town, with its fortress church, shown in the illustration, he and his disciples went forth on preaching expeditions, and their zealous religionism did much to mould and influence the life of that period.

the world at large, had produced different effects in Sicily, Rome, Milan, and Venice. Institutions were in a state of flux, and nowhere do we meet with any definite constitution. No one town constitution resembled any other. At every point transformation, confusion, and transition meet the eye. None the less, however, a certain uniformity is plainly obvious, and this is provided by the ferment which ran throughout the lower classes from the outset of the thirteenth century. This phenomenon is not confined to Italy; a similar social movement appears in France and Spain, and even in the colder climate of North-west Europe. The term "Renaissance" usually evokes in our minds the thought of those brilliant achievements which this revival produced in the domains of literature and art.

We are too much inclined to forget that the spiritual, scientific and artistic Renaissance would never have exercised the deep comprehensive influence which it actually exerted had it not been preceded by a long period of preparation which

cleared the ground for the permanent reception of the beauty and the freedom gathered from classical antiquity. This preparation was the work of the thirteenth century—a work performed tentatively, with vacillation, and at times with appalling retrogression, but upon the whole with success; for it was a period which made that most valuable of all discoveries, the truth of individualism.

This achievement was not attained without a severe struggle. Opposition, negation, resistance, such were the obstacles. To escape from the ordinary grooves of existence and thought, to throw off political or ecclesiastical tyranny, such was the doctrine which then occupied and attracted the strongest and noblest minds of the period. "Uniformity disappeared in individualism." The state became conscious of its individuality, began to realise its tasks and to oppose the Church, which was attempting to break its bonds. A similar process was advancing within the minds of particular men. Situation and fate raise the individual upon occasion to the

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

superhuman position of an Ezzelino da Romano, who persecuted with violent tyranny as evil any refusal to recognise what he personally considered just, right, or necessary.

Position and circumstance again may overwhelm the individual in associations scorning every instinct of humanity, such as the orthodox intolerance manifested in 1303 towards the Paterene Fra Dolcino. Others are driven—and the case is frequent—to renounce the secular life, to abandon the family and state, to proclaim their personal belief in conscious revolt against ecclesiastical authority, or are induced to wander abroad as apostles offering a pattern of the ascetic life, and denouncing the irreligious and sinful habits of nobles and apostates. It was tendencies of this latter character that enabled St. Dominic to found his order in 1215; he speedily secured large numbers of adherents from Florence, Orvieto, Perugia and Ravenna, as far as Tarentum and Palermo, beyond the straits.

Freethinking and scholasticism, church discipline and sectarianism, mysticism and religious mendicancy, are the wholly dissimilar children of one and the same mother. Even the foundation of the poetical Francis of Assisi is penetrated entirely by individualism; the founder combines in his own person the subjective poet, the friend of the poor and the shepherd of souls, seeking his own salvation, and in some contradiction the "caput" of a "religio" or brotherhood, thus connecting the inner life of the individual and the sanctification of his personal salvation with the service of others and ready obedience to their will. These facts are plain from the history of the Franciscan order from the year 1221, and also from the history of art in general. The passionate preachers of repentance, who offered a fanatical opposition to all that could beautify and refine existence, inexorably opposed all those innovations comprehended under the term "Renaissance," from the Dominican John of Vicenza, the peacemaker of 1233, con-

demning all secular pleasure and all secular quarrels, to the time of his Dominican brother Girolamo Savonarola, who fell a victim in 1498, under the most tragical circumstances, to the political intrigues of hostile Franciscans.

In all these talented fanatics two instincts were furiously struggling—the instincts of subjection to authority and of individual freedom. At a later date the victory was secured upon other soil; one witness can here serve—the stake at which the ex-Dominican Giordano Bruno was burnt on February 17th, 1600. Delirium and fanaticism produced no permanent result, and certainly none in Italy. The enthusiasm passed away, and

Fra Salimbene de Adamo, the first modern historian, a true contemporary of Frederic II., the first modern prince, retails with apparent complacency the biting satire of the Florentine grammarian Buoncompagno:

"Et Johannes johannizat
et saltando choreizat.
Modo salta, modo salta,
qui coelorum petis alta!
Saltat iste, saltat ille
resaltant cohortes mille;
saltat chorus dominarum
saltat dux Venetiarum."

John now shows himself true John, Dancing, leads the chorus on.
Dancing early, dancing late,
Thou shalt win to heaven's gate!
Dancing here and dancing there,
Crowds are dancing everywhere.
See the troops of dames a-dancing!
See the Doge of Venice prancing!

In fact, upon August 28th, 1223, on the meadow of Paquara by the Etsch, to the south of Verona, Brother John is said to have preached from a lofty pulpit to a motley crowd of listeners and spectators, including the Counts of Camino, Este, Romano, San Bonifacio, and others, together with 400,000 knights, peasants, citizens, clergy, and bishops from a score of great towns.

Notwithstanding the hopelessness and apparent difficulty of its individual phenomena, the whole movement undoubtedly produced one good effect—it stirred the people from their state of senseless indifferent torpor. Though the waves of the movement occasionally passed beyond the frontiers of Italy, yet one



ST. BRUNO THE MARTYR
Giordano Bruno was imprisoned by the Inquisition, and, on refusing to recant, was burned at the stake.



Boccaccio



Dante



Petrarch

THREE GREAT FIGURES OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The awakening of Europe to a new era of literary activity was due in large measure to the rise of these three writers of Italy. Dante was, of course, the supreme poet of mediæval times, bridging the gulf that had been unspanned since Virgil. In Petrarch and Boccaccio the Renaissance took two different courses, the former great poet and thinker striving to direct it along the high spiritual plane on which Dante had placed it, and Boccaccio, in his warm humanism, achieving the more readily attainable by the broad appeal of his prose writings to the primal sympathies of mankind.

of its results, and that by no means the least important, was the strengthening of the national consciousness. The "pataria" of Milan, the attempts at ecclesiastical reform which Arialdo, Landulf and Erlembald had undertaken between 1056 and 1057 assumed a political character in the course of time. The ascetic, mystical, and reforming movements might easily have combined to secure a domestic renovation of Italy had the people given greater attention to the teachers and had the two mendicant orders given in their adherence to the papacy with less rapidity.

Italy's Year of Hallelujah

The suppression of factious animosity, with its evil consequences, and of the spirit of private revenge in the year of Hallelujah, 1233, might have led to a fruitful political union of all classes; in the year 1220 St. Francis himself preached the cause of peace with powerful effect in the town of Bologna, a city highly cultured though torn by domestic faction. A similar note can be heard even in the pessimistic assertions and gloomy prophecies of the Cistercian abbot Joachim of Fiore, and in the exaggerated diatribes of his adherent, the Minorite Gherardino of Borgo San Donnino in 1254 against the Hohenstauffen.

At that moment individual poets in Sicily, from Arezzo, Bologna, Todi, and Florence, who were all dependent upon the Latin and Provençal languages, had ventured to write in a kind of Italian national language. Thus the thirteenth century amalgamated the motley population of Italy into a national whole, or gave a highly promising impulse to

eventual national union. The patriotic art and the literary splendour of that poetic constellation, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, confirm this event. The possibility of a successful ascent to these intellectual summits depended upon economic prosperity rather than upon political pre-eminence.

That such prosperity existed in full abundance is proved by the appalling height of the rate of interest and the flourishing position of the moneylender. It is extraordinary how often we meet with decrees upon this latter occupation, which forced the heirs of the moneylenders to make a penitent restoration of property gained by "robbery and evil means," and remind us almost of the humiliating penance which Otto III. performed in 1001 before St. Romuald in the old basilica of Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna "on account of crimes committed." A protocol concerning money-lending by Italians who carried on business in Nîmes shows that interest was demanded at the rate of 75, 113, 120, 175, and 218 per cent., and even 262 and 266 per cent.—figures in comparison with which the average rate of 43.33 per cent. appears comparatively modest.

When Moneylenders Flourished There was every reason for giving the name of "Lombard" to the credit banks.

The chief centres of the money-changers and usurers were Asti, Chieri, and Piacenza in the north-west, Venice and Vicenza in the north-east, Siena, Lucca, and Florence in Tuscany, Rome in the states of the Church, and San Germano in the south. The

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

discovery of the St. Gothard Pass, about 1220, completed the prosperity of finance and mercantile communication.

The term "signory" as applied to these city states is not to be regarded as in every case implying fully developed individual supremacy. Such a view would be erroneous. The Italians of this time rather comprehended under the term "signoria" republican freedom in visible form, though it was a freedom very remote from the idea of freedom which the nineteenth century and English models have inspired. In Florence, for instance, the term signory denoted for many decades

the rule of the heads of the guilds until the time of the Medici. After 1282 and 1293 the popular power of this town lay in the hands of the priors, who met in the Palazzo Vecchio, and of the Gonfaloniere di Giustizia (the standard-bearer of justice). The signory of Venice was practically the ministry of the Doge. In other parts of the country, where the general exhaustion consequent upon the struggles of social classes had produced an earnest desire for peace, the institution developed upon different lines; here we find the civic dissensions composed by impartial mediators, acting in a dis-

interested manner, or we meet, under other circumstances, with a tyranny in its sternest form. "The friend" often enough disagreeably surprised the weak by appearing in the character of a guardian, whose rule could no longer be overthrown. Thus it was that the Grimaldi of Genoa made themselves masters of Monaco in the fourteenth century.

It is no matter of surprise that in the states of the Church during the same century other signories of the kind were founded, and maintained their ground for some time in view of the well-known mildness of the papal rule, which in any case was reduced to comparative impotence by the "Babylonish captivity." Thus the Popoli, and after them the Bentivogli ruled over



DANTE IN HIS EXILE SEEKS FOR PEACE

Because of his adherence to the White Guelphs, Dante was banished from his native city, Florence, in 1302, and never again did he see his home, as he died a wanderer in 1321. The above illustration, from the painting by P. van Ouderaa, shows the poet at the monastery of Santa Croce Cirvo, at which he found shelter on his way to Paris. When asked by the kindly friar what he sought, Dante made the brief answer, "Peace."



A SESSION OF THE GREAT COUNCIL IN THE HALL OF THE COLLEGE OF VENICE
The small but beautiful chamber in the ducal palace known as the Hall of the College was chiefly used for the reception of foreign ambassadors and state functions of the Grand Council, a session of which is represented in the above picture
From the painting by Malombra in the Prado Gallery at Madrid.

Bologna, the Da Polenta over Ravenna—Dante's place of refuge—the Manfredi over Faenza, the Ghibelline Ordalaffi over Forlì, the Malatesta over Rimini, the Varani over Camerino, the Montefeltri over Urbino, the Prefetti da Vico over Viterbo and Civita Vecchia. Here also the Italian tendency towards multiformity is preserved. The case may be summed up as follows. In places where the term "signoria" implies no expressed lordship, development remained some decades behind, in comparison with other towns which possessed "signori" proper. As a matter of fact, the free communes in Tuscany maintained their ground longer than in Upper Italy, and in this respect such examples as the signori of Florence were a late growth of the preceding age.

After the battle of Meloria, Pisa endured three years of Guelph supremacy under Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, as captain-general (1285-1288). When this yoke had been shaken off with great cruelty, the decay of the town was accelerated by the restoration of a communal government; in the armistice of

July 31st, 1299, Pisa was obliged to cede Corsica and part of Sardinia to Genoa, paying an indemnity of 160,000 lire, and was driven from the sea. Eventually, in 1313, it was easily overpowered by the Ghibelline Uguccione della Faggiuola, who also subjugated Lucca in 1314—where Dante, upon his second banishment, remained until 1316—and defeated Florence on August 29th, 1315, at Monte Catini. In 1316 Uguccione was banished from Pisa on account of his severity to Castruccio

**Venetian
Fleet
Defeated**

Castracani—who died in 1328 as Duke of Lucca—and other nobles. The signory was then held by the Gherardesca family until June 5th, 1347, after which date the Gambacorta family retained a comparatively firm grasp of the power until 1399, notwithstanding changes of fortune and occasional alterations of constitutional form.

The proud city of Genoa had inflicted a crushing defeat, on September 5th, 1298, upon the Venetian fleet off the Dalmatian island of Curzola. For some time it was governed by a Ghibelline party in the

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

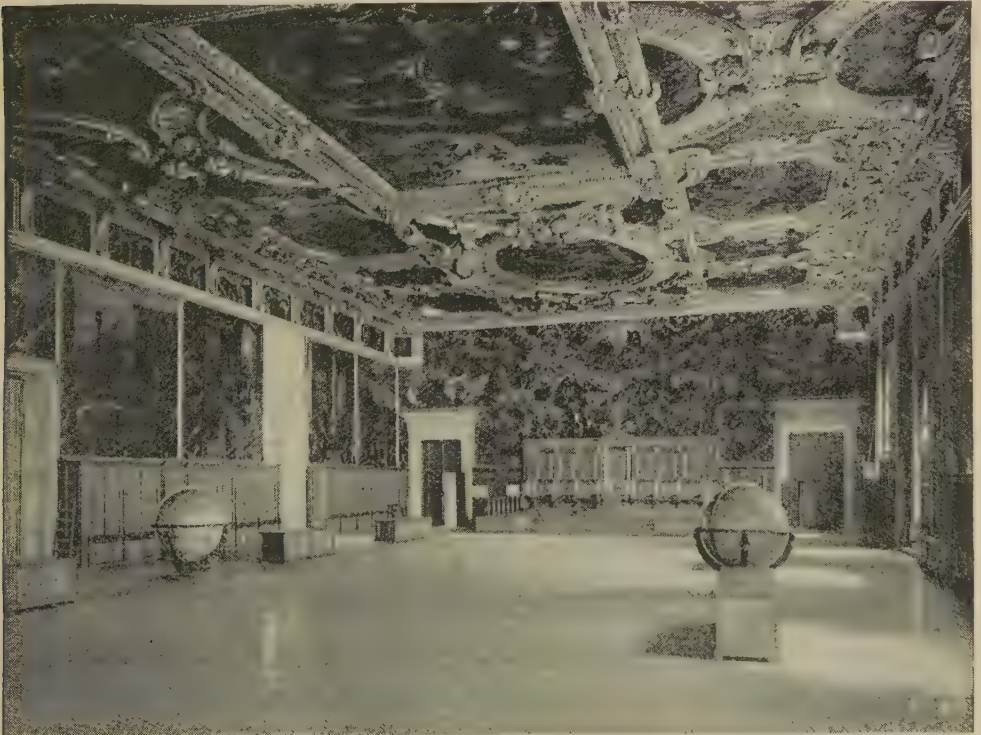
style of a signory, upon a democratic basis, though with two aristocratic chiefs; on November 22nd, 1311, this independence, which the town had maintained even against Charles of Anjou, was replaced by an imperial signory.

This government, however, was of short duration, and soon afterwards civil war broke out the more violently. The resulting disasters were invariably compensated and repaired by the advantages of geographical position, a highly valuable attribute; had they been possessed, for instance, in the same measure, by the ambitious town of Ancona, Ancona would undoubtedly have become a second Genoa. The attempts of the inhabitants to shake off the rule of Milan, of the French, of a foreign Montferrat dynasty, or, finally, of a native aristocracy, never resulted in any permanent success.

Affairs in Venice ran a similar, and yet in details a very different, course. The similarity consisted in the desire, which most of the Italian towns displayed, to put

an end to the wide membership of the commune, and to replace this body by a smaller council, invested with sovereign powers, to substitute for the democracy and mob rule an oligarchy of consuls and of the podestà, which eventually gave way to a half monarchical signoria. This process can be traced plainly throughout the constitutional life of Venice. On the other hand, in Venice a pure monarchy

The Doge Who was Executed never came into existence; in the "hall of the great council" of the palace of the Doge, in the centre of the row of seventy-six Doge portraits, a black plate marks the spot which should have been occupied by the portrait of the Doge Marino Faliero, who was beheaded on April 17th, 1355, for high treason. The podestà, notwithstanding his title, "by the grace of God," was very far from enjoying a monarchical position, and similarly the powers of the Doge were strictly limited by several oligarchical authorities, the "signori" proper of Venice. The more or less



THE HALL OF THE GREAT COUNCIL AT VENICE

In this magnificently decorated hall, whose walls and ceilings were painted by Titian, Tintoretto, Paul Veronese, and other famous artists employed at the expense of the republic, the Great Council, presided over by the Doge, met to deliberate on the affairs of the state. Around the frieze are portraits of all the Doges in the history of Venice with the exception of Marino Faliero, who himself fell a victim to the extraordinary intrigues which were commonplaces in the annals of the ambitious republic and its unscrupulous statesmen. This chamber is one of the gems of Venice.



Many of the great palaces on the Grand Canal (1) still remain outwardly as they were in the Middle Ages, nor has the aspect of the Rialto Bridge (2), formerly the Exchange, been greatly altered, while the Bridge of Sighs (3) remains as it ever was. Santa Maria della Salute (4), the fine church built in 1632 as a memorial of deliverance from the plague, is one of the most characteristic views of Venice.

ON THE GRAND CANAL AND OTHER FAMOUS SCENES IN VENICE

Photos: Frith and Anderson



Between the famous pillars (1), looking across to S. Giorgio Maggiore, the political offenders of old Venice were beheaded. The equestrian statue of Colleoni (2), an undistinguished captain of the republican army, is said to be the finest in the world. The ducal palace, the library, and the famous Campanile, now destroyed but in course of rebuilding, are seen in our third view, and the facade of St. Mark's (4).

THE SPLENDID MONUMENTS OF THE GREAT DAYS OF VENICE

stringent absolutism of a Carrara, Medici, Scala, and Visconti was never at any time possible in the history of Venice.

Thus from 1148, and to a greater extent from 1192, onwards, at which date Enrico Dandolo swore to the constitution, Venice



VENETIAN CITIZEN OF THE MIDDLE AGES
From a painting in the Corsini Gallery, Florence

for fully six centuries remained the pattern of a true oligarchy. Great, indeed, were her achievements in this character. After the Fourth Crusade, which brought vast profit to the Venetians (1202-1204), she founded her possessions in the Adriatic and the Ionian Islands, and consolidated and extended her hold of Cerigo and Eubœa, of Candia and Cyprus. The state became purely mercantile. Commercial voyages grew to the size of expeditions. Nicolo Maffeo and Marco Polo remained in China at the court of Kublai Khan from 1275 to 1292.

To the reasonable vexation of Venice, the Latin Empire was overthrown in 1261 by the efforts of Genoa, and the rule of the Palæologi was restored, though to a more modest extent. The unfavourable conditions in Syria increased the rivalry of Venice and Genoa for predominance in the Black Sea, where Tana and Kaffa were the chief centres of Genoese commerce. Eventually the long-desired end to the struggle was secured by the surrender of Chioggia on June 22nd, 1380,

ensured by the co-operation of Vittore Pisani and Carlo Zeno, and by the Peace of Turin of August 8th, 1381, which was gained by the good offices of the "Green Count" Amadeo VI. of Savoy. After that date a new revival began. Advantageous treaties with the infidels were justified after 1454 with the characteristic excuse, "Venetians first and Christians afterwards." The previous century, however, had induced the Doge Francesco Dandolo (1329-1339) to make extensive acquisitions of territory in the Trevisan interior. These mainland conquests were successfully continued as far as the Adda and Rimini by his successors in office, Michele Steno (1400-1414), Tommaso Mocenigo (1414-1423), and Francesco Foscari (1423-1457), together with Erasmo Gattamelata of Narni in 1438, celebrated by Donatello's mounted figure before Sant' Antonio at Padua, who saved the republic when captain-general from the Viscontine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino.

If we turn our eyes upon the extension of the square of St. Mark, running towards the sea, astonishment and admiration are infinite, so close has been the co-operation between Nature and human art. Yet even



A VENETIAN SENATOR IN HIS ROBES
From a painting by Tintoretto

a view in full moonlight will not provide unmixed satisfaction. Between the two granite pillars bearing St. Theodore and the lion of St. Mark rises the shadow of the hero of Macclodio (1423), the condottiere Francesco Bussone of Carmagnola, who

was executed on March 5th, 1432. On the right hand, the silent mint reflects the watchful strength of the Venetian constitution. But few windows illuminate the solemn splendour and the proud dignity of the Doge's palace. Even though its notorious leaden chambers have been destroyed for 110 years, yet its "cisterns," its rack chamber, and its Bridge of Sighs which connects it with the old criminal prison, preserve the memories of a system of state inquisition and police supervision, the counterpart of which can have existed only in Spain or under Asiatic despots. It is no mere chance that the ambassadorial and diplomatic systems and the use of a diplomatic cipher—evidenced by documents so early as 1226—found their earliest and most distinguished development in Venice.

It would indeed be surprising that the plastic arts here found so fertile a soil were it not for the fact that economic prosperity and the Oriental wealth of the ambitious reigning families inspired and preserved the taste for beauty and luxury. Andrea del Verrocchio, the creator of the magnificent equestrian statue of the captain-general, Bartolomeo Colleoni (1400-1475), the rich memorials of the Dominican churches of San Giovanni and San Paolo, and, finally, the master of the full Renaissance, Jacopo Sansovino, who, as "architect to the republic," constructed, from 1536 onwards, the magnificent double hall for the proper housing of the libraries of Petrarch and Bessarion—these poured the sunlight of Florence with lavish hand upon the darker gloom of the commercial town, with its domination of sea and land.

In respect of artistic creation Florence undoubtedly occupies the foremost place during those centuries; inspiring light and breath proceed from her activities from an early date. Even such early

creations as the "Madonnas" of Giovanni Cimabue (1240-1303) and the frescoes of his pupil, Giotto (1266-1337), are radiant with light, purity, and vital force. The "Madonna," painted about 1270 for the Cappella Rucellai was carried from the house of Cimabue to the church of Santa Maria Novella by the enthusiastic Florentines "with much splendour and trumpets, in solemn procession." Nobility of form, naturalness, character and virility are the oft-noted characteristic features of the work of Giotto, which announced a new era.

In sunlit Tuscany, the stereotyped formality of Byzantine tradition was overpowered and cast aside by the faithful

observation of Nature. Even more truly Florentine than her painting, which was influenced from neighbouring sources, is her sculpture, which held the first place from the Trecento to the Cinquecento, from Andrea Pisano and Andrea di Cione—known as Orcagna—to the times of Lorenzo Ghiberti and Donato Bardi—known as Donatello—and thence until Luca della Robbia and Michelangelo Buonarroti. The first ecclesiastical construction of the Renaissance is the Medicean church of San Lorenzo.

Great, however, was the contrast between these artistic powers and the political condition of the chief city within this happy district, with its hedges of olive and fruit trees, with its holm-oaks and pines, its villas and cupolas, and with such towers as that of San Gimignano. The soil gives food in full abundance, colour to the painter, and marble to the sculptor; yet here, as everywhere in Upper and Central Italy at that date, confusions of party faction, reigns of terrorism, and political disruption were intensified. "From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century there was always a Florence in exile," says Ranke. Yet it is possible that this violent



A FAMOUS PORTRAIT OF A DOGE
The genius of Giovanni Bellini has bestowed unmerited fame upon the subject of this portrait, Leonardo Loredano, who held the office of Doge during a period of "comparatively small importance to the constitution of Venice." This famous painting hangs in the National Gallery, London.

contrast between Nature and mankind may have stimulated imagination and given it wings, and have provided an un-failing supply of nourishment to artistic imaginative power.

War is the father of all things, and the fact is true in the present case. The age of the signories, when the idea of republican "freedom" often suffered such extraordinary explanations, compelled the Italian spirit to produce its finest works. Continuous vacillation between hope and fear, the abrupt and violent transitions from supreme power to banishment, from the bounteous table of the ruler to the scanty bread of the outcast, offered a rich supply of dramatic situations, crying to

The Great Days of the Arts

comparatively wide influence, as was only natural from a democratic point of view. This influence is evidenced, for instance, by the documents relating to the statue of St. Matthew of Ghiberti (about 1420); also by the history of the building of the Tempio Malatestiano of Rimini, about 1450, by the great memorial of the Renaissance couple, Sigismondo Pandoloflo Malatesta and Isotta degli Atti, with its contorted s, raised by L. B. Alberti, or, finally, by the accurate terms of the commission, which the highly cultivated Isabella d'Este gave to such an artist as Perugino—"The Victory of Modesty over Lust," in 1505. During those golden centuries the patron, whether an individual or a corporation, prescribed rules for



A RELIGIOUS PROCESSION IN THE PLACE OF ST. MARK AT VENICE

it is the unique glory of Venice that the republic spared no expense in attracting to its capital the greatest of the artists of the time, and in encouraging its own children to strive for distinction in the arts. As a result, no town in the world could vie with it in artistic riches. It even granted a splendid palace to Petrarch for no other purpose than to have the greatest living poet of Italy a resident in Venice. The above picture by G. Bellini illustrates a procession in the Place of St. Mark, and shows how completely the whole place has been preserved.

be used, and immortalised both by the plastic and by the literary arts. The only perceptible difference is the fact that poetry was rather cherished by the sufferers under banishment, while painting and sculpture, in the majority of cases, were in the service of the prosperous, who were driven by guilty consciences to make amends to God. Roman Catholicism places high value upon artistic appeals to the senses; what marvellous art did Benvenuto Cellini expend merely upon the unseen vessels in the kitchen of Maria of Loretto!

In most cases it was a secret anxiety for the cause of art which inspired the artistic patron to make his sacrifices; hence the artist readily conceded to him a

performance, and watched, though with full respect, the work of the artist stage by stage, reserving the right to interfere. The co-operation of religious fanaticism and the spirit of self-sacrifice, of the sense of beauty and the Italian climate, was bound to produce splendours of imperishable power. So arose the Gothic cathedrals of Siena and of Orvieto; the former, though begun amid the confusion which heralded and conditioned the defeat of Montaperti, is in complete harmony with the prosperity of the proud victor at that moment, the faithful copy of Genoa as a territorial city state; the latter, begun a generation later, at the edge of the small and gloomy rock fortress, hardly to be

Imperishable Splendours of Italy

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

compared with Spoleto, impresses the surprised spectator as indeed marvellous. From a political point of view, however, the disaster of Montaperti had produced little or no permanent effect upon the humiliated Florentines. The old murderous quarrel between the Guefs and Ghibellines, which the exaggerations of tradition retrace to the murder of a Buondelmonte by the Amidei, Lamberti and Uberti, on the Easter morning of 1215, continued after 1250, when the nobility were expelled by the community of the citizens, to the end of the century, until the spring celebrations of May 1st, 1300, when it was prosecuted in the internecine division of the Guefs into the "Blacks" (Donati) and the "Whites" (Cerchi). In 1301 the Florentine "Whites" assisted in the expulsion of the "Blacks" from the neighbouring town of Pistoja; the "Whites," who were then overthrown by the ferocity of the ambitious Pope Boniface VIII., at the end of September, 1300, joined the Ghibelline party with their adherent Dante, who from June 15th to August 14th had been one of the six guild priors of his native town. The threat of excommunication and interdict by the papal "pacificator," the Cardinal Bishop Matthew of Aquasparta, thus did not come about until the expiration of Dante's priorate. The 450 confiscations of property and condemnations which the "White" Pistoja executed, in many cases without

examination or investigation, between 1301 and 1303 accurately reflect the ferocity of the methods employed by the Guefs in Florence until 1306.



A DOGE OF VENICE
Francesco Foscari was elected Doge of Venice in 1423, and was expelled from that office in 1457 as a result of the opposition of his hereditary foes, the Loredani.

The breach had become irreparable. Florence then possessed a dominant economic position. Through her hands passed the greater part of the trade in salt and corn, in wool and cloth; her financial business was highly profitable, and as early as 1250 the project for a Tuscan coinage union had been conceived and carried through within her walls—an extremely far-reaching project for that date. Her share of Mediterranean traffic and shipping during those decades was surprising in its prodigious and almost undisputed extent. No attempt, however, was made to utilise these advantages in favour of a comprehensive policy; on the contrary, the city continued the process of self-destruction, and condemned herself by her own acts to political impotence.

Under Guef fanaticism Florence closed her gates on January 6th, 1311, to Henry VII., who had been crowned at Milan with a crown of steel fashioned like a laurel wreath in place of the famous "iron crown," which the Della Torre had pawned with a Jew. Henry might otherwise have been capable of unifying Italy. The city preferred to endure for ten



A FAMOUS STATUE AT PADUA

When Captain-General of the republican army, Erasma Gattamelata saved his country from the Visentine condottiere Niccolò Piccinino, and this statue of the brave leader, by Donatello, stands before Sant' Antonio at Padua as a perpetual reminder of a heroic life.

years (1313-1321 and 1326-1328) the yoke of the Angevin kings, Robert of Naples and Charles of Calabria, and in 1342 conferred the signory upon the titular Duke of



THE FAMOUS PROCESSION OF CIMABUE'S GREAT PAINTING TO THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA NOVELLA IN FLORENCE

Nothing can better illustrate than this picture the glorious idealism of the Renaissance, when, despite the distracted condition of Europe and all the petty wars and family feuds continuously being waged, the minds of men were steadily fixed on spiritual things and their expression in literature, art, and architecture. Cimabue, the Florentine artist, was one of the great pioneers of the Renaissance in art, not so much on account of his actual work but because of his immense influence on his contemporaries of the younger school. Art had long been left to the mosaicists, and in the centuries after the decay of Rome and the rise of Byzantium design had frozen into conventions suited to expression in mosaic. But Cimabue, with the revival of painting, struck a note of freedom and naturalism while still retaining from the old mosaic its decorative value. This is admirably illustrated in the celebrated painting of the "Madonna and Child," now preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella, in which we observe at once the touch of actuality in the figures and faces and the influence of the mosaic decorative art in the arrangement and detail of the picture. Florence was so delighted with this painting that it could find time to crown the painter with laurels and carry his picture in procession through the streets. The youth whom Cimabue has by the hand is Giotto, the greatest of his pupils, whom he had found as a shepherd lad, and who did so much to adorn Dante's famous city.

From the painting by Lord Leighton, by permission of the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, W.

FLORENCE AND VENICE IN THEIR SPLENDOUR

Athens, Walter VI. of Brienne, though his expulsion became necessary so early as July 26th, 1343. The popular party made many attempts to wrest the government from the plutocracy, from the time of the commercial lord Giano della Bella, a kind of Caesar or Mirabeau (1293-1295), to the revolt of the Woolcombers (1378-1382) and to the time of the "last Florentine republican" Filippo di Filippo Strozzi, who died in 1538. All of these resulted in failure

after some short success. Upon one occasion Florence, with the help of a German king, succeeded in thwarting the Ghibelline Milanese and their attempts to establish a general supremacy, at an expense of 175,000 ducats. Here we meet with that remarkable conjunction of events which drove Wenzel's rival, Rupert of the Palatinate, into a declared Gueff alliance in 1401, and reduced him to the unworthy position of the English condottiere John Hawkwood, who led the city mercenaries from 1390 to 1394. The republic was then ruled by the noble family group of the

Albizzi, and was reluctant to expend a single additional halfpenny upon the enterprise, while Rupert, though inspired by the best of motives, was without resources; consequently the alliance did not secure for Florence the supremacy at which she aimed, and the result was a

miserable fiasco for both sides. The conquest of Pisa by Gino Caponi on October 9th, 1406, brought a gleam of hope to the almost exhausted city, a possibility renewed on June 27th, 1421, by the acquisition of Livorno from the Genoese for 100,000 ducats. After that date the trade in

Egyptian spices passed through the hands of Florentine merchants, who paid for those desirable wares with woollen fabrics.

Eventually Cosimo di Giovanni de Medici, the son of a

banker, who was influential with the lower classes, secured an almost monarchical position, while retaining the forms of a republic. His administration at the same time betokens the dawn of a second Periclean age. The spirit of princely patronage over art was incarnated in the person of the Medici who succeeded the "Father of his Country," who died on August 1st, 1464; these were Piero's sons, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1469-1492) and Giuliano (1469-1479), Lorenzo's second son Giovanni, who became Pope Leo X. (1513-1521), and Duke Cosimo I. (1537-1574), after 1500

"Grand Duke of Tuscany." This period marks the zenith of the Renaissance and connects it with the coming Rococo age. It brought forth, indeed, some unsound fruit, such as Catherine, the instigator of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and others. Typical of these products are the criminal pair of



THE FIRST GREAT PAINTING OF THE RENAISSANCE
The above is a reproduction of the celebrated "Madonna" painted by Cimabue, and preserved in the church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, the story of which is told on the opposite page.

cousins, Alessandro and Lorenzino, murdered on January 6th, 1537, and on February 26th, 1548.

Pandolfo Petrucci ruled Siena from February 7th, 1494, until his death, on May 21st, 1512; and had his successors been men of similar character and capacity, this smaller but more brilliant neighbouring town might easily have become the seat of the Tuscan dukes in place of Florence. None the less, no royal family rendered such services to art and science in so comparatively short a time as the dynasty of the Medici. This was no small achievement in an age which saw the artistic rise, not only of such centres as Rome, Venice, and Naples, but also of smaller capitals, such as Ferrara and Modena — in the sixteenth century, under the two Alfonsos of Este, the friends of Ariosto and Tasso; Mantua, under the art lover Gonzaga; Parma, 1547-1731, under the Farnese; Turin, from 1408 the capital of the Counts of Savoy; and Urbino, the birthplace of Raphael, under the Montefeltro and Rovere.

The attempt to discover an Italian signory which may serve as a type of a true patriotic policy would prove successful only in the case of Milan, so long as that town remained under the rule of the Visconti (1311-1447), a dynasty disturbed by no moral scruples, but ruthlessly pursuing its object, the unification at least of Lombardy. In this case we meet with vigour and

fidelity, which may reconcile us to many divergences from the strict path of uprightness, and to many acts of severity. With the exception of an interim from 1277 to 1302, the town had been ruled by the Guelf family Della Torre from 1240, and in the winter of 1310-1311 it offered a reluctant submission to Henry VII. and his policy of composing all differences. The remaining nine decades of the fourteenth century secured the inclusion of Milan in the empire, a change which met with little opposition, and offered every prospect of undisturbed expansion and amalgamation, while no danger was to be feared from the obvious weakness of the empire. The imperial power of an Otto, a Frederic, or



THE READING OF A PROCLAMATION IN MEDIÆVAL VENICE
From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.



MEDIÆVAL PERSIAN MERCHANTS TRADING WITH LADIES OF VENICE

In the Middle Ages all the riches of the Orient were poured into the wonderful city on the Adriatic; its streets swarmed with the most cosmopolitan population, and the merchants of the East came laden with their precious wares to dispose of among the luxury-loving and wealthy citizens of the maritime republic, whose palaces lined the Grand Canal.

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Co.

a Henry had long since disappeared, leaving no trace behind, and the task of mutual recognition and tolerance had become extremely simple.

Nothing is more characteristic of this situation than the commercial attitude of Charles IV. between 1354 and 1355, and in the summer of 1368. Italy was then harassed by the constant plague of mercenary troops, the "Compagnie di ventura," who, while generally brave, were entirely unscrupulous; she was also anxious to recover her spiritual head, now far away in dependence upon France. These tasks had been attempted with better, though not with permanent, success by a weak woman, Santa Katharina Benincasa of Siena, who died in 1380, and to them the second Luxemburg king devoted no real part of his power. The exact antithesis of his ideal grandfather, Henry, and of his father, John, who was ever a chivalrous character, he preferred negotiation to action.

Thus the shattered country was again threatened with the necessity of casting out the plague of foreign defenders and native intriguers—who used this disruption

for their own purpose—by means of a few sharp strokes, after which the process of reform might be attempted. The curative process was painful, and consisted in a complete renunciation of the almost inevitable factions and in a transition to the hated "subjection" under some absolute ruler, and this process was almost automatically completed. The physician in question was Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti—born October 16th, 1351, in Pavia—who would most certainly have deserved the name of a national hero had it not been for the premature death which overtook him on September 3rd, 1402, before he could complete his difficult task.

His government began by his determined efforts to destroy the power of his cruel uncle, Bernabo, in 1385. He proceeded to secure his own inheritance in defiance of Bernabo's sons, to expel from Verona the remnants of the Della Scala, who seemed ready, under Can Grande, the patron of Dante, and under Mastino II., to realise the Ghibelline idea of Italian salvation. The next steps were the determined expulsion of Francesco I. and II. da Carrara



A GENERAL VIEW OF THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF FLORENCE

Photochrome

The gallery which is here seen carried across the river Arno on the top of the old bridge connects the two famous picture galleries of the Uffizi and the Pitti, which were formerly palaces belonging to the families whose names they still bear.



THE UNFINISHED MEDICI CHURCH OF SAN LORENZO IN FLORENCE

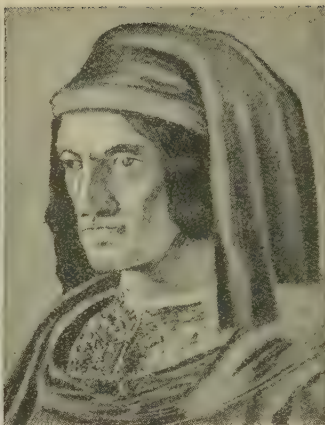
It was under the Medici that Florence reached the height of its mediæval prosperity, and the tombs of that remarkable family are one of its great sights. These are contained in the chapel attached to the unfinished church of San Lorenzo, illustrated above, and are largely the work of Michelangelo. The unfinished church is, in some sort, a symbolical memorial of the downfall of the Medici, who had so long and tyrannously imposed their rule on the state of Florence.



THE TITULAR DUKE OF ATHENS, WALTER VI. OF BRIENNE, BEING COMPELLED TO RESIGN THE SIGNORY OF FLORENCE IN 1348



Cosimo I., Duke of Tuscany



Lorenzo de Medici



Giuliano de Medici

THREE FAMOUS LEADERS OF THE GREAT FAMILY OF THE MEDICI

The Medici were a Florentine family that rose to great power in the fourteenth century, and wielded vast influence. Expelled from Florence towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Medici were soon afterwards re-installed in power.

from Padua, and the intimidation of Francesco I. da Gonzaga by the attempt of his naval engineers to divert the course of the Mincio, and to transform Mantua into a swamp; then followed the purchase of the ducal title from the needy King Wenzel, the elevation of Pavia to a county, and the successful inducement of Niccolo of Este to enter Ferrara in 1401. Mean-

while gentle pressure or stern menaces had steadily secured for him the signories and towns of Assisi, Bologna, Nocera, Perugia, Pisa, Siena, and Spoleto, the acquisition by inheritance of Alessandria, Arezzo, Asti, Bassano, Belluno, Bergamo, Bobbio, Casale, Bormio, Brescia, Como, Crema, Cremona, Feltre, Lodi, the Lunigiana, Monza, Novara, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Reggio Sarzana, Tortona, Valenza, Vercelli, Vicenza, and Voghera.

These gains brought the power of Gian Galeazzo to such a height that the anxiety of the towns and signories, which wished to remain Guelf at any price, became very intelligible, as also did the joy and satisfaction of the other towns at the approaching fulfilment of the "idea unitaria" by the Visconti.

A view of Upper and Central Italy as it



TOMB OF LORENZO DE MEDICI, BY MICHELANGELO

existed in the summer of 1402 will show no power comparable with the Duchy of Milan, except Savoy and Piedmont, Saluzzo and Montferrat, Asti, and Genoa, Massa and Carrara, and the other districts of the Malaspinga, Mantua and Modena, Venice and Florence, and the Church State. It is thus no remarkable exaggeration when Alfieri, a worthy teacher of Latin at Kaffa in the Crimea, in his "Ogdoas," composed about 1421, makes Gian Galeazzo ask: "And what would have



LUCREZIA BORGIA DANCING IN THE PRESENCE OF HER FATHER, POPE ALEXANDER VI AND HIS CARDINALS
 Lucrezia Borgia, famous for her beauty and her love of art and science, was the daughter of Rodrigo Borgia, who in 1503 became Pope, taking the title of Alexander VI. She is here
 pictured as dancing in the presence of her father, sitting in the papal chair, with his cardinals around him. Lucrezia was three times married; she was born at 1511 and died in 1561.
 From the painting by H. Kaulbach, by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.

happened if fate had granted me five years more?" and represents his illegitimate son, Gabrielle Maria, as replying: "The whole of Italy would have obeyed thy sceptre." Notwithstanding the occasional severity of his decrees, he was revered for another hundred years by the people as a saint, and this in spite of the fact that the increasing expense of his military enterprises had obliged him to withdraw his support from the splendid building of the Certosa, near his brilliant capital of Pavia. This monastery had absorbed considerable benefactions from 1393 to 1396, but from the laying of its foundation stone on August 27th, 1396, had received no help from the ruler until his death, while he was also unable to spend upon the marble cathedral of Milan after 1386 as much as he had done during the first decade.

The Lombard crown, after an absence

of twenty years in Avignon, had been once more kept at Monza from March 20th, 1345, and was thus in the power of Gian Galeazzo, but the proud ruler of Milan was not destined to wear it. The tripartite division of the "best duchy in the

whole of Christendom" was contemplated under his will, but was prevented by the execution of Gabriele at Genoa in 1408, by the murder of Giammaria at Milan in 1412, and by the efforts of the brave generals of Filippo Maria (1412-1447); these were Francesco da Carmagnola, Niccolò Piccinino, and Francesco Sforza, the eldest son of Giacomo Addendolo, known as Sforza of Cotignola, who was drowned in the Pescara on January 4th, 1424. The fourth representative of the family of the last-mentioned upstart, a highly capable character, Lodovico Sforza il Moro, suggested the invasion of Italy to the French.



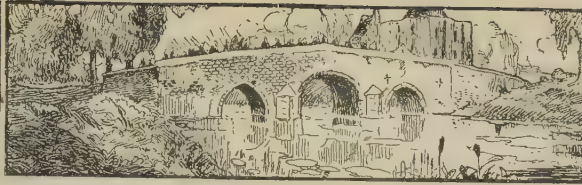
TWO OF THE FAMOUS VISCONTI

Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti was the most famous of the noble Lombard family of the Visconti. He did much to regain the territories of his house, but died, in 1402, before his task was completed. Matteo, whose portrait is also given, belonged to an earlier period, and in the thirteenth century held for a time the government of Milan. In 1322 he was condemned as a heretic, and died three months after his trial.



THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES VIII. INTO FLORENCE

From the painting by Bezzuoli in the Gallery of Modern Art at Florence



SOUTH ITALY UNDER THE ANGEVINS THE SICILIAN REVOLT & SPANISH SUPREMACY

IN 1266 the Angevin dynasty displaced the Hohenstauffen in Southern Italy. During their period we meet with vitality, and occasionally with freedom, though within intelligible limits. The brilliant traditions of the Normans and the carefully organised administration of the Hohenstauffen could not be abolished in a moment. At the same time the Southern Italian is by nature so protean a character that, provided blood is flowing in his veins, the impact of any foreign influence will suffice to drive him forward on an altered course; only the torpidity of the later period of oppression has caused the extinction of this characteristic.

Hence an accurate examination does not confirm the impression that the foreign French or the first Spaniards were responsible for the sudden death of southern civilisation. It is, no doubt, true that the presence of these foreign rulers intensified that separation from the rest of Italy which originated in the Byzantine period, and became permanent in view of the hopelessness of all attempts at fusion with the north. This alienation it is which has indisputably stamped the general historical development of the two Sicilies with that lifeless character which has prevented every careful observer, from the papal Saba Malaspina to N. Nisco and R. de Cesare, the biographers of Ferdinand II. and Francis II., from feeling the pleasure of unrestrained satisfaction before exploits of undoubted magnificence; the sense of some flaw in the picture is ever dominant.

Charles I., the first Angevin king of Naples and Sicily (1266-1285), began by thoroughly destroying all traces of the government which he had set aside; he wished, above all things, to erase from the book of history the two previous decades. This Capetian and Provençal ruler was disinclined to appear

as the heir of the Germans, an attitude adopted by his greater Carolingian predecessor in 774 towards the Lombard inheritance; Charles made every conceivable effort to appear as a "new master." In this bureaucratic state, which had grown up under the Normans, the

The Great Ambitions of Charles I.

Saracens, and the Hohenstauffen, the feudal system underwent an unexpected revival under French forms. Dependence, however, upon pre-existing forms, and resistance, upon the other hand, to aggressive attempts, caused the king constant anxiety. In 1270 he considered that the second crusade of his brother Louis IX., if it had failed to capture the last refuge of the Hohenstauffen party, had yet sufficiently terrorised that retreat. He therefore reverted to the old Norman idea of foreign policy, and proposed to become master of both shores of the Adriatic. He was, however, unable to cope with the superior diplomacy of Byzantium.

The battle of Berat brought Charles' ten years of struggle for Albania to a temporary conclusion in April, 1281; while the dangerous alliance of Orvieto, which Charles concluded on July 3rd, 1281, with Pope Martin IV., Venice, and Philip of Courtenay, the husband of his daughter Beatrice, with the object of reviving the Latin Empire of Baldwin II., broke down at the moment when it was put to the test, and Sicily, which was wildly excited by the intolerable burden of taxation, threw off the heavy yoke forthwith.

On March 31st, 1282, the alarm was rung by the vesper bell of Santo Spirito, in the plain of Oreto to the south of Palermo, and was transmitted to the capital by the bell of San Giovanni degli Eremiti, with its almost Mohammedan cupola. The Sicilian Vespers overthrew the French supremacy, and after a five months' republican government, Peter III., the Great,

of Aragon seized the masterless throne. The island of Sicily—that is to say, one-half of the southern kingdom—was for the long period of more than two centuries a valuable possession for the dynasty of Aragon. Naturally the policy of Aragon exerted a decisive influence upon Sicilian history between 1282 and 1516. Some few

Spain's Dominance in Italy

exceptions there were during this period, after James' renunciation in favour of Anjou in 1295 had been nullified in 1296 by the elevation of the Ghibelline Frederic II. The weak government of Frederic III., who ascended the throne in 1355 and reigned thirteen years, conceded too much influence to Rome and Naples after 1372; then came the reign of his daughter Maria, during whose minority the barons rose to power and engaged in faction fights until her husband, Martin the Younger of Aragon, appeared in 1392 and overthrew the opposition nationalist party of Andrea Chiaramonte. The interregnum between the death of Martin the Elder, in 1410, and the election of his nephew Ferdinand I., the Upright, in 1412, was too short to enable the island to throw off the yoke of Spain.

The preponderance of Spain was but strengthened by the union with the kingdom of Naples, which was introduced theoretically in 1420 and practically between 1442 and 1458 by Alfonso V.—commemorated to-day by the magnificent renaissance triumphal arch at Castel Nuovo—and was made a permanent institution in 1454.

The reconquest of Sicily was never effected by the Angevins, although they employed powerful naval forces—in 1283, 1299, and on other occasions—and used the gentle persuasions of Angevin princesses, such as Bianca and Eleonora. Attempts to secure Maria's marriage with an Italian prince—among other possible candidates Giovanni Galeazzo de Visconti, a widower from 1372, was proposed in 1377—were nullified in 1378 by her abduction to Barcelona. It thus became necessary for good or evil to leave the island to itself. It cannot be said that the kingdom of Naples was greatly affected by this reluctant renunciation.

On the contrary, after the turbulent and unfortunate government of Charles II. (1288–1309) it seemed as if some prosperity might be vouchsafed to Naples, which had been isolated since 1302 under the government of the philosophical and poetical king, Robert the Wise (1309–1343). His efforts to check, first Henry VII., at the end of 1311, who replied by deposing him on April 26th, 1313, and then, in 1328, Lewis of Bavaria, by a strong federation of the Guelf towns in Tuscany, eventually proved successful. A fundamental feature in the policy of Robert, and of the Angevin rulers in general, was an attitude of friendliness to the papacy, which need cause no surprise in view of the origin of these kings and of the position of the papacy at that moment. The reign of Robert was suc-



CHARLES OF ANJOU
The youngest son of Louis VIII. of France, Charles of Anjou became King of Naples in 1266, but his government created a discontent which led to revolt.

ceeded by a century of confusion which centres round the whims and passions of two masculine queens-regent, Joanna I. (1343–1382) and Joanna II. (1414–1435). Charles Robert, as the great-grandson of the Arpád Stephen V., who was a nephew of King Robert, had ascended the Hungarian throne in 1308, and Naples, which then enjoyed a remarkable degree of intellectual culture, was thus brought into a highly interesting connection with the semi-barbarous country of the Magyars. Complicity in the murder of Andreas on September 18th, 1345, the

unfortunate first husband of the beautiful and sensual young Queen Joanna, a character typical of Petrarch's period, helped to secure a certain influence for Provençal-Neapolitan civilisation upon the leading classes in Hungary. The nobles who accompanied Lewis the Avenger to Italy in 1347 were the most receptive

and inquiring spirits of their nation, a fact needing no proof. In 1348 the bubonic plague, or "black death," described by Boccaccio in the introduction to the first day of the "Decameron," was brought to the Mediterranean territories from Asia by way of the Crimea. Notwithstanding "preventive" measures such as murders of the Jew and pilgrimages of flagellants, the plague spread with extraordinary rapidity, and prevented

The Terrible Havoc of the Black Death

any lengthy stay on the part of Lewis, though in 1350 he reappeared in Naples. Even after the cruel end of the unbridled but highly cultured princess on May 22nd, 1382, the attempt was renewed to consolidate this remarkable alliance between Southern and Eastern Europe. At the beginning of 1386 Charles III., the Short, was crowned, and in 1403 was succeeded by his brilliant son Ladislaus. In either case these projects resulted in failure. It seems as if the friendly star which had guided the first Charles to Naples, and pointed the way for his

merating a number of territories which he had little prospect of ever possessing, as his claims existed only upon paper; at the same time he had the resources and the capacity to pursue an imperial policy in the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas. The increase of the power of Gian Galeazzo of Milan disturbed his Guelf opponents and obliged them to concentrate. During those years we meet with more than one mention of a league between Naples, the Pope, Florence, King Rupert, and Venice, which Padua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Mantua were to have joined. On the



THE SICILIAN VESPER: MASSACRE OF THE FRENCH AT PALERMO

The tyrannous government of Charles of Anjou pressed very heavily on Sicily, which, in 1282, rose in revolt, the outbreak beginning with the massacre of the French at Palermo, known as the Sicilian Vespers, from the vesper bell giving the signal. The island then came under an Aragonese dynasty, and in later years became a Spanish dependency.

energetic grandson, Robert, had deserted the latter at Angevins. The fact is true both of the Durazzo dynasty and of the three Louis of the younger house of Anjou, invited southwards by Joanna I.; they were unfortunate, or fortune mocked them.

One exception there seems to have been—namely, Ladislaus (1390–1414). His titles were pompous; he styled himself “King of Hungary, Jerusalem, Sicily, Dalmatia, Ramia, Servia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Cumania, and Bulgaria, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, and Piedmont,” thus enu-

other hand, the continued cry raised by the East for a thorough Crusade against the Turks gave a great stimulus to the project of an alliance of some of these powers with France, Genoa, and Athens. In no case did the plan meet with any considerable success, but the ready compliance with which distant and close neighbours made overtures to the liberal King of Naples sufficiently shows what extraordinary prestige Ladislaus enjoyed about 1400. On April 25th, 1403, Rome opened her gates to him, an example

followed by Perugia. These ambitions, however, aroused distrust elsewhere, for no one was anxious to replace the ambitious Visconti with an Angevin, who might complete the unification of Italy. None the less, when he had availed himself of the schism so far as to be upon the point of regaining his mastery of

Rome, he died, before he had reached the age of forty, on August 6th, 1414, not six months after he had granted at Piperno, on the edge of the Pontine marshes, remission of house tax to some two hundred families of Sezze—an instance of his care for the people. He, again, possessed neither good fortune nor guiding star.

Ladislaus and his sister, Joanna II., belong to the age of decadence, as is attested by the inscription on the Gothic memorial raised by the king's fraternal love behind the high altar of San Giovanni Carbonara at Naples. A new spirit, or the revival of the old, is first typified in Alfonso I. the Noble of Sicily, who had been Alfonso V. of Aragon since 1416, and in his mastery of Naples by twenty-two years of obstinate struggle. His theories of life were far removed from the general obscurantism which characterised the Angevins, of which there is no more striking proof than the fact that under his government the keen champion Laurentius Valla attacked the secular power of the Pope in 1440 by his researches "*de falso credito et ementita Constantini donatione.*"

In the same sense is to be understood Alfonso's remarkable grant of help in 1453, during the last heroic struggle of Constantine XI. It was not so much the result of zealous championship of Christian doctrine as the outcome of a

calmly considered imperialist policy. However, in company with other royal humanists of his time he eagerly grasped the precious fruit of the destruction of Constantinople, the revival of the sciences by the dispersed exponents of Greek civilisation. The first seven years of the reign of his illegitimate son and successor, Ferdinand I. ("Ferrante"; 1458-1494), were disturbed by struggles with the Angevin John

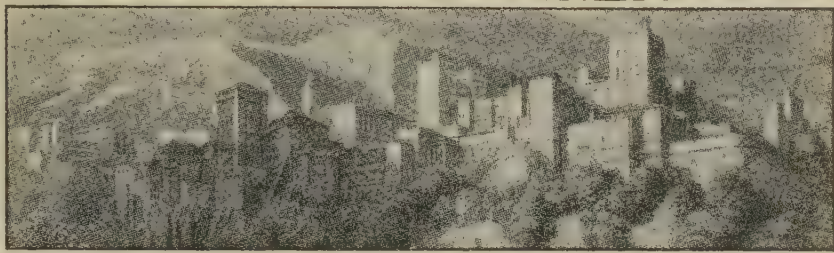
of Calabria, the son of René of Bar. He was a true contemporary of men like Sixtus IV. della Rovere and of the upstart Francesco Sforza, and he succeeded in establishing his own rule by marriage alliances with both families. The nobility soon felt the results of his success, and upon this question King Louis XI. had already provided a precedent which cried aloud for imitation. Otranto, an outpost important for its advanced position, had been captured by the Turks, with great cruelty, on August 11th, 1480; thirteen months later—on September 10th, 1481—Prince Alfonso reconquered it with the help of the Pope. In other respects Ferdinand showed high capacity in his position; two favourite objects of his domestic care were jurisprudence and the culture of the silk-worm.

With the death of Ferrante the favour of fortune which had protected the south for half a century came to an end. Alfonso II. was intimidated by the menaces of Charles VIII. and hated by his people.

On the last day of the first year of his reign he abdicated in favour of his son, Ferdinand II. The latter triumphed over the French, after eighteen months of conflict, on July 20th, 1496, and died upon October 7th of the same year. The throne of Naples was once again left desolate. Frederic (1496-1501), the brother of Alfonso II., was said to have shown too great a friendship towards the Turks; and under the excuse of protecting Christendom, Louis XII., who had inherited the claims of his cousin, Charles VIII., upon Southern Italy, joined the cousin of Ferrante, Ferdinand the Catholic, in 1500. The latter, however, who was at heart a determined enemy of the French, used the allies merely for the purpose of a joint conquest. The whole of the Neapolitan kingdom was eventually recovered for united Spain in 1504, after the brilliant triumphs of Gonsalvo de Cordova, "the Great Captain."

This transference implied a heavy loss to Naples; henceforward the kingdom became a mere appanage of the Spanish monarch, which fell by inheritance to the House of Hapsburg in 1516.

HANS HELMOLT



THE SPANISH PENINSULA

MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN THE SPLENDOUR OF THE CALIPHATE AND THE ANDALUSIAN CIVILISATION

IN the middle of the eighth century Spain was but very loosely connected with the Saracen Empire. Rival races set up rulers by force of arms, so that it happened on occasion that Kelbitic tribes helped a Kaisite, or vice versa; the Berbers either formed alliances with the Arab races, or acted for themselves, under the guidance of some fanatical "saint," without attaining any lasting result. In 750 the most powerful man in Spain was the Kaisite Somail; after the Kelbites had been defeated in the battle of Secunda, he found a docile instrument in the governor Yusuf, though his cruelty to the vanquished made him an object of inextinguishable hatred to all the Kelbitic tribes.

Meanwhile, the reigning house of the Ommayyads in Bagdad had been overthrown and almost exterminated by the Abbassides. Only a few members of the family made their escape, among others, the youthful and ambitious Abd ur Rahman. After various adventures, he took refuge in Africa; but there, as everywhere, his attempts to gain power made him an object of suspicion. He was obliged to flee from place to place, and at length his thoughts turned to Spain.

The unsettled condition of the country, which seemed to be on the point of falling apart into separate feudal states, no doubt attracted him. A large number of Arab families in the peninsula had been under the special protection of the Ommayyad house, and from them he might expect unlimited support. But it was essential for any pretender who would step forward

to oppose the hated Somail and Yusuf to win the favour of the Kelbitic race; and the more so if he belonged, as Abd ur Rahman did, to a Kaisite family. Abd ur Rahman succeeded in entering into relations with the friends of the Ommayyad house, and in September of the year 755 he landed on the Spanish coast. Yusuf's first attempts at resistance failed; negotiations were begun, but came to nothing. Most of the Kaisite tribes gathered at Yusuf's camp, while the Kelbites flocked to Abd ur Rahman. Auxiliary Berber troops joined both sides. In the following year Abd ur Rahman won a brilliant victory over his adversaries and seized Cordova; Yusuf and Somail then recognised the Ommayyad prince as the emir of Spain.

Abd ur Rahman devoted all the untiring energy of his ambitious nature to the desperate task of forming Spain into an independent and united nation. Unscrupulous as to the means he employed, crafty and determined, and peculiarly favoured by fortune, he accomplished his task; but he was enabled to hold his ground only by the fact that the Arab tribes, though ever ready to revolt, could never unite or hold together for one common purpose.

Brilliant Period of Arab Rule The age of the caliphate is the most brilliant period of Arab rule in Spain, both as regards the economic and intellectual progress of the country. To understand the development of Spanish-Arabian civilisation, as well as its gradual decline, it is essential to gain a clear conception of that part of Spain which was not under

the rule of Islam, which now began to rise from unimportant beginnings, and eventually came forward as the most dangerous enemy of the caliphate. At first it seemed not only that Spain was submerged in the flood of Moslem conquest, but also that Southern France would fall before the Arab onset. It was only Charles Martel's

Martel's Great Victory

brilliant victory at Poitiers in the year 732 that drove the army of Islam back across the Pyrenees. But even in Spain the inhabitants of the mountains in the north were never really subjugated. Their submission to the Romans and the Goths had been only temporary, and they had, to some extent, retained their original Iberian language. The Arabs deemed those barren heights comparatively unimportant.

The situation became more critical when that portion of the Gothic people which was capable of offering resistance began to gather in the northern mountains, and to project the recovery of their land by force of arms. Under the leadership of Pelayo, or Pelagius, the people of the Asturian mountains shook off the yoke of their enemies not long after the conquest. Then the Berbers, who had largely settled in the North of Spain, were weakened by the collapse of their rising against the Arabs; moreover, a terrible famine obliged them to migrate southward, and the Christian inhabitants of Galicia seized the opportunity to revolt.

Alfonso, the Duke of Cantabria, which had also declared its freedom, was now recognised as over-lord by all the inhabitants of the north coast of Spain. He made at once a determined attack, wrested Leon and Old Castile from the Berbers, and pushed on to Coimbra, on the west coast, and to Toledo, in the interior of the country, although he was unable to secure these conquests. Thus there rose within a short time a dangerously powerful Christian state, which was really a continuation of the West Gothic kingdom.

Absolute Monarchy of the Caliphs

As the caliphs had established an absolute monarchy, the foreign history of Spanish Islam is, for some centuries, bound up with the personality of these monarchs, or of those who held the reins of power in their stead. Abd ur Rahman I. was succeeded by his son, Hisham I., who was immediately obliged to take measures against two of his brothers, who had revolted and attempted to found

independent states in the north of the kingdom. After several bloody conflicts, he succeeded in subduing both of them. Hisham also fought successfully against the Christians of the North, but his character inclined him rather to peace and to the furthering of his subjects' welfare.

After his death, in the year 796, his son Chakam ascended the throne. He was at once attacked by the two brothers of Hisham, who had already thrown the kingdom into confusion. At the same time the northern frontier was disturbed by incursions of the Frankish troops. Chakam succeeded in getting the better of his relatives, but against the Franks he was not so successful.

Barcelona fell into the hands of the Christians, and the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia was thus formed. Chakam's army was almost perpetually under arms against the kings of Leon. The fleet, which had been of little importance before the period of the caliphate, undertook punitive expeditions against the Balearic Islands and Sardinia. A revolt of the renegades in Cordova was crushed with terrible severity; some of the inhabitants

were forced to emigrate, and, after many trying adventures, they finally found a home either in Crete or in Fez.

The reign of Chakam's son, Abd ur Rahman II., was even more brilliant. The ideal of this monarch was the luxurious court life of the caliphs at Bagdad. Marvels of architectural skill were created during his life. Poetry and music were ever honoured and encouraged at the court of this weak but artistic prince, while the arts of war were neglected. In stern contrast to Abd ur Rahman was his successor, Mohammed, a cold, fanatical devotee, whose stern rule drove the Christians of Toledo and the south-eastern mountain ranges to revolt. Of special importance was the terrible rebellion of the Christians of Granada, which sapped the strength of the kingdom; neither Mohammed nor his successor, Mondhir (886-888), was able to subdue this uprising.

As the central authority began to decline, feudalism among the Arab, Berber, and Spanish nobles again appeared. The next caliph, Abdallah (888-912), had to cope with both of these dangers; and the result of his efforts was most unsatisfactory. Every important noble lived as an independent prince behind his castle walls.

The Christians and the renegades of the Granada mountains pressed forward to the very gates of Cordova, under their leader, Omar ibn Chassun, and the caliph's feeble policy of reconciliation was wholly fruitless.

In the extremity of despair, Abdallah ventured to attack the Christian army which was threatening his capital, and won a victory as brilliant as it was unexpected in 890. He thereby gained momentary relief; but in the year 902 the attempts of the aristocracy to win their independence, and the restlessness of his Spanish subjects, brought him into pressing difficulty. It was only when Abdallah succeeded in winning over his most dangerous opponents, the Arabs of the district of Seville, that the power of the caliphate began to revive.

Abdallah's grandson and successor, Abd ur Rahman III., took vigorous measures to strengthen the tottering monarchy. The dreaded rebel, Omar ibn Chassun, had died in the year 917, and the Christian revolt gradually subsided. War was also successfully waged against the northern Christian states. By adroitly turning to his own advantage the racial wars in Africa,

the caliph got possession of several of the coast towns, and a portion of Morocco became a Spanish protectorate. After a warlike reign of twenty-seven years, Abd ur Rahman III. could say that the caliphate had been restored to its former splendour. The boundaries had been extended and secured; the feudal nobles had been humbled, and deposed from all influential positions. But, in his fear of the Arab nobles and their encroachments, Abd ur Rahman had adopted a dangerous policy. He drew his officials from among freemen and foreigners, and especially the "Slavs" who came to Spain as adventurers or prisoners of war, and who included in their number representatives of every Christian state in Europe.

A moderate estimate informs us that Abd ur Rahman had 6,000 "Slavs" about his person. The preference given to these classes, who were utterly despised by the pure Arabs, aroused the greatest discontent among the nobles, and on certain occasions cost the caliph dear, for several battles were lost owing to the misbehaviour of the native contingents. However, Abd ur Rahman was incontestably the greatest ruler of the Ommayyad dynasty. He was marvellously successful in over-

coming all opposition, in repairing disasters, and, notwithstanding his continual wars, in furthering the progress of the country in every direction. An army such as Arabian Spain had never before seen was under his command, and the most powerful princes, East and West, desired his favour and courted his friendship. In Spain, as elsewhere,

the victory of the Arab power implied an advance in economic progress. In other European countries feudalism steadily gained ground; in Spain it continued to decline, and left room for the increase of general prosperity. The free peasants were able to increase their acquisitions at the expense of the Arab nobility, who were continually at war over private feuds.

The princes and nobles of the land were ever ready to foster and promote the cause of learning; reading and writing were universal accomplishments among the common people. All this intellectual activity was not the artificial creation of an autocratic monarch; it was the healthy and brilliant bloom of well-nurtured material prosperity. In truth, the northern inhabitants of Europe, living as they did in gloomy city alleys or miserable village hovels, clustered around the castles of a rude, uncultured nobility, would have thought themselves in fairy-land, could they have been transported to this joyous, brilliant world. But that which would have especially surprised them, which would have brought a flush of shame to the cheeks of anyone with a spark of Christian feeling in his heart, was the noble spirit of toleration and of intellectual freedom which breathed over the happy plains of Andalusia. He would have been forced to admit that the religion of love might receive from the followers of the hated Mahomet instruction in that generous toleration

of creeds with which the Founder of their faith had sought to inspire them, Herein lies the fascination

which to-day impels us to look back with yearning and regret upon the too rapid flight of that happy period, when Cordova and Toledo guarded the sacred fire of civilisation upon European ground, a fascination which still throws its glamour around the halls of the Alcazar of Seville or the pinnacles of the Alhambra.

Our picture of the dreamy beauty of Andalusian civilisation would be incomplete if we omitted the glorious development of the art of poetry, which drew its sustenance from the western imagination and blossomed to a richer life even than it did upon the banks of the twin rivers of Mesopotamia. But it was

**Where
Poetry
Flourished**

not only in the domain of poetry that the Andalusians exercised the splendid intellectual power which often compelled admiration from their co-religionists. Philosophy also found a home and a refuge from persecution at the courts of the caliph and his governors and feudal princes, who had long since learned that the most audacious opinions must be heard openly among men, and that otherwise they would grow to strange and dangerous proportion in secrecy and persecution. Theologians with their arguments might attack the sceptics when these demanded the mathematical proof of the truth of their religion; they might attempt to brand these unbelievers for ever as drunkards and voluptuaries; they did not burn them at the stake in Moorish Spain.

Abd ur Rahman was, on the whole, successful in checking the growth of the Christian kingdom on the north and in securing his frontiers; but the hopes of conquering Africa, which the revolt of the Abu-Jazird against the Fatimides had aroused, were only of short duration. In the year 947 the rebels, who recognised the spiritual supremacy of the Caliph of Cordova, were beaten and slain.

Spain, in its most flourishing period, was never equal to the task of subjugating Morocco; and before long it came to owe its very existence to the help of African Islam. During the reign of the peaceful successor of Abd ur Rahman II., the patron of the arts, Chakam, or

**The Caliph
as the Patron
of Learning**

Hakem II., the Christian states renewed their attacks with redoubled vigour; but the continual quarrels of his opponents, and the magnificent army which his predecessor had left to him, gave Chakam so great an advantage that in the year 970 the Castilians were glad to make peace, and the caliph obtained leisure to concentrate his attention upon the furthering of civilisation in his country and upon the advancement of learning.

But that wonderful prosperity of Spanish Islam which permitted the rise of a large number of wealthy and brilliant cities, and allowed individual provinces to gain in strength and independence, became dangerous at length to the ascendancy of the Ommayyad dynasty, and prepared the way for the disruption of the kingdom into a number of petty states. Prosperity and progress might gain rather than lose by such a separation, but it could be foreseen that the military power of Spanish Islam would be fatally weakened thereby. Upon the death of Chakam II., in 976, signs of the coming disruption were apparent.

The successor to the throne, Hischam II., was then only eleven years old, and various personages of importance began to quarrel about the regency. Fortunately for the empire, the most capable of these aspirants, the chamberlain Ibn abi Amir, or Al Mansur, as he afterwards was called, succeeded in seizing the chief power by cunning and force, and retained it to the end of his life against his various opponents. Hischam had been brought up by his mother, Aurora, a native of Navarre, who was allied to Al Mansur, in accordance with his ideas, and remained a tool in the regent's hand throughout his life.

**An Age of
Moslem
Triumphs**

Abroad, the period of Al Mansur's rule was, undoubtedly, the most brilliant in the history of the Ommayyad dynasty. Never since the conquest had the Moslem sword won such brilliant victories over the Christians, never had the armies of Andalusia penetrated so far into the lands of their hereditary enemies. In the year 981 Zamora was captured. Barcelona was taken in 985, and the fortress of Leon in 987. A tremendous impression was created in 994-997, when Al Mansur pushed on into the barren land of Galicia and captured the national shrine of Spanish Christendom, that of St. James of Compostela, and razed it to the ground.

Such successes were made possible only by the sweeping reforms which Al Mansur had introduced, for his own ends, into the military organisation of Andalusia, and by his final breach with the remnants of the old Arab racial organisation. The levy by tribes was wholly abolished, and the inhabitants called upon to serve were arbitrarily drafted into the different regiments. The flower of the army, upon which Al Mansur relied, was formed partly of Berbers from Morocco and partly of Christian soldiers

THE MOORISH ASCENDANCY IN SPAIN

from North Spain, who had no scruples whatever in fighting against their compatriots. The Christian states were continually at variance with one another, and did not reject the help of the Moors when occasion offered. Al Mansur's most dangerous rival was Ghalib, the commander of the troops on the northern frontier, and a successful general. After he had been defeated and slain the regent could place implicit reliance upon the fidelity of his troops, and could successfully meet all attempts to overthrow his power. But a military supremacy, naturally, did not benefit Spain in the long run. The fact that Al Mansur attempted to strengthen his perilous position by lending a close adherence to the orthodox theology was

as being responsible for the burden that oppressed the people—in particular Al Mansur himself and his most faithful dependents, the Berber chiefs and the Christian soldiery. Upon Al Mansur's death an uproar arose in Cordova, the inhabitants furiously demanding that henceforward Hischam II. should reign as an independent monarch. Mozaffar Abd al Melik Modhaffer, the son of Al Mansur, had much trouble in subduing the rebels. When Mozaffar died, in the year 1008, the general discontent broke into open riot; the brother of the deceased, who took his place, was driven out and killed.

It soon became evident, however, that nothing had been gained by the overthrow of ministerial government. Individual



THE ALCAZAR OF SEVILLE, BUILT BY THE MOORS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The name "Alcazar" was given to several palaces built by the Moors in Spain; that at Seville, shown in the illustration, is famous for its architectural beauty, and there are many ancient treasures preserved within its walls.

Photo by Frith

disadvantageous to the progress of learning and of philosophy in particular. The unfavourable consequences of Al Mansur's reign surpassed its benefits. It is true, however, that the material prosperity of the country, which he was practical enough to encourage, reached its highest point under his guidance. The construction of a system of roads is due to him, and, in fact, the government of a great general is usually productive of good in this direction.

Towards the close of Al Mansur's reign dissatisfaction had begun to ferment among almost all classes of the people. In the great capital of Cordova the social problem became critical before its essential nature was properly understood. As usual, individuals were attacked

governors and generals made themselves more and more independent in the provinces and towns, while in Cordova itself monarchs and regents ran in rapid succession, the real governing power being a military despotism of Berber or Slav soldiery, unless the moneyed classes and the patricians of the town gained some decisive advantage for themselves, or the all-powerful mob proceeded to govern the city in its own fashion. The unfortunate Hischam II. disappeared, and could never be discovered, nor has his fate ever been explained.

A supply of pseudo-Hischams was, naturally, at once forthcoming, pretending to be the real caliph returned to resume his feeble authority. The confusion, natur-

ally, increased. At length the aristocracy gained the upper hand in the desolate and ruined city. They abolished the caliphate, and thereby hastened the disruption of a kingdom that had once been so powerful into a number of feudal states and city republics in 1031. The last caliph of the Ommayyad house, Hischam III., died a few years later,

Fall of the Ommayyad Dynasty

forgotten and despised, in Lerida, where he had found a refuge in his need.

The interests of the great towns, Cordova and Seville in particular, had long ceased to coincide with the interests of the rest of the country. It was inevitable that these great centres of commerce and manufacture should eventually drift apart from the provinces, the prosperity of which was based upon agriculture and domestic industries. The fall of the Ommayyad dynasty was perhaps accelerated by the fact that they had united their interests too closely with those of the people of Cordova, for the development of Cordova was bound to result in republicanism, and when they were abandoned by the fickle citizens of the capital they could get no support from the country at large. The kingdom naturally fell into the hands of the military leaders, except where the remnants of the Arab landed nobility recovered strength enough to found independent principalities.

The centre of the Berber power was Malaga; there the family of the Cham-mudites, who traced their descent from Mahomet's son-in-law, Ali, laid claim to the dignity of the caliphate, though they were unable to enforce their demands. Badis, the ruler of Granada, afterwards came to the head of the Berber party, and brought Malaga under his rule in the year 1055. Badis was thoroughly typical of the North African soldier-prince; a rough, passionate man of very moderate intellectual power.

Towns Held by the Slavs

Fortunately for him, he found a vizir of unexampled astuteness in the Jew Samuel, and with his help gradually subdued a district nearly coincident in extent with the later kingdom of Granada.

Further northward in Mohammedan Spain, the Berbers, who had immigrated at an earlier period, and were practically Arabs, gained the power—as, for instance, in Toledo and Badajoz. The "Slav" generals had settled in the east, and

Almeira, Denia, and Valencia, were in their hands—the last-named town, however, for only a short period, as one Amiride, a descendant of the great Al Mansur, speedily seized the government of that town.

In the south-west, Mohammed, the Cadi of Seville, who carried on the government in the name of a pseudo-Hischam II., became the head of the Arab party. Owing to his efforts, Cordova was outstripped by its sister town, and the Arab population in the regions under Berber rule came over to him. After the death of Mohammed, his son, the refined but utterly unscrupulous Motadhid, utilised the opportunities of his position. He aggrandised the town of Seville to such an extent that even Badis of Granada trembled before his dangerous rival, and planned, upon one occasion, the massacre of all the Arabs of Granada, in view of their natural leanings towards his enemy.

The strong contrast between the rough, unpolished Berber state and the brilliant culture of the kingdom of Seville became still more prominent after Motadhid's death in 1069, when the poetic and pleasure-loving, but energetic, Motamid came to the head of the state. The intellectual centre of Spanish Islam was then, undoubtedly, to be found in Seville. Abroad, the city triumphed over its failing rival, Cordova, the old capital of the caliphate. After once capturing Cordova, Motamid took definite possession of the town in the year 1078, and put an end to the rule of the aristocracy.

And yet this brilliant edifice rested upon a miserably weak foundation. In fact, it survived only through the forbearance of the Christian princes of Castile, who even then were sharpening the sword that was to cut down all its splendour. Alfonso VI. of Castile, who had assumed the proud title of Emperor, finally determined to make an end of the petty Mohammedan states. In helpless despair the threatened princes saw the end approach. The kingdom of Toledo had already fallen into the hands of the Christian monarch with scarcely a show of resistance in 1084, Valencia was in extreme danger, and a Christian army was before the walls of Saragossa. A part of the Moorish population began to contemplate seriously a retreat to Africa, as salvation seemed impossible. But once again their destruction was to be averted, though at heavy cost.



THE RISING CHRISTIAN REALMS AND THE DECAY OF THE MOSLEM POWER

MEANWHILE, among the wild mountains or on the high tablelands now parched with heat, now lashed by icy storms, the Christian warriors had gathered to resist the advance of a foreign nation and an alien faith. A number of states, whose mutual relations were constantly changing, had sprung up on the north coast and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The differences resulting from situation and nationality became apparent at a very early period—differences which have continued beyond the sixteenth century, and have not been wholly obliterated even now.

The flower of the Gothic nobility had betaken itself to the central portion of the northern coast land, to Asturias. Here Pelayo, who is known to the Arabian historians, raised the standard of national resistance and drove out the Arab governor, who had established himself at Gijon. Under Alfonso II., about 800, Oviedo

The Forward Policy of Alfonso I.

became the capital of the new state, to which was united Cantabria on the east, which had also been liberated by the Gothic nobles. The retreat of the Berber settlers, who were driven out by dissension and famine, had given King Alfonso I. the opportunity of pushing southward into the Castilian plains, seizing the country at the foot of the mountains as far as the Douro, and making a desert barrier of the rest of Old Castile. The Christian inhabitants were transported thence to the northern districts, and the Mohammedans were driven southward. Alfonso's successor, Froila I., conquered Galicia, which the Arabs had never entirely subdued.

The new kingdom was a feudal state, with all the advantages and weaknesses of feudalism. It was divided into principalities, the rulers of which were equally ready to take the field against the Saracens with their contingents, to make the king's life a burden to him with their revolts, or to quarrel among themselves.

Differences of nationality were also a source of trouble. The Basques in the eastern province of Alava showed no intention of yielding permanent obedience, and the stubborn inhabitants of the Galician valleys, where the last remnants of the Suevi had fled at the time of the

**Leon as the
Seat of
Government** Gothic invasion, manifested their desire for independence in their restless behaviour. As the territory of the kingdom of

Oviedo spread southward, and the plains of Castile and Leon became gradually populated, the centre of gravity naturally shifted to that part of the kingdom. Perhaps the Christian kings of Northern Spain were rather too slow to realise this natural development of affairs; when Ordone II., in the year 955, at last moved the seat of government to Leon, numerous important counties had arisen in Castile.

Alfonso III., the Great (866-910), who did a great deal to assure the existence of the kingdom, and created a strong southern frontier by fortifying the line of the Douro, would have done better to abandon Oviedo with its unfavourable situation. By his division of the kingdom among his sons, this otherwise admirable ruler fostered the seeds of dissension, which must have developed in any case, and made it possible for the Moors, after they had concluded their internal quarrels, to carry on a vigorous frontier policy under Abd ur Rahman III. and Al Mansur.

The polished inhabitants of Andalusia looked with horror and disgust upon

**Andalusia
Stricken
With Fear** the danger which threatened them from the north, upon this kingdom ringing with the clash

of arms, the people of which seemed created only for the purposes of war and conflict, and were as little acquainted with the bounteous gifts of Nature as with the enjoyment of a high civilisation. They felt that this enemy was irreconcilable and, in the long run, unconquerable. Though all barriers

between the nations were broken down, one insuperable obstacle remained—religion. In the last resort the sword must decide whether the soil of Spain was to belong to the followers of Mahomet or to the Christian believers. The opposition became only the sharper with the lapse of time. During the first centuries

Symbols of Christian Supremacy

the rough and bold warriors of Leon and Castile faithfully paid their contributions to erect those mighty churches and cathedrals which were the tokens of Christian supremacy; but they were not ashamed, upon occasion, to enter the Moorish service, or by their efforts on the side of the unbelievers to remind princes of their own nation that they owed duties to their feudal nobility. With the same carelessness the smaller Arab princes entered the lists against the mighty power of the caliphate, in union with the kings of Leon or the courts of Castile. Afterwards fanaticism became more fervent upon both sides, and religious hatred took deeper root. Closer relations with Rome turned the Castilians into distinguished supporters of the Catholic religion, who were eventually to thwart the progress of the Reformation. The Moors of Spain displayed the resolution and constancy of martyrs in their misfortunes.

The state which included Galicia, Asturias, Leon and Castile, quickly formed, and no less quickly divided, into separate provinces, was the chief Christian power in North Spain. Scarcely touched by any external influence, shut in between the waves of the Bay of Biscay and its Moorish enemies, it was from the beginning the most Spanish, the most national and independent, of all states, and was therefore destined to leadership and eventually to dominion. But it was not the only power. Near it were the kingdoms which rose in the valleys and at the foot of the Pyrenees. The mountain

The Arabs Overthrown in France

barrier of the Pyrenees had not prevented the Arabs in their first invasion from passing over into Southern France, where they claimed the West Gothic possessions as their inheritance, but were finally defeated by the vigour of the Frankish nation. They did not long hold out upon the north side of the mountains: Narbonne, their strongest fortress, was taken by the Franks in the year 759, and it became speedily apparent that

the Pyrenæan valleys too had never been entirely in the power of the Arabian. The Iberian races, against which Romans and Goths had in vain directed their arms and the resources of their civilisation, the Basques of Navarre and Biscay, had this time, too, made only a show of submission. Further eastward the Gothic nobles held out here and there, and kept up relations, by the mountain passes, with their people in Southern France.

These thin seeds of new states began to sprout when Charlemagne made his expedition across the Pyrenees, formed the district held by Arab governors and petty chieftains into the "Spanish Mark," and organised the small beginnings of Christian states into principalities. The later kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia, the lowly foundations of which were then laid, were thus brought into close relations with the South of France and with Central European civilisation, a connection which persists to-day in language and customs, and sharply differentiates Northern Spain from Castile and its neighbouring districts. The Basques, however, did not submit to

Conquests of the Basque Mountaineers

this influence. They had not resisted the Arabs merely to be ruled by Frankish counts; they felt no reluctance, for once in a way, to enter into alliance with the Mohammedan governors, and to attack the Frankish army in the mountain passes. The half-legendary destruction of Roland and his army, and the more credible overthrow, probably in the year 824, of a division of the Frankish force in the pass of Roncevalles, are sufficient evidence of the Basque policy. Finally, towards the end of the ninth century, the Basque mountaineers extended their conquests to the Ebro, and the kingdom of Navarre arose.

It appeared at first as if this new state would gain an important share of the tottering Moslem kingdom, for in the tenth century important territories beyond the Ebro were in the possession of Navarre. But the Basques, while almost invincible in their own mountains, have no aptitude for colonisation and no inclination to spread beyond their ancient boundaries.

In the year 1054 Navarre lost its foreign possessions in war with Castile, and remained henceforward confined to its original territory. The kingdom of Aragon, starting from poor beginnings, ran a very different course of development. When

THE RISING CHRISTIAN REALMS IN SPAIN

the kingdom of Navarre was formed the principality of Aragon included only the upper valley of the river of that name, which runs deep between the Sierra de la Pena and the chain of the Pyrenees. A wild and barren district, it seems for a long time to have formed a part of the Spanish Mark and to have been governed by counts of Gothic origin; during the ascendancy of Navarre it formed a part of that kingdom.

At the beginning of the eleventh century Navarre, under Sancho the Great, seemed destined to form the nucleus of a mighty kingdom, and Castile was added to it by marriage; but upon Sancho's death, in the year 1035, the kingdom again collapsed. Thereupon Aragon obtained its independence under Sancho's son, Ramiro I. Ramiro found his kingdom very diminutive. Its extension was stopped by Navarre on the west, and on the east by the little Pyrenæan state, Sobrarbe, which had fallen to one of his brothers. South of it, in the valley of the Ebro and in the surrounding mountain country, were powerful Arab

**Tottering
Arab
Empire**

states, the centre of which was Saragossa. An attempt of Ramiro to get possession of Navarre failed. However, after the death of his brother, Gonzalo, he gained Sobrarbe, which comprised the valleys on the southern slope of the Central Pyrenees. He could now venture upon operations against the Arabs, whose empire had begun to fall with the death of Al Mansur.

In the year 1118 the conquest of Saragossa and the valley of the Ebro gave the kingdom of Aragon its natural capital and wider room for expansion. Meanwhile, the principality of Barcelona, the nucleus of the kingdom of Catalonia, had developed quite independently of Aragon. Frankish influence had been greatest and had continued longest in the north-eastern corner of Spain. Socially and politically this district clung tenaciously to its powerful and energetic neighbour, and was able to turn to excellent advantage the benefits arising from this connection. The principality of Barcelona may have been made a part of the Spanish Mark when that district was conquered; and though Barcelona itself was more than once captured by the Moors, the region successfully resisted all attacks from the south. In the year 865,

the Spanish Mark, which now included little besides the principality of Barcelona, was separated from Septimania—i.e., Languedoc—Barcelona thus taking its first step towards complete independence.

The next period is marked by the fact that a family apparently of Gothic origin becomes the hereditary ruler of

**Barcelona
Enjoys
Prosperity**

Barcelona with the consent of the Frankish king. In the usual feudal manner separate districts, such as the counties of Urgal and Gerona, branched off from this state, or the whole was united in one hand. The port of Barcelona enjoyed great prosperity, owing to its advantageous situation, and was always a most important source of strength to the kingdom of Catalonia. It had, in consequence, a character of its own, enjoying a special freedom of life and manners which reminds us of the Provençal or the Italian spirit.

There was one kingdom which came into being far later than all the rest, the only kingdom in the peninsula which refused submission to the Castilian yoke, and preserved an independent existence and a language of its own—the present-day kingdom of Portugal. All the other states of the peninsula extended their territory in a southerly direction, Asturias being the nucleus of Leon, Old Castile of New Castile, Aragon of Valencia; similarly, the mother province of Portugal was, undoubtedly, Galicia, a wild, mountain district in the north-west corner of the peninsula. In fact, when Portugal appears as a separate state, we find Galicia and Portugal united under the government of Garcias, the son of King Ferdinand of Castile, in 1065. But even then a revolt of the counts of Portugal against Garcias showed that enduring dissensions were now beginning to develop. The important influence of geographical conditions is here apparent. The original Portugal, which takes its name from the

**Source
of Portugal's
Name**

harbour Porto Calle, the modern Oporto, was the district lying between the Lower Douro and the Minho, a territory which was certainly extended southward at an early period, and included the town of Coimbra by the year 1064. Portugal thus embraces the western coast of the Iberian peninsula. Its climatic conditions are highly favourable, its long seaboard and its river mouths make it an attractive district to the

outside world, and in this respect its only rivals were the Mediterranean states of Catalonia and Valencia. Central Portugal is, moreover, one of the most beautiful portions of the whole peninsula, a land of smiling hills and uplands, which must have produced a population with characteristics of its own, and one widely

different from the Castilian of the barren tablelands, or the wild Galician. The power which deemed itself the champion of Christianity against Islam, and finally attempted to bring the whole of Spain under its sway, could not afford to relinquish the guardianship of the bones of St. James, the patron of all true Spaniards. So the early policy of the independent Portuguese kingdom was war with Galicia, which, indeed, remained apart from the kingdom of Castile-Leon only for a short time. The new state succeeded in gaining its independence at the time when Castile, under Alfonso VI., was vigorously attacking the petty Moorish states, and when the growing Castilian power was shaken by the counter-assaults of the African saviours of Islam, the Almoravides.

Long and bloody conflicts occurred between the different parts of the Northern Spanish kingdom, above all between Leon and the rising Castile, before their united strength could be exerted against their religious enemies in the south. These struggles were prolonged by the interference of the neighbouring states of Aragon and Navarre in their internal dissensions. Abd ur Rahman II. and, above all, Al Mansur were able to turn the unhappy disunion of Christian Spain to their own advantage; their brilliant campaigns restored the shattered caliphate to its old splendour, and they were aided by Christian troops, who were not ashamed to serve in the ranks of their country's hereditary foes. The kingdom of Leon was threatened with total destruction. Castile

was practically independent. When Sancho the Great of Navarre obtained possession of Castile by hereditary right, in the year 1028, after Aragon and Sobrarbe had already done him homage, the centre of Christian power seemed to be gravitating definitely eastward. But the triumph of the little province of Navarre was more apparent than real. Shortly before his death, Sancho partitioned a kingdom which he had never thoroughly united, and

his second son, Fernando, obtained Castile. No great provocation was required to plunge Fernando into war with Bermudo III., the king of Leon. Eventually Castile prevailed over the more ancient kingdom of Leon. Bermudo fell in battle, and Fernando took possession of his territory by right of conquest and relationship. In the place of the old Gothic royal house of Reccared, a race of Frankish origin appeared as rulers of the ancient Spanish Mark.

The union of Leon and Castile under a Castilian prince was a fact of decisive importance for the future of Spain, although the new kingdom was destined to undergo many a severe shock. Not long afterwards, Navarre lost its conquests on the south of the Ebro to this newly arisen kingdom, and saw itself cut off from all hope of further expansion. The Saracen princes of Toledo and Saragossa hastened to appease their dangerous neighbour as long as possible with payments of tribute. After Ferdinand's death, the kingdom was threatened with disruption; but the civil war ended in the complete victory of Alfonso VI. in 1073. The

Cid's campaign against Valencia nearly coincides with the date of the First Crusade.

The enthusiastic spirit of battling for the faith, which then swayed the whole of Europe, was also felt in Spain. But in the case of Spain it was not necessary to go to Jerusalem to find the enemies of Christianity: on the contrary, a papal decree especially directed the Spaniards to overcome the foe within their own country. One of the barriers between Spain and the rest of Europe was removed by this fact: many knights, from France in particular, flocked into the country, as in the case of Henry of Burgundy, to fulfil at so convenient a distance from their homes the Crusader's vow they had taken.

The Portuguese owed several decisive successes to the help of German and Dutch Crusaders, who put into Portuguese harbours on the way to Jerusalem. But the lively hope of further conquest, which had been aroused by the fall of Toledo, remained for the moment unfilled: the Spanish Moslems, in the extremity of their danger, had summoned an ally from Africa, which was powerful enough to check the advance of the Christians, though at the same time it made an end of most of the petty Moorish kingdoms.



WANING OF THE MOORISH POWER AND AWAKENING OF THE CHRISTIAN REALMS

THE Spanish Moslems found an African ally in the person of Yusuf, the prince of the Almoravides, or Murabites, in Morocco. The Almoravides were sprung from the wildest nomad tribes of Western Mauretania; they were a sect of religious warriors, and seemed the incarnation of that fanatical energy which had inspired the early period of Islam. In them the strength and violence of nomad life again triumphed over the peaceful forces of agriculture and trade. In the first half of the eleventh century began that movement which overthrew the Zeirites, who were then the dominant power in Morocco, and finally wrested the ancient kingdom of Carthage from the Fatimides. Morocco became the capital of the new kingdom.

An acute and determined leader came to the front in the person of Yusuf, and a crisis of momentous importance arrived for Spain: from the north Alfonso's armed troops

**Morocco to
the Help of
Andalusia**

swept down upon the fruitful fields of Andalusia; on the other side of the strait was Yusuf's army, ready to lend dubious assistance to the hard-pressed country. The Andalusian princes finally decided to ask Morocco for help; Yusuf was only too glad to grant their request. In the year 1086 he landed in Spain with a powerful army, which was strengthened by the addition of the Andalusian forces; he marched upon Estremadura, which was then extremely hard-pressed by the Castilians. A battle was fought at Zalaca, near Badajoz, and the mailed knights of Castile were defeated by Yusuf's infantry and negro guard.

Alfonso quickly recovered from this blow, and in the next year made ready to meet any attempt on Toledo; but he was obliged to renounce all plans for the conquest of Andalusia. The claws of the Castilian lion, with which he had threatened the followers of Islam, were cut for a long time to come. Yusuf was now able to complete his designs on Andalusia undisturbed. The

Almoravides had not the least intention of giving up the country for which they had fought so fiercely—a country whose riches and hopeless disunion made it at once an attraction and a prey to any energetic conqueror. The emir of

**Spanish
Islam
Saved**

Saragossa was alone able to maintain his independence through subtle policy and thanks to the favourable situation of his little kingdom. With the support of the Almoravide troops, he repelled three attacks of the Aragon army, and succeeded cleverly in getting rid of his inconvenient guests. Huesca was then, in 1096, definitely lost to Aragon.

Thus Spanish Islam was saved, and its political unity again restored, but at a heavy price. The idyllic life of the small states was at an end. In all the large towns Almoravide garrisons were quartered, and the union of the sword with the Koran crushed all freedom of thought.

So long as Yusuf was alive order was maintained throughout the kingdom, and his son, Ali, who followed him in 1106, was no unworthy successor. Great hopes were aroused by his military ability; in the year 1108 he defeated Sancho, the young son of Alfonso VI., at Ucles; and it seemed as if Toledo would soon be again in Moslem hands. But the victory of Ucles marks the culminating point of the Almoravide power. The princes of Saragossa would not unite with the Almoravide troops to repel their common foe, and in the year

**A Blow
to Islam's
Power**

1118 this town fell into the power of Aragon. Its loss was a severe blow to the power of Islam, for the most northerly outpost, which had hitherto checked the advance of Catalonia and Aragon, was thereby lost. The war with the Christians, who, fortunately for the Andalusians, were then involved in internal struggles, resolved itself into a frontier warfare,

entailing heavy loss on both sides and leading to no permanent result. In the year 1125 Alfonso of Aragon replied to the Almoravide incursions by a punitive expedition, organised on a large scale. He received assistance from the Mozarabic Christians, who were still numerous in Granada, and pushed forward into Granada and the neighbourhood of Malaga. It was, however, only a brilliant feat of chivalry, and nothing more.

The Tyranny of African Barbarians

The pitiful condition of the Almoravides must have finally induced the Andalusians to attempt to realise their hopes of shaking off the tyranny of the African barbarians. They were already preparing with the help of the Christian kings to drive the Almoravides over the sea and to exchange one ruling power for another, when the impending dissolution of the Almoravide kingdom in Africa turned their gaze in another direction.

The sect of reformers known as the Almohads, whose founder, Abdallah, gave himself out to be the Mahdi, had developed, in spite of persecution and occasional defeat, into a formidable political power, in direct opposition to the Almoravides. In the year 1145 the Almoravide monarch, Taschfin, was defeated and slain in battle by the followers of the Mahdi, Abd al Mumen. In the previous year a revolt had broken out in Eastern Andalusia. It was soon followed by others in different provinces.

Spanish Islam was now in a state of indescribable confusion. New kingdoms rose and fell; provinces and cities fought one against the other; and throughout the turmoil the Almoravides, who had, meanwhile, lost the town of Morocco, their last African possession, continued to hold out in individual fortified towns and castles. With the help of Christian troops, they even, in 1147, recovered Cordova, which they had lost. At last an Almohad army landed in Spain. It did not,

Moorish Stronghold Captured

however, make such rapid progress as might have been expected. The Christian princes, naturally, did not forgo the opportunity of attacking the country while it was thus rent with internal dissension. A powerful army, under the leadership of the King of Castile, marched through Andalusia and Granada, and, with the help of a fleet, provided by Genoa, Pisa, and Catalonia, took the town of Almeria, the stronghold of the Moorish pirates,

and long an object of hatred to all the Christian powers on the Mediterranean. Almost at the same time King Alfonso of Portugal stormed Lisbon; the Count of Barcelona seized Tortosa and the mouth of the Ebro.

Fortune gradually declared in favour of the Almohads. Cordova fell into their hands, and Almeria was retaken by them. Finally, they stormed Granada, the last refuge of the Almoravides in Andalusia. The remnants of that nation once so powerful fled to the Balearic Islands in 1157. Christian Spain had only been temporarily united, and its disruption and the confusion thence resulting gave the Almohads time to establish themselves securely. In general their rule was milder than that of the Almoravides had been. In fact, it was the better portion of the mixed population of North Africa which had gathered round the white Almohad banner to oppose the cruel tyranny of the inhabitants of the plains, and had trampled the black Almoravide standard in the dust.

After the death of Abd al Mumen, in 1163, his son, Yusuf, conquered Valencia and Murcia, where a Mohammedan dynasty had hitherto held out with the help of the Christians. War against the Christian states followed with varying results. In the time of Yusuf's successor, Al Mansur, occurred one of those important conflicts which occasionally break the monotonous list of sieges and incursions. Unfortunately for themselves, the Castilians, who could not at that time expect any help from their coreligionists, had made a devastating expedition into Andalusia, and brought down upon themselves the Almohad princes; Al Mansur crossed the straits with an enormous army, and after a bloody conflict in 1195 at Alarcos, utterly defeated the Castilian forces, which had in vain expected reinforcements from Navarre and Leon. Al Mansur's attempt to reconquer Toledo in the next year failed entirely.

The most brilliant successes of the Mohammedans were able to check, but not to avert, impending destruction. The confusion which broke out again in Christian Spain brought no advantage to the Almohads. When, at length, Al Mansur's successor, Mohammed, gathered all his strength for one tremendous blow, union among the Christian princes was restored at the eleventh hour. In the

battle of Navas de Tolosa the fortunes and the power of the Almohads were utterly shattered.

Hardly had Alfonso VI. of Castile been buried, in 1109, when Castile took up arms against Aragon. In the wars and confusion which resulted Castile came off much the worst. Social order and public morality disappeared under the mad rule of Urraca, whereas the king of Aragon was able to bide his time, extend his boundaries, and conquer powerful Saragossa in 1118. The death of Urraca, in the year 1126, dissolved the connection between Aragon and Castile: Alfonso VII. took up the government of his disordered country. The power of the Castilian lion rose again during continual warfare against the Saracens, while Aragon, after the death of Alfonso I., was again divided into its original provinces of Aragon and Navarre, and thereby lost its preponderance. At the same time the principality of Barcelona was united to Provence, and gained considerable power and prestige.

This change of circumstances made Alfonso VII. so pre-eminent that in the year 1135 he had himself proclaimed Emperor of Spain at the Council of Leon, apparently with the consent of the other princes, who were present in person or were represented by envoys. Ferdinand I. and Alfonso VI. had already made a temporary claim to the title of emperor, which in Spain naturally did not bear the same significance as in Italy and Germany. The confusion which broke out shortly after the coronation made it sufficiently plain to Alfonso VII. that the conception of the princes concerning their relations to the emperor did not coincide with his own.

Portugal in particular now made a decisive effort for independence, and was supported by Navarre, the mountaineers of which country were as unconquerable as ever. In the year 1139 Count Alfonso of Portugal took the title of king. In 1147 he wrested Lisbon from the Saracens with the help of German and Dutch troops, and thus gained a capital worthy of his country.

Meanwhile, however, important events were taking place in the east. Ramiro II. of Aragon had abdicated, and left the country to his two-year-old daughter, Petronella, who had been betrothed to Count Raymond Berengar IV. of Catalonia

with the consent of Alfonso VII. The count at once undertook the duties of regent for Ramiro, who retired to the seclusion of a monastery. Thus the kingdoms of Catalonia, or Barcelona, and Aragon were practically united. The results of these events were of immeasurable importance for the whole of Spain. Catalonia was a maritime power; hitherto its policy had been entirely foreign, and its most important interest lay in the Mediterranean. Its close union with Aragon, the most thoroughly Spanish of all states, gave it the advantage of a strong barrier in the rear, but also connected its future indissolubly with that of the Christian kingdoms of Spain. The development in the Iberian peninsula necessarily tended towards union; it at once became manifest that Catalonia was destined to be a Spanish, and not a French, province, and that all the conquests made by the Catalonian sea-power were bound to be the inheritance of the rising power of Castile.

The great Spanish empire of later times was largely founded upon the possessions of Catalonia and Aragon in the west of the Mediterranean. The Catalonians entered upon these conquests shortly after their union with Aragon; their previous attempts upon the Balearic Islands had led to no permanent result. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the influence of the two united kingdoms was considerably extended, until at last the standard of Aragon waved over the largest islands in the Western Mediterranean, including Sicily; even a part of Greece recognised the dominion of Aragon for a short period.

At the same time, the domestic interests of the dual kingdom obliged it to press southward, and so to secure a proportionate share of the Moorish spoils. Thus, in the year 1238, Valencia fell into the hands of Aragon. The advantage in this rivalry remained decisively on the side of Castile, which occupied Murcia in the year 1243, and thereby entirely cut off from Aragon any possibility of further advance. Side

by side with this development of Spanish foreign policy important changes within the kingdoms were taking place, which made the eleventh and twelfth centuries extremely important in the history of the country. Hitherto the Spanish kingdoms, especially Leon and Castile, had lived in self-dependent isolation, in

conformity with their geographical position. The unceasing warfare which they had carried on by their own efforts had driven their hereditary enemies from one portion of the ancient Gothic kingdom. Such civilisation as had survived these rough times sprang chiefly from the prosperity of the Gothic kingdom, in which the

Foundations of Church and State

Roman and Gothic elements had been united under the banner of the Athanasian belief. On these old foundations rested both Church and State; the Gothic liturgy, which was preserved unchanged, and the alphabet of Toledo, were outward tokens of the isolation of the Spanish people, a state which was in such harmony with the very spirit of the race that any internal movement which might open up the country to the influence of Western European civilisation was inconceivable; while, naturally, religious convictions formed an absolute barrier to any possible approach towards the civilisation of the Moors:

There was, however, a power which could not permit the existence of Christian kingdoms in continued isolation from the universal Church—a power which had been working for centuries to subject the civil to the ecclesiastical influence, and to remodel and revive the ancient Roman Empire. This power was the papacy, on which the conviction was at last beginning to dawn that possibly the truest supporters of the papal supremacy might be found among the warriors who were fighting for the faith in Spain.

During the Crusades the Roman Curia had become aware of its powers, and now that Rome was beginning to carry out great schemes of world policy she could not afford to leave Spain out of consideration. First and foremost, the Spanish Church, which had a national character of its own, had to be bound to the Church of Rome; and to that end the Gothic liturgy must be abolished, and fresh blood infused into the

French Monks in Spain

Spanish clergy. The struggle to make the influence of the Church preponderant was largely carried on by the French Benedictine monks, who came to Spain in large numbers towards the end of the eleventh century, and proved themselves the best advocates of the papacy. Their headquarters was the monastery of Sahagun, halfway between Leon and Palencia, to which extraordinary privileges were granted. Sahagun produced the Archbishop

Bernhard of Toledo, in whose fanatical attack upon the Mohammedans in his see we trace the beginnings of that unholy spirit of intolerance which was at that time wholly foreign to the rough but magnanimous Spaniards. It was Roman influence that first inspired this temper into a people naturally noble and kindly, until it eventually broke out, like a loathsome ulcer, in the horrors of the Inquisition. At the same time, the French monks were the involuntary means of introducing European civilisation. If Spain now became more open to the influences of the outside world, it is to the activity of these men, in great degree, that this result must be ascribed.

At the same time, the stirring period of the Crusades brought the chivalry of Spain into closer connection with that of neighbouring countries. The Templars entered Aragon and undertook with brilliant success a frontier war against the Saracens. In Castile, during the twelfth century, there was formed, upon the model of the Templars, the knightly orders of St. James, Alcantara, and Calatrava; in Portugal was formed the order of Aviz. These orders proved a splendid weapon against the Moorish power; but the stimulus to the movement of political and religious ideas which they provided largely contributed to the formation of that spirit of militant fanaticism which became a source of temporary strength to Spain, but eventually a cause of permanent weakness.

The most important feature of the thirteenth century in Spain was the rapid and destructive overthrow of the Almohad power in Andalusia, where the kingdom of Granada was the only surviving remnant of the Moorish states. Castile came definitely to the head of the Iberian kingdoms as soon as it had collected its forces and secured for itself the united aid of the other kingdoms of the peninsula; but the journey to this goal had been long and toilsome. The Emperor Alfonso VII. of Castile during his restless life had taken up arms now as the friend of the petty Moslem states, now as the ally of the hard-pressed Almoravides, always keeping one object before himself, the weakening of Spanish Islam and its final overthrow by a vigorous onslaught. The interference of the Almohads in Andalusian affairs entirely thwarted his plans. The last

campaign, in the year 1157, miscarried, and the emperor died in the Muradal pass during his retreat. Unfortunately for Christian Spain, Alfonso had divided his kingdom between his two sons; the one, Sancho III., obtained Castile, while the other, Ferdinand II., received Leon with the adjoining territory. The consequence was a series of wars between the Christian states, which allowed Portugal to secure its complete independence.

Sancho III. was preparing to assume the title of emperor, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in maintaining the supremacy of Castile, had not his untimely death left his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII.—or IX.; by Castilian reckoning he was the third of this name—upon the throne. A period of the wildest confusion began. The most distinguished of the noble families of Castile, those of Castro and Lara, attempted to secure the guardianship of the child for themselves. As they looked everywhere for allies, the other Christian rulers and even the Saracens became involved in the struggle. The pernicious power which the feudal nobles had gained now became apparent for the first time in all its fatal force. It was only when the young king became strong enough to seize the reins of the empire that the disorganised kingdom was brought into some kind of order; hitherto it had been protected against the attacks of the Almohads rather by the efforts of the knightly orders than by its own power. But the dissension between the Christian states did not cease then; even the intervention of the Pope, with threats of interdict, did not accelerate the union of the Christian states in the face of the ever-increasing peril of the

**The Pope's
Efforts
for Union**

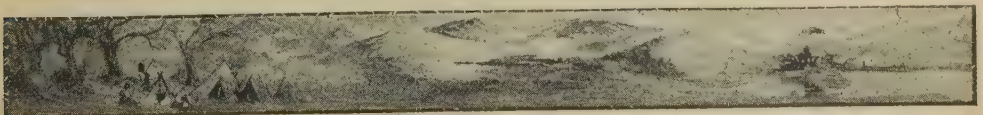
Almohads. Alfonso the Noble, of Castile, vigorously prosecuted the war against the Almohads so far as his struggles with his Christian neighbours permitted him; but the confusion rose to its highest point when the flower of the Castilian army fell in the battle of Arlarcos in 1195 and when the Almohad army appeared before Toledo in the next year. Necessity, at length, became a spur to greater unity. The Roman

Church, which had hitherto displayed and increased its power chiefly by its favourite method of forbidding marriages, now took in hand the difficult task of uniting the Christian states for common action against the Almohads. It seemed, for example, an almost impossible undertaking to bring the sister kingdoms

**Holy War
Against the
Christians**

of Castile and Leon to reason, so deeply had the venom of blind hatred permeated both. The plan formed by Sancho VII. of Navarre of getting possession of the North of Spain with the help of the Almohads, and as their vassal, shows what was to be expected of the Christian princes. However, in the ensuing turmoil Sancho lost his Basque provinces to Castile. Alfonso the Noble had no sooner succeeded in restoring better relations among the princes than he began a policy that was desperate in appearance, but promised the most brilliant results in the event of success. It was apparently undertaken with the knowledge and concurrence of Pope Innocent III. By making repeated incursions into Andalusia, Alfonso so enraged the Almohad ruler, Mohammed, that the latter at length proclaimed a holy war against the Christians, and brought over an innumerable host from North Africa.

Now was the time to see whether Alfonso's calculations had been correct. If he succeeded in uniting the whole power of Spain for the moment under himself, he might reckon on victory, and Andalusia would fall into the hands of Castile. If his attempt failed, he would lose at least the southern portion of his kingdom, and the leadership of the Christian states would fall definitely to Aragon. Fortune declared on this occasion for Alfonso. The envoys of Rome succeeded in rousing in Spain a fiery Crusading fever, which ultimately no prince could venture to oppose. Warriors anxious to fight for the faith streamed in from France as well. At Navas de Tolosa, near the upper Guadalquivir, the confederate Christian army met the Almohads and overthrew them with dreadful slaughter in 1212.





THE CONQUEST OF THE LAST MOORISH KINGDOM IN SPAIN

Granada was the last unconquered part of the Mohammedan Empire, which for many years had been so great a menace to Spain, and its conquest, undertaken with great enthusiasm by the Spaniards, was passionately desired. For a long time it held out and succeeded in maintaining its independence, but in 1492 it was overthrown by Ferdinand and the Catholic.

From the painting by Predilla

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



DEVELOP-
MENT OF THE
NATIONS:
THE SPANISH
PENINSULA
IV

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN AND THE LAST DAYS OF THE MOORS

THE fate of Andalusia was now decided, although the conquest of this extensive district occupied ten years, and a remnant of the Moorish power continued to maintain its position in Granada. Immediately upon the death of Alfonso the Noble, in 1241, further progress was stopped by quarrels about the succession. However, Alfonso's immediate successors died, and the throne finally went to Ferdinand the Holy, son of the king of Leon. Upon the death of his father this ruler reunited the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in 1230. The gloomy period of war between the two kingdoms was thereby concluded, and the Castilian kingdom securely founded.

At last it was possible to reap the fruits of the victory of Navas de Tolosa. The Almohads could not recover from their defeat. Their power grew weaker every year, owing to revolts in Andalusia and quarrels concerning the succession. Thus no permanent resistance to the Castilian arms could be even contemplated.

In the year 1236 the old caliph capital, Cordova, fell into Ferdinand's hands, though a vigorous attempt to raise the siege was made by the leader of the Andalusian Moors, Motawakkel, a descendant of Beni Hud of Saragossa. After the death of Motawakkel, the best of the Moors gathered round Mohammed ben Alahmar, the son of a noble Andalusian family. He established himself in the mountains of Granada, and succeeded in founding a kingdom which was destined to endure for some time. Mohammed recognised Ferdinand's suzerainty, and even joined with him in the conquest of Seville; he thus contrived to avert the storm that threatened his embryo state.

Murcia also became tributary to Ferdinand in the year 1243, but was unable to maintain this semi-independent position for any length of time. Populous Seville offered the most stubborn resistance, and was

not conquered till the year 1248. Valencia had been taken by Aragon ten years previously, and the Portuguese had possessed themselves of Algarve, so that of the Mohammedan Empire, which fifty years before had been such a menace to Spain, there remained only Granada, which still, however, displayed surprising vitality, Murcia, and the unimportant state of Niebla. A large part of the Andalusian Moors, especially the inhabitants of Seville and other towns, emigrated, while the country population remained for the time being. The growing Spanish nation speedily repopulated the towns.

As early as the year 1263 the Andalusian towns, at the desire of the Emperor Alfonso, formed a confederacy, a *hermandad*, for mutual protection against Granada, the prince of which state had called in auxiliaries from Morocco, and was attempting to secure his complete independence with the further support of Murcia and Niebla. The Moorish revolt failed; the crafty ruler of Granada succeeded, by timely negotiation, in preserving his relations with Castile; but Murcia and Niebla were now incorporated into the Castilian kingdom. This state of affairs was to continue for two centuries.

At first it seemed as if the victorious career of the Castilian monarchs would carry them even beyond the Straits of Gibraltar: Alfonso X., who succeeded his father, Ferdinand, in the year 1252, made upon several occasions large preparations for an attack upon Morocco. But the unfavourable financial condition of Castile, resulting from the many wars of conquest—Alfonso had tried in vain to improve affairs by depreciating the coinage—barred these ambitious projects. Finally, Alfonso's visionary ideas of making good his claim to the duchy of Swabia, and of gaining the crown of the holy

**Failure
of Moorish
Revolt**

**Visionary
Ideas of
Alfonso**

Roman emperor, diverted Castilian policy from its natural course. Alfonso attained no real success, and shortly before his death, in 1284, had the mortification of seeing King Peter III, of Aragon take advantage of the revolt of Sicily against Charles of Anjou to seize that rich island. Aragon had already opened the road to Italy by its conquest of the Balearic Islands in the year 1229. But even without these great political projects of Alfonso the period of conquest was bound to come to a temporary close. The time was drawing on for a definite partition of power between the feudal nobles and the king, a crisis through which every rising state in the Middle Ages had to pass.

It was evident that this struggle would not be easy or capable of any speedy termination. The attempt of Alfonso X. to unify the internal administration of his kingdom by issuing a common legal code had met with such determined opposition that he was obliged to abandon the idea. The king at length found a number of his nobles, under the leadership of the Lara, united with the rulers of Granada in open revolt against him.

Fortunately, Alfonso found an earnest friend in King Jaime of Aragon. This ruler knew the nobility; the conflict which was breaking out for the first time in Castile had already been fought out before his time in Aragon. Peter II. of Aragon (1196-1213), in order to secure his heritage, and to break down the influence which the nobles exercised over the choice of a king, had formally received his kingdom as a fief from Pope Innocent III., and by this desperate measure had attained to his end in 1204.

The nobles of Aragon had, naturally, not been pacified by this means. King Jaime's opinion of them is shown by his words to Alfonso X. : "Two orders in the state you must especially cherish and promote: the clergy and the inhabitants of the cities and towns; for these love God more than do the knights, who are more inclined than any other order to revolt against their lord." At length, even Alfonso's son, Sancho, raised the banner of revolt, so that, upon the death of the king, the Castilian kingdom was in the greatest confusion. Sancho IV. (1284-95) made an unfortunate attempt to play off the Haro family, to which

he showed special favour, against the rest of the nobility; the insatiable greed and the ingratitude of his protégés soon placed him in a most embarrassing position.

This difficulty seemed to be further increased upon Sancho's death, when his son, Ferdinand IV., who was still a minor, came to the throne, and his mother, Maria de Molina, undertook the regency. However, Maria de Molina showed greater insight than Sancho; instead of depending on the feudal nobles, who were invariably false, she turned to the towns of Castile for support. Confederations of towns, the first of which had been founded by Alfonso X., among the towns of Andalusia now came into being in all the provinces. With their help Maria de Molina obtained the recognition of her son's supremacy and of that of her grandson, Alfonso XI., after her son's death, in 1312.

It was only the influence of this extraordinary woman which averted a state of absolute anarchy, as is shown by the fact that after her death, in the year 1321, the kingdom fell into hopeless dissension. Only when Alfonso XI., in 1325, at the age of fourteen, seized the reins of government with a strong hand did the grievous state of affairs begin to improve. An immense army from Morocco crossed the straits in the year 1340, only to be confronted by the united power of the Castilian people at Salado, and to be utterly defeated. After a long siege, Algeciras, a town which had been one of the main gates for African invasion into Spain, fell into the power of Alfonso. During a vain attempt to wrest Gibraltar from the power of Granada the king died in camp of the plague in 1350.

In Peter I., the young son of Alfonso XI., there came to the throne of Castile one of those personalities which destiny raised up in different countries as the special champions of the royal power. Peter, who speedily justified his nickname of the Cruel, was not one of those natures which make their way openly by force of arms. He employed the weapons of craft, and, when needful, of treachery, in his struggle to assert the power of the throne, both against the nobles and also against the towns, which had shown increasing independence since the time of Maria de Molina. Peter did not succeed in finally attaining to his

Alfonso's
Great
Projects

The Bold
Step of the
Young King

The Castilian
Kingdom
in Confusion

object, as did Louis XI. of France, a man of very similar character, a century later. The sole reason was that Peter was not a man of stern and cold determination; all his cunning plans were hampered or ruined by his irritability and his wild explosions of anger. The flaw in his character was all the more fatal to him, because no less a personage than his half-brother, Henry of Trastamare, appeared at the head of the opposition.

Henry was a man who had displayed great tenacity and acuteness in the course of his chequered career, and his strong character assured him the unswerving adherence of his followers. Peter's unhappy marriage with Blanche of Bourbon, his relations with Donna Maria Padilla, whose children he finally legitimised, his malicious and ruthless behaviour towards all whom he mistrusted, gradually alienated every class of the people, and nullified any good effects that absolute government had produced. It was in this contest that Edward the Black Prince intervened, with disastrous effects on the finances of Aquitaine, and consequently on the position of the Plantagenet rulers.

Intervention of the Black Prince

After repeated failures Henry of Trastamare defeated his brother on March 14th, 1369, at Montiel, and during the subsequent negotiations he treacherously slew with his own hand this master in the art of treachery.

As Henry II. the victor could maintain his position (1369-79) only by abolishing a large number of innovations of Peter that had greatly benefited the country, and by liberally dividing the country among his followers. His successor, John I. (1379-90), had to recover the lands which had been distributed, in order to avoid the obvious results of such a policy. He found the task difficult. As the next king, Henry III. (1390-1406), continued this policy, the royal power gradually attained to great eminence and passed triumphantly through a severe crisis on the death of Henry in 1406.

Although his successor, John II., was but two years old, the struggles and confusion which had hitherto been inevitable were now avoided. Unfortunately, the feebleness of John's rule (1406-54) brought this progressive movement to a standstill. Henry IV. (1454-74) was wholly in the hands of his favourites, and well deserved his nickname of Help-

less. Under his rule all the ground which the crown had gained in its struggles against feudalism seemed lost. In the year 1465 civil war broke out. When the young "Infant" Alfonso, who had been set up in opposition to Henry, died, in 1468, the eyes of all the discontented turned towards Isabella, the high-spirited

First Step in a Great Union

sister of the king and heiress of the throne. This princess, against her brother's will, gave her hand in marriage to the heir of Aragon, Ferdinand, in the year 1469, and thereby made the first step towards the union of the two most powerful kingdoms of the Pyrenæan peninsula, a step of incalculable importance for the future of Spain. When Henry died, on December 11th, 1474, this union had come within the bounds of possibility.

The history of Aragon from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century offers, in general, a more cheerful picture than that of Castile. The rulers of the country proved able to pursue with great success a far-reaching policy, to which they were impelled by the fortunate position of their country. It is a characteristic fact that in all their more important undertakings the kings could rely upon the Catalonian portion of their dominions, while the nobles and towns of inland Aragon conducted themselves quite in the manner of the Castilian feudal nobles.

We have already related how Peter II. attempted to put a stop to the interference of the different orders in settling the succession by accepting his kingdom as a fief from the Pope. His feudal obligations did not prevent him from appearing as an opponent of the papacy, which had helped him in the war against the Albigenes, in which he lost his life. His successor, Jaime I., concluded the subjugation of Valencia during his long rule. The native population remained, for the most part, in the country, and continued to till the

Attempted Expulsion of the Moors

fruitful Huerta of Valencia as the vassals of the Catalonian nobles, who had taken the chief part in the conquest.

Then arose those friendly relations between the great nobles and the industrious Moors which came to be so important later on.

All early attempts to expel the Mohammedans entirely were frustrated by the decisive attitude of the feudal lords who held fiefs in Valencia. Under Peter III. (1276-85), the successor of Jaime, the

transmarine policy of the kingdom assumed great importance, for there remained nothing more to conquer in the Spanish peninsula. The people of Sicily had shaken off the rule of Charles of Anjou, the creature of Rome, in the bloody Vespers of the year 1282; they offered the crown to Peter III. as King Manfred's

The Sea Power of Catalonia son-in-law, and on his arrival with a strong Aragonese army received him with joy as their liberator and saviour. Upon this occasion also Catalonia alone bore the cost of the war; and we may estimate the strength of its sea-power from the triumphant resistance which Peter III. and his bold admiral, Roger de Lauria, offered to the overpowering numbers of his allied enemies, among whom were the Pope and the King of France.

Aragon, as we have said, took but little share in the trouble or the glory of this war, but continued its regular development as an inland state. The ostensible object of this internal policy was to weaken the evil effects of the feudal system by the union of all peace-loving classes, without having recourse to the dubious means of an absolute monarchy. It is a process worthy of observation, though at times it conflicted with the foreign policy of the kings.

The towns stood at the head of the movement. Their representatives met in *juntas*, which were especially concerned with the maintenance of the public safety, and sent their delegates once every year to Saragossa. At the head of this organisation, which was found to work admirably, stood the justiciar of Aragon, to whose sovereign power even the king had to bow upon occasion. As a matter of fact, this republican state had no real need of a royal chief. Peter III. learned of how small account the king was there in the year 1283, at Tarragona, when he appealed to the classes of the Aragon people for help against the formidable preparations of

Jaime II, Surrenders Sicily France, and instead of receiving money and troops, met nothing but hostility, threats, and demands for fresh privileges.

The evolution of Catalonia into a great maritime power proceeded also for some time without any help from the kings and even against their desires. When Jaime II. gave up Sicily, as the price of a final and lasting peace with the Pope and with France, his brother Frederic kept possession of the island with the help of the

Sicilians and the Aragonese forces on the spot, although Jaime supported his enemy with troops and ships. In return for Sicily Jaime had received Sardinia and Corsica as a fief from the Pope. Although Frederic continued to retain Sicily, Jaime had no scruples about seizing these islands in the year 1322.

The real struggle, in this case, was carried on by Barcelona, which provided most of the munitions of war, against the powerful commercial town of Pisa, which then lost its possessions in Sardinia. The place of this decayed trading town, at the mouth of the Arno, was taken by its old rival, Genoa, which energetically took up the war with Catalonia for the mastery of the Western Mediterranean and for the possession of Sardinia, which that mastery carried with it. The war, in which both sides suffered heavily, was at length closed by a peace of exhaustion, and Catalonia succeeded through the utmost exertions in retaining possession of Sardinia.

Up to this time the affairs of Aragon had run parallel to those of Castile. The Catalonians carried out a far-reaching maritime and commercial policy in close connection with the monarchy; but in Aragon the same struggle between feudalism and absolutism which had ravaged Castile went on, with this difference, that the development of Aragon had been sounder and healthier, as is shown by the fact that the nobles and the towns were generally united against the king.

At the time when Peter the Cruel was fighting against feudalism in Castile, the ruler of Aragon, Peter IV., found himself involved in a struggle with the people of Aragon, who were joined by the people of Valencia, while the Catalonians stood aloof from the turmoil. Just as in Castile, the leadership of the nobles against the king was taken by an Infant of the royal house. Peter IV. was more fortunate than his Castilian namesake; he defeated the barons of Aragon and Valencia in open battle at Epila, and by cleverly utilising this success, he established, in 1348, the predominance of the royal power in Aragon.

Peace, however, was not definitely assured, as was seen under Peter's successors; the continual wars for the possession of Sardinia and of Sicily, which was reunited to Aragon, afforded many an opportunity to the feudal nobility for creating the usual disturbances

and defying the power of the throne. The dominion of Aragon over Sardinia had no sooner been firmly established than the ancient family of the counts of Barcelona became extinct upon the death of King Martin in 1411, and quarrels concerning the succession introduced fresh confusion. Fortunately, the different orders in the state soon agreed to raise to the throne the Infant Ferdinand of Castile, a grandson of Pedro IV.

Ferdinand I. made it clear during his short rule (1412-16) that he proposed to increase the power of the crown by every possible means. His successor, Alfonso V. (1416-58), gave, on the contrary, his most assiduous attention to the foreign policy of the country, and after a struggle lasting twenty-two years, obtained possession of the kingdom of Naples. The defence of his new acquisitions and the continual wars with Genoa kept the king on active service until his death. The close connection with Italy was not without favourable results for the countries of the Spanish peninsula; a breath of that spirit which was bringing forth the Renaissance in Italy came over to the Iberian coasts, and was welcomed at the king's court and among the rich citizens of Barcelona. Even under King Martin the effeminacy of the court gave great vexation to the rude nobility.

The citizens of Barcelona had almost the entire maritime traffic of Catalonia in their hands; they really sustained the ambitious foreign policy of the country, and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that they should have lived for centuries on such excellent terms with the royal power. This fact is not only good evidence for the statesmanlike conduct of the rulers, but also shows that the successors of the old counts of Barcelona considered their interests as involved in the good or ill fortune of the city. It was only under John II. (1458-79), the successor of Alfonso V., that Barcelona became hostile to the crown, and the immediate cause of this change of attitude was a series of unhappy events in the royal family. After the old dynasty had become extinct the little kingdom of Navarre had fallen to Carlos, John's eldest son by his first marriage, and heir apparent to the throne of Aragon. But John's second wife, the Castilian Joanna Henrietta, worked with unscrupulous energy to win the kingdoms of Aragon

and Navarre for her own son, Ferdinand. The consequence was civil war, which did not terminate even with the sudden death of Carlos, who was most probably poisoned, in the year 1461. Shortly afterwards, the same fate overtook his sisters, to whom his claims had descended. Barcelona especially prosecuted the war with the energy of despair, called in foreign princes to its aid, and could not be brought back to its allegiance until the year 1472. It is difficult to say whether the town would have developed into an independent state or not; but the union of Aragon and Castile, which Queen Joanna brought about by the marriage of her son Ferdinand to Isabella of Castile, naturally gave a new turn to Spanish politics, unfavourable to the aims of Barcelona.

Joanna's project of uniting Navarre and Aragon was not immediately successful. The fortunes of the little Pyrenæan state up to the fifteenth century can be sketched in a few words, inasmuch as there is no extensive foreign policy to be traced, and the internal development of the country ran a course parallel to that of the rest of Spain. The advance of the Castilians southward excluded Navarre from any share in the spoils of the Moors; its princes had to satisfy their ambition in little frontier wars or marriage alliances. After the dynasty of Champagne became extinct, Navarre was for some time (1285-1328) united to France, but recovered its independence when the house of Valois came to the French throne.

A remarkable parallel to Peter the Cruel of Castile, or rather a caricature of that unscrupulous and autocratic monarch, is seen in Charles II., the Bad (1349-1387). His successor, Charles the Noble, was fully occupied in undoing the mischief which his predecessor had caused. Charles the Noble was succeeded in 1411 by his daughter Blanche, who had married John of Aragon; it was their son who came to so unhappy an end in the quarrel about the succession in Aragon. However, Blanche's mother undertook the government of the kingdom, and left the country to her nephew, from whom it finally passed to the Count of Perigord, Jean d'Albret. Thereupon the ruler of Castile and Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic, made a vigorous attack, and united Upper Navarre to his own kingdom in 1512. The portion of Lower

**Union of
Aragon and
Castile**

**Spain's
Effeminate
Court**

**Ferdinand
Enlarges his
Kingdom**

Navarre situated north of the Pyrenees remained in the possession of Jean d'Albret. After the county of Roussillon had passed out of the hands of the kings of Aragon into the power of France the best and most natural frontier for Spain was established; the growing monarchy began steadily to remove the feudal

Union of Spanish States dissensions that divided the country. The foundations for the union of Aragon and Castile had been laid by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in the year 1469, but there were difficulties in the way of its completion: complete incorporation was wholly to Ferdinand's interest, but was not desired by the people either of Aragon or of Castile. Isabella was a true Castilian, and well able to maintain the rights of her position against her husband. Herein she found herself vigorously supported by her subjects, who looked with burning jealousy upon any encroachment of Aragon. Gradually, however, better relations came about between the parties, and the union was cemented by common inclination. To this fact, above all others, is due the permanent union of all the Spanish-speaking states.

After the conquest of Andalusia by the Castilians, the existence of the kingdom of Granada depended solely upon the disunion of Spain. So long as several Christian powers existed side by side in the peninsula, and continued to wear one another out by their continual quarrels, so long was there room for the little Moslem state in the mountains of Andalusia, and its alliance was as much desired as its hostility was dreaded. The admirable geographical situation of the last Moorish kingdom favoured the far-sighted policy which its rulers successfully pursued for a long time. The flourishing tract of Granada formed the heart of the kingdom. It is surrounded by precipitous mountain-walls; above it tower the snow-crowned

The Proud Fortress of Granada battlements of the Sierra Nevada, and it is well watered by the brooks and streams which flow down from the mountain ranges. On this frontier, dominated by the eminences which bear the castles of the Alhambra and Generalife, rises the fortified city of Granada, before whose proud walls many a hostile army has recoiled. From the southern harbours of the country a glimpse can be caught of the coast of Morocco, the warlike

inhabitants of which were always ready to cross the straits as allies of the kings of Granada, and even manifested a desire at times to conquer the little Spanish kingdom for themselves. In such cases the regular policy of Granada was to buy the help of one of the Christian states by paying tribute, and to play it off against their inconvenient fellow-believers from Africa. Around the fortresses of Gibraltar, Algeçiras, and Tarifa, where invaders from Morocco entered the peninsula, the forces of Castile-Granada and North Africa fought many times in different combinations, while the kingdom of Granada, which nearly corresponds in extent to the modern Spanish province of that name, maintained to the end its natural boundaries.

The state was not, however, a closely organised unity. Feudal tendencies prevailed here, as in Christian Spain, and the governors of individual districts often held independent power. In particular, Malaga, which was divided from the vega of Granada by precipitous mountains, and Guadix, on the east of the capital, constantly and

Where the Moors Found a Refuge successfully defied their suzerain during the early history of the kingdom. Not, however, through its favourable position alone was Granada able to maintain its independence for so long a time. The kingdom was the most thickly populated and the most highly civilised of all the states of the peninsula. The further south the Christian conquerors forced their way, the more did the flower of the Moorish people retreat into the mountain fastnesses on the south-east, the only refuge that remained open to their religion and their social institutions.

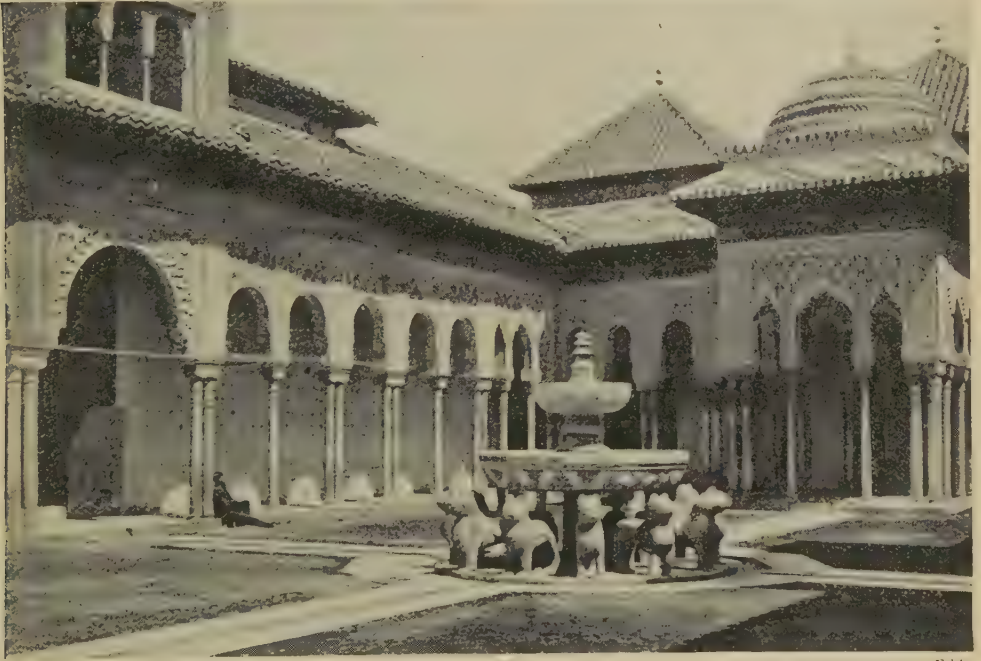
The most skilful representatives of the arts, the sciences, and the trades from the different towns of Andalusia, Valencia and Saragossa, pressed into Granada, and raised town and kingdom to such a height of civilisation and prosperity as it had never attained in times when the Moors had freedom and territory enough and to spare. The husbandmen of Andalusia, who also flocked in a body to the mountains, put forth all their experience and skill to wrest the utmost measure from the land. Thanks to their industry, the over-populated district was never forced to depend upon foreign supplies for its food. The capital was a brilliant and busy manufacturing town, containing

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

probably half a million inhabitants at the height of its prosperity; riches of immense value were collected there. The king's revenue was correspondingly great.

Thus, Granada, rich and populous, was a dangerous opponent of the Christian states. The concentration of large numbers in so small a district enabled the rulers to take the field with a considerable army in a short space of time. The overflowing treasury enabled them to equip their troops in the best possible manner, or, if policy so dictated, to buy peace from the needy Christian princes by the payment of large sums. In Castile

Granada upon the fall of the Almohads, maintained itself upon the throne till the disappearance of the kingdom. Mohammed succeeded during his long reign (1232-1272) in protecting his little kingdom from the danger which immediately threatened it. Owing to the dissensions prevailing in Christian Spain, it was easy for his successors not only to preserve their independence but also to come forward frequently as the trusted allies of contending parties and states, and thereby to advance the standing of their country. However, as we have already observed, Granada itself was not free from



THE FAMOUS COURT OF LIONS IN THE ALHAMBRA CASTLE AT GRANADA

Faith

especially, every rebel and man with a grievance turned by preference to the king of Granada, who was always ready to devote troops and money towards increasing the confusion of the enemy's kingdom. Still more naturally, the Moors who had remained in Christian districts looked upon the last Moslem ruler as their natural protector. And on their side the people of Granada could count, in times of danger, upon embarrassing their enemies and obliging them to retreat by causing an insurrection of the Moors in their rear. The Nafrid dynasty, which, under Mohammed I., had gained possession of

disputes about the succession. At the outset of the fourteenth century, for instance, the general, Osman, was the real ruler. The country was largely indebted to Yusuf I. (1333-1354) for advancement in civilisation. During the fourteenth century the prosperity of Granada was at its zenith. It seemed as if the decaying Moorish people were determined to show the world what splendid possibilities lay within it, and how honourably it had filled its place in the history of mankind. But even at this eleventh hour there is no trace of any tendency to fusion of the Christian and

Moorish civilisations. In the East the horizon was rosy with the dawn of the Renaissance, while in the far West the noblest star of the Oriental world of thought sank into the darkness, leaving not a trace behind. It is true, to use another metaphor, that the inheritance of Moslem civilisation in Spain was

Granada's Political Decadence scattered far and wide, and that here and there a gleam of the old brilliancy reappears. But no one was found to take up

that heritage as a whole, and to take it further towards perfection. At the end of the fourteenth century Granada begins to decline from its high political position. Whether the material prosperity of the kingdom also declined is a question that cannot be settled, owing to the lack of information on the subject. Complete destruction threatened when disturbances broke out under the government of Abu Nasr. The king attempted to put a stop to these by crushing the Beni Serradsch, the most powerful family of the feudal nobility. Legend has made use of these occurrences, a fact which shows how deep an impression they must have made upon the people, which ascribed to them most of the blame for the approaching ruin. However, the king by no means destroyed the Beni Serradsch, for they again appear as playing a part in the disputes which followed with the royal power.

Under Abul Hasan (1462-1482) the kingdom was shaken by dissension within the royal family. At the same time the rulers of united Christian Spain were making their preparations for striking a decisive blow at this remnant of the Moorish power. In the beginning of the year 1462 a band of Christians succeeded in taking the important Alhama, which was situated on the southern boundary of the vega of Granada, and commanded the granary of the country. The king made a desperate attempt to reconquer

Progress of the Christians the fortress, but at that moment a palace revolution broke out in the capital, and one of the sons of Abul Hasan, the prince Abu Abd Allah, or Boabdil, seized the throne. A civil war thereupon broke out, which Ferdinand I. cleverly turned to his own advantage. Thanks to his activity, the resistance of Granada, though very vigorous in certain quarters, became disorganised and futile, and the Christian arms made great progress. The confusion

continued after Abul Hasan's death until, in the year 1487, the whole of the western half of the kingdom, including Malaga, was in the hands of the Spaniards. At length only the capital held out against the attacks of the Christians, where Abu Abd Allah prepared to resist to the last. Granada did not fall till the beginning of the year 1492. With it collapsed the last remnant of the power of Islam in Spain. Some small portion of the Moors emigrated. The majority remained on the spot, to drain the cup of tribulation to the dregs in after years.

The overthrow of Granada was but the culmination of the admirable domestic policy of the Spanish rulers, who had succeeded in using the advantages of their position for the establishment of the units of Spain and the absolute monarchy. The union of Castile and Aragon had given irresistible power to the crown, while those parties that were hostile to the throne, the feudal nobles in particular, were unable to combine for common action while the struggle of races continued. In Castile, which was now the leading power in

The Queen's War with Feudalism Spain, there was a complete and decisive revolution. Queen Isabella, in her struggle against feudalism, availed herself of two allies, the burgher classes and the Church. The latter was strengthened by the spirit of fanaticism which the Moorish wars had aroused, and finally succeeded in pushing so far to the front that, in Spain, Church and State were fused into one indivisible whole, a result which eventually caused incalculable harm to the welfare of the Spanish people.

For the moment, the towns rendered indispensable aid in the struggle against the nobles, whose pride had known no bounds since the time of that feeble king, Henry IV. The natural interests of the citizens brought them, on this occasion, into close union with the crown. According to the ancient Spanish custom, the towns of Castile formed a great confederation, the "sacred hermandad," which provided 2,000 men for police and militia duty, cleared the land of robbers and criminals in a short time, and so intimidated the rapacious nobility that many of the grandes themselves joined the Holy Brotherhood. The government at once profited by this success to introduce a general code of laws, doing away with numerous discordances of the "fueros."

The queen, whose efforts were directed to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, did not propose to set the hermandad on a permanent footing. In the year 1498, the confederacy was dissolved, although a part of the police troops provided by the towns continued under arms.

A dangerous instrument in the hands of the feudal nobles were the three knightly orders of Santiago, Alcantara, and Calatrava. Their extraordinary wealth made their members, who were recruited from the nobility of the country, men of considerable power. The crown took this weapon from the nobles by permanently vesting the grand mastership in the king. Membership could, consequently, be conferred only by him, so that the vigorous

brought them into close connection with the clergy, whose help they bought by concessions of a most important kind, so that Spain eventually became the centre and stronghold of all the reactionary tendencies of ecclesiasticism. But the cause of this is hardly to be found in the nature or inclination of the Spanish rulers.

If the unity of Spain and of its people—a unity that had been so hardly won, after many failures—was to be preserved, if the discordant elements in the state were to be harmonised, and the irreconcilable elements expelled, it was necessary to unite all Spaniards by some spiritual bond. This bond it was necessary to preserve intact by every possible means. And the only possible unifying force was



THE CHIEF KNIGHTLY ORDERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The first of the knightly orders shown in the above illustrations is that of Calatrava in Spain, which goes back to the year 1158. The order was dissolved in 1872, but one class was restored two years later. A Knight of St. Benedict of Aviz, in Portugal, is represented by the second figure, this order having been founded in 1147 and constituted by Pope Innocent III. in 1214. It is not known when the Order of St. James of the Sword, in Spain, depicted in the third illustration, was founded, but it is known to have been in existence in the year 1030, while the Order of Our Lady of Montesa, in Spain, a knight of which is represented in the last figure, was established in 1316 by Jacob II. of Aragon.

life of the military organisations faded into an empty show of court ceremonial. But it was not only by these circuitous ways that the crown, which now began to reap the fruit of its alliance with the Church, gained advantages for itself. It felt itself strong enough to undertake the revision of the proprietary rights of the nobles, and to demand the return of the alienated possessions of the crown.

In lieu of their property, titles and honours were freely bestowed upon all who had been thus deprived of their land; and the nobility were incited thereby to leave their lonely castles and enter the service of the king and live at his court, where these titles had at least some value. The aims of Isabella and her successors

to be found in the orthodox Church. Spain contained many powerful elements of disruption in the numerous Jews and Moors resident in the country. Hence the monarchy, struggling to make itself absolute, could not permit the Reformation to drive a wedge into the nation which should cleave its religious beliefs asunder, as happened later in the case of Germany. Religious innovations would have inspired the opponents of the monarchy with fresh and irresistible vitality, and the Pyrenæan peninsula would have been threatened with a period of tumult and confusion, such as resulted in the Thirty Years' War in Germany. On the other hand, if success crowned the efforts to maintain unity of

religious belief, it was to be expected that the Spanish nationality would evolve into an organic whole, which would expel from Iberian ground all members of an alien faith—that is to say, every one of foreign race. Then it would be possible, with the help of the nation, to carry out those ambitious schemes of foreign policy which Ferdinand I. was already beginning to contemplate. What importance, in comparison with these considerations, had the cry for light and for intellectual freedom which rose in Spain, where a growing humanitarianism began to dispel the mists of stolid ignorance that had so long shrouded the peninsula? The Inquisition—that weapon forged by the papacy against its enemies—was nowhere so gladly received as in Spain, for the Spanish rulers, in advancing the Inquisition, were fighting for their own influence and for the preservation of the purity of the Spanish race. In vain did the feudal republicans of Aragon protest against the introduction of the courts of the Inquisition. Church and State were now united in invincible force against them. In Castile the Grand Inquisitor, Thomas de Torquemada, encouraged the spiritual courts since the year 1483, and during the period that he held office remorselessly consigned countless numbers to the stake; but it was not till later that the Inquisition attained to the widest scope of its pitiless activity.

It cannot be doubted that so cold and calculating a man as Ferdinand favoured the Inquisition, because its aims were in harmony with his own foreign policy. This policy now becomes of momentous and fatal import in the history of Spain. This policy it was that brought the kingdom, after a rapid and brilliant rise, to the extreme of degradation and weakness.

For centuries the Spanish people had kept one object before their eyes—an object that had guided them through all the devious windings of their history—

the expulsion of Islam and its adherents from Spanish soil. Other European nations had turned their attentions to new intellectual and economic problems, but no new ideal was possible or desirable for Spain so long as a Moorish banner floated over the battlements of an Iberian fortress. During centuries of warfare the states of the peninsula had worked towards this end. Body and mind had been constantly in action, the whole country had been turned into an armed camp, and thus a spirit of confidence in their cause had been aroused in the people, and a readiness to fight for the faith, a spirit which broke out with irresistible power in internecine quarrels whenever

the war against the hereditary foe was interrupted by treaty of peace or armistice.

Now their old enemies were utterly cast down. The Spanish nation stood in gleaming array upon the shores of the straits which divide Africa from Europe, with nervous arm uplifted in menace. The decisive moment in the national life was at hand. If the nation declared the time of war to be past and gone, if they turned their united strength and energy to improve their country, which was far behind all others, if they took their part in those great intellectual movements which were passing over Europe,

then they might look forward confidently to a prosperous future. But how paltry did this ideal seem compared with the past object of the Spanish national life! The people would not lay aside their shining arms and enter into industrial and commercial rivalry with the rest of the world. The rulers would not renounce those great and ambitious designs which must, indeed, have forced themselves unbidden upon their notice. Feudalism, which had been repressed with such difficulty, now had its revenge. It gave a special colouring to the policy of the nation. While the other nations of Europe were entering upon the modern age of industry, of powder and cannon, Spain, like the last of the knights



THE FIRST QUEEN OF SPAIN
Isabella of Spain, the first queen of that country, was the wife of Ferdinand V., whom she married in 1469. Born in 1451, she died in 1504. Columbus found in her a warm friend.

THE UNIFICATION OF SPAIN

errant, went out in search of adventures. The journey had a glorious beginning; but, like that of the immortal Don Quixote, it came to a piteous end. If Spain had desired to continue its previous policy, the next move would naturally have been to pursue the enemy across the straits, and to win back North Africa to Christendom. Attempts of this kind were actually made. Among them was the conquest of the town of Oran in the year 1509, and in after years Charles V.'s expedition against Tunis and Algiers. But North Africa was too difficult and uninviting a prey. Easier and more splendid tasks soon diverted the attention of Spain from a definite African policy. And yet Spain's position in the world would have been entirely altered if she had succeeded in bringing the Straits of Gibraltar within her dominions, and thus obtaining secure possession of the entrance to the Mediterranean.

Two other ideals drew the Spanish rulers to a far-reaching foreign policy. First, there was the dowry which Aragon's maritime power had brought to the united empire, the claims to Sicily and Naples. If these were acquired, Spain's position as a European power was assured. King Ferdinand's policy here gained its most brilliant success. Thanks to the military genius of the "gran capitan," Gonsalvo de Cordova, he succeeded in overthrowing the power of France, and in the year 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown. After Ferdinand's death efforts in this direction passed the bounds of discretion when the Spanish monarchy became united to the Hapsburg empire.

The acquisition of Naples was due to Aragon; but, as fate would have it, Isabella of Castile had already taken a step fraught with consequences of immeasurable importance to the realisation of a Spanish foreign policy in the widest sense of the term. When the royal pair were holding their court in the Alhambra, shortly after the fall of Granada, one Christopher Columbus knelt before Isabella's throne, as a bronze statue on the banks of the Genil represents, and implored ships and men to explore the route across the Atlantic Ocean to the

far Indies. In granting this request, Isabella gained a boundless acquisition for her realm, and laid the foundations of a world-wide power. This was the special work of the queen.

Ferdinand's attention was fixed upon the Mediterranean; and he was, therefore, indifferent to an undertaking which must have seemed to him shadowy and chimerical compared with his own European designs. His behaviour towards Columbus after Isabella's death shows that he clung to his prejudices, in spite of the discoverer's success. Possibly Ferdinand, with his cool and calculating mind, formed a more accurate estimate of the real and permanent significance of the discovery and conquest of America than did most of his contemporaries, who were blinded by the dazzling riches of the new country.

It must have been a source of anxiety to him to see the stream of immigration that soon began to pour into the New World at a time when the whole might of Spain was required to carry out the policy imposed upon the country by her position as a European power. At that moment, too, the emigration of a large number of Moors had left room enough for new settlements on the Pyrenean peninsula, and necessitated the utmost exertions to maintain the civilisation of the regions that had belonged to Islam at a fairly high level.

The treasures of America, which came over the Atlantic in abundance, were but a poor compensation for the strength that had left the country. Those treasures continued to attract fresh emigrants. Those who remained were excited by dreams of sudden wealth, and lost their capacity for hard and monotonous labour. Like an idle spendthrift who feeds upon the vain hope of some rich inheritance, the Spanish people gradually allowed the real sources of their prosperity to dry up, until they were forced to resign their proud position as leaders of Europe, in impotence and beggary.

This course of development did not immediately take place, and it needed the disastrous policy of Philip II. to bring it to full completion; but even in Ferdinand's time the first symptoms of the disease became apparent.

Ferdinand's Indifference to Columbus



GONSALVO DE CORDOVA
Who overthrew the power of France, and in 1503 added the kingdom of the two Sicilies to the Spanish crown.

Columbus Appeals to the Queen



KINGS OF PORTUGAL FROM 1139 TILL 1521



PORTUGAL IN THE MIDDLE AGES HER MARITIME TRIUMPHS & HER PITIFUL DECAY

THERE was a special reason for the support Isabella gave to the undertaking of Columbus. While Castile was pursuing its domestic policy, the little kingdom of Portugal, with persistent energy, had sought new fields for its activity. Its brilliant discoveries on the African coast had attracted universal attention, and, finally, the splendid voyage of Vasco da Gama had opened the sea route to East India. Jealousy and a desire of imitation was thereby aroused in Castile. Afterwards the Netherlands and England followed the example set. Thus far, Portugal was the pioneer of a maritime policy in Europe.

The usual dissensions and quarrels of crown against feudal nobles and clergy went on in Portugal, as they did everywhere else. But the tumult of these internal struggles was ever dominated by the roar of the sea, inviting the dwellers on the coast to plough its waves, and awaking a buoyant spirit of daring in their hearts. The sea is not only the natural frontier of Portugal, it is also the mainstay of the country; by the sea Portugal justified its independent existence and from it gained strength to maintain its independence against the power of the interior states.

Though in the South of Spain the kingdom of Granada held out for a century against all attacks, Portugal subdued that portion of Moorish territory which fell to its share immediately upon the collapse of the Almohad dynasty, at the battle of Navas de Tolosa. By the year 1250 the Portuguese kingdom had reached its present limits. Thus, while Castile was being wasted by internal feuds and wars with the Moors, Portugal was in a position which Spain did not reach till after the fall of Granada. The energy of this bold people then sought opportunities for fresh undertakings beyond the seas.

Portugal had been a naval power since 1180, when she won the first brilliant naval victory over the Moors; a royal navy was in existence under Sancho II. (1223-1245). The rich fisheries of the Portuguese coast, and, above all, the whaling industry, created a race of hardy seamen. In Portugal, to a much greater extent

than in Spain, circumstances pointed the nation to the true sources of prosperity with unmistakable clearness. The Portuguese had already entered into commercial relations with the countries of Northern Europe, where they found excellent markets for the fish, wine, wax, and oil of their country, receiving woollen and cotton stuffs in exchange. In the fourteenth century the merchant ships of Portugal and Genoa met in the Straits of Gibraltar.

The enterprising merchants of Genoa and Pisa soon began to send their vessels to the mouth of the Tagus, where the advantages resulting from the commercial relations which had been established with the Mediterranean were fully recognised. Portugal was thus a happy, self-sufficing country, inhabited by a numerous population, which, in spite of its commercial occupations, was exceedingly warlike and well able to repel the occasional attacks of its Castilian neighbours. More than once the kings of Castile, when they had accomplished nothing by force of arms, approached their Portuguese cousins with requests for a loan out of that wealth which their flourishing trade brought home in inexhaustible abundance. It was only when the kings of Portugal abandoned their usual policy and attempted to extend their influence in the Pyrenean peninsula that the country experienced some of those evils which distracted the feudal states of the highlands. Ten years later the man was born who was to turn the eager spirit of the people into the new channel of activity, Prince Henry, who

**Extension of
the Portuguese
Kingdom**

afterwards received the honourable title of "the Navigator," a son of John I. of Portugal and a daughter of John of Gaunt, the progenitor of the house of Lancaster.

In order to afford the young princes of the royal house an opportunity for the performance of knightly deeds in time of peace, an expedition was made in the year

Portugal's Chivalry to the Front 1415 against the town of Ceuta, which then enjoyed a high measure of prosperity, thanks to its excellent situation, and

was also the base of all expeditions from Morocco against the Pyrenæan peninsula. It is highly probable that this was something more than a mere romantic adventure; the object was rather to protect trade passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, and to bring about the removal of the heavy toll which Ceuta levied on every passing ship. The preparations made for striking this blow ensured its entire success. When the people of Morocco attempted to retake the town, the chivalry of Portugal obtained an opportunity, as the king had desired, for the display of their prowess in arms to the benefit of their nation.

But among the warriors there was one upon whom the mysterious face of the African sphinx, that enigmatic look, which gave promise of new wonders, had made a deep impression, in spite of the uproar of battle. This was Prince Henry. From the day he first set foot on African soil he formed a firm resolution to solve the riddle of this sphinx, and to send forth ship after ship southward towards those legendary countries of which nought but vague rumours had come down from antiquity, and the treasures of which could not but fall to the man who was bold enough first to tread their shores. In the

Portugal in Search of New Lands year 1420 the first expedition which "the Infant" fitted out left the harbour of Lagos. Driven by storms, the mariners discovered far away in the ocean the little island of Porto Santo. Thence they reached Madeira in the same year. The discovery of this lovely island, where flourished the vine and sugar-cane and timber admirably adapted for ship-building, spurred them on to greater efforts. The Canary Islands, which had been

discovered by the Portuguese in 1335, had fallen, meanwhile, into other hands; it was now necessary to sail further southward along the African coast, and especially to round the formidable Cape Bojador, which threatened the seafarer both with real and imaginary terrors. It was twelve years before the adventure succeeded, in 1434.

Henry's death, in the year 1460, checked the adventurous spirit of the Portuguese discoverers for some time. A new impulse was given to discovery under John II. (1481-1495). After rounding the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1486, Vasco da Gama sailed round the south of Africa and came to anchor on May 20th, 1498, in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of India. An enormous region was thus opened to Portuguese activity, a region further increased by the discovery of Brazil in the year 1500. A great impulse to commerce and an extraordinary increase of wealth were the immediate results of the discoveries. For the best

The Blight of the Inquisition

part of a century the colonial ocean power was shared between Spain and Portugal, with the papal benediction, the Western Hemisphere being for the most part appropriate to Spain, and the Eastern to Portugal. In the long run, however, these enormous possessions proved a doubtful blessing. The pernicious desire to get rich rapidly and without labour seized on the whole people, who were not numerous enough, indeed, to colonise or to defend their new possessions. While the colonies were swarming with adventurers, and Portuguese navies dominated the Indian Ocean, the fertile fields of the mother country sank into desolation. The expulsion of the Moorish population, in the time of Manuel the Fortunate, or the Great (1495-1521), completed the decay of agricultural life which had already begun.

Soon afterwards the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal arrested all further intellectual growth. Thus Portugal exhausted itself in the hour of its abundance even more quickly than Spain, which was larger and more capable of endurance. Both kingdoms passed through a common period of pitiful decay.

HENRI SCHURTZ

END OF FIFTH VOLUME

